



BLACKIE'S
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

DISCARD



Geo. H. Thomas.

F. Lightfoot

THE ENGLISH BIBLE MADE FREE.

CHANCELLOR CROMWELL PRESENTING A COPY OF CRANMER'S BIBLE TO HENRY VIII.
WHEN HE GRANTED HIS WARRANT ROYAL ALLOWING ALL HIS SUBJECTS TO READ IT.

FROM THE PICTURE IN POSSESSION OF THE PUBLISHERS.

BLACKIE'S COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

THE ENGLISH BIBLE MADE FREE.

In the reign of Henry VIII., and shortly after the parliament passed the first act for the dissolution of the monasteries, it was agreed by Convocation to petition the king that he would give orders for the preparation of an English translation of the Bible. Henry hesitated for some time; but ultimately he agreed to this request when it was made clear to him that nothing would make the pope and the monks so hateful to the nation, or his own supremacy so acceptable, as a knowledge of the Scriptures. When the translation of this Bible was accomplished—known as Cranmer's Bible, because he was the prime mover in the matter—it was sent to Paris to be printed, but the work was stopped because of the clamour made by the French clergy, and the printing was at length finished in London in 1539. *On the completion of this great work, a copy of the Bible was presented to the king by Cromwell, the Chancellor.* Henry expressed his approbation, and granted his royal warrant, allowing all his subjects to read it without control or hazard.

BLACKIE'S
COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO THE JUBILEE OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

*ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES,
AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.*

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME VI.
THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., 1766-1792.



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take place until the Grenville administration, in May, 1765, exacted from him the promise not to consult Lord Bute, and got from him the assurance that Bute should not be allowed to interfere in business. If the king really gave this assurance, his character for veracity will justify the belief that, at least from *that time*, the great and immediate influence of the ex-minister was at an end. Lord Bute himself was accustomed to complain of royal ingratitude or neglect, and to declare that he was forbidden all access to the king; and once through his son, Lord Mountstuart, was rather specific as to date. In a letter, addressed to the newspapers, Lord Mountstuart said—"He (Lord Bute) does authorize me to say that he declares upon his solemn word of honour, that he has not had the honour of waiting on his majesty but at his levee or drawing-room; nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry, in 1765, to the present hour."¹ But, at whatever date the king's strict line of conduct was adopted, it seems indisputable that it was the rule of his conduct at this time, when Pitt was reviving the unpopular charge for his own or for party purposes. It is scarcely possible for any one to believe that the misstatement arose out of ignorance or misconception.

We return to the debate on American affairs. Mr. George Grenville, with whom had originated the fatal stamp act, attempted to show that there was nothing wrong in the act itself, but excessive culpability and negligence in those who had succeeded him in office. Like Pitt, he complained of the delay in giving notice of the disturbances. "They began," said he, "in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrines of this day be confirmed, that name will be lost in revolution." He said that he could not see the distinction which had been drawn by Mr. Pitt; and that, in his opinion, taxation was a part of our sovereign supreme legislative power over our colonies. "When," he said, "I proposed to tax America, I repeatedly asked this house if any objection could be made to the right; but no one attempted to deny that right. *The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided*

it answers the purposes of opposition." When Mr. George Grenville had done speaking, several members rose together; but, as the great orator was among them, and as there was a loud cry of "Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt," they all sat down except he, who was excited to more eloquence than ever. He took care not to notice the bold denial which had been offered by Conway, for he wished the Bute-burr to stick, and nothing could have been gained by disputing the point with a man of so much spirit and veracity. After reflecting severely upon Grenville for complaining of the liberty of speech in that house, he exclaimed—"The gentleman tells us America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He recommended wisdom and moderation towards America, and quoted two lines of a ballad by Prior—

"Be to her faults a little blind;
Be to her virtues very kind."

He then proposed that the stamp act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; but that this repeal should be accompanied by the strongest declaration of the sovereign authority of Great Britain over her colonies. This was also the opinion of the Marquis of Rockingham, General Conway, and nearly all the rest of the present administration; and petitions against the stamp act, which had been imperiously rejected by Mr. Grenville, were now welcomed and honoured. These petitions were very numerous, and chiefly from the mercantile class, who best understood the question, and who were more immediately interested in its decision. In a short time a repealing bill was brought in by ministers, and, after being six weeks under committee, it was passed by a great majority of that very same House of Commons which only a few months before had voted the stamp act all but unanimously. The bill, *as had been recommended by Pitt*, was attended by a declaratory bill, setting forth our supreme right, sovereignty, &c.; but another of his recommendations, to explain and apologize for the stamp act, was rejected as too humiliating. The great orator, and not the Rockingham administration, got all the honour of the repeal; and it was most unfairly asserted that ministers were *bullied* into that measure by Mr. Pitt.² When the repealing act was carried up to the lords, it encountered a violent opposition. On the second reading, 71 divided against 105; and thirty-three peers entered a strong protest against the bill and its non-taxing principle. It was observed, both here and in the lower

¹ This letter was written in October, 1778, when the outcry against Bute and his secret influence with the king was as loud as ever.

² Edmund Burke.

house, that the members belonging to the royal household voted with the opposition—a very unequivocal proof of the king's feelings on the subject. On the third reading, a new protest was entered by twenty-eight peers; but the bill passed at the end of March, and received the reluctant assent of the crown.

The cider act—the last act of an unpopular minister, and otherwise odious and irritating—had never ceased to be the subject of complaint and outcry. Attempts had been made to procure its repeal or amendment under George Grenville's ministry; but they had failed. Early in the present session attention was drawn to the subject by innumerable petitions, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for repealing so much of that law as affected private persons, or interfered with the privacy and comfort of private houses. These changes proved in their operation to be little better than a bonus to country gentlemen who made their own cider; but the repeal was uncommonly popular at the moment.

The disposition of the present administration was tested on a higher principle, by the question of general warrants, which, impeded and thrown back by the late ministers, was now resumed with heart and zeal. On the 25th of April, the commons resolved that general warrants for seizing and apprehending any person or persons, except in particular cases provided for by act of parliament, were *illegal*, and, if executed on any member of that house, a *breach of privilege*. And, not stopping here, on the 29th they passed a bill to restrain the issuing of warrants for seizing any one's papers, except under certain regulations, in cases of treason or felony without benefit of clergy. But the lords threw out this latter bill; and an attempt to introduce another bill for preventing the seizure of anybody by general warrants failed even in the commons.

Parliament was prorogued early in June, after the House of Commons had shown, on the question of American taxation and other most important points, upon what slight foundations their votes and opinions had been formed, and with what ease they could change their opinions with any change of ministers.

To people indifferent to party, and strangers alike to the jostlings and jealousies of statesmen, and the secret springs and cabals of the court, the Rockingham administration seemed on the whole to have merited confidence, and to have a fair prospect of continuance. But, in fact, their doom was already sealed. In the month of May, the Duke of Grafton, who had been visiting at Hayes, suddenly threw up his seals of secretary of state, declaring that he had no fault to find with his colleagues except that they were weak, and

wanted that strength which Mr. Pitt alone could give them. "Under that great man," exclaimed his grace, "I am willing to serve in any capacity, not merely as a general officer, but as a pioneer: under him I would take up a spade or a mattock." Colonel Barré, who had attained to great weight and consideration in the lower house, had refused his support; and General Conway felt out of his element, and was sighing for the *quieter* life of the army. On the 10th or 12th of July, Pitt received the king's personal commands to form a new administration; his majesty acquainting him that he had no terms to propose, but should put himself entirely in his hands. Pitt spoke of his infirmities, of his advanced age (he was only fifty-eight), and proposed taking to himself, not the premiership, with the direction of the House of Commons—that house where he was all but omnipotent—but the office of privy seal, which implied and necessitated his removal to the House of Lords! The king was astonished, yet durst offer no opposition to the will of this absolute orator. The nation thought that Pitt had gone mad by gazing at a coronet. "Everybody," writes the witty Lord Chesterfield, "is puzzled to account for this step: such an event was, I believe, never heard nor read of, to withdraw, in the fulness of his power and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the House of Commons (which procured him his power, and which could alone insure it him), and to go into that *Hospital of Incurables*, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could make me believe it; but so it is."¹ Pitt was then asked who should have the first post of government, or that of first lord of the treasury. He named his brother-in-law, Lord Temple; and his lordship was sent for. After a private interview, at which Pitt was not present, and which seems to have taken place in Richmond Lodge, the king, on the 15th of July, at *fifteen minutes past seven*, (his majesty was always very particular as to these minutiae), wrote to inform Pitt that he had conferred with his lordship, but had found him averse to nearly the whole of the scheme proposed.² Mr. Pitt, it seems, wished to retain a considerable portion of the Rockingham ministers, whereas Lord Temple was intent on bringing in a great number of his own old friends. A meeting between the two brothers-in-law took place at North End, Hampstead, where Mr. Pitt had taken up his lodgings for a long time. His lordship proposed that he should be allowed at least an equal share of power with Pitt, and that some men of his own naming should have seats in the cabinet. He named Lord Lyttleton as one that ought to have

¹ Chesterfield's Letters.

² Letter from the king, in *Chatham Correspondence*.

the privy seal. Pitt exclaimed that that could never be—that Lyttleton could not be compared with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, or General Conway—that Lord Lyttleton might have a pension. Temple next named two candidates for the treasury board. "No," said Pitt, "it cannot be; let them have pensions!" Temple then answered that this would never do—that he would not stain the bud of his administration by an accumulation of such burdens. He next proposed Lord Gower as secretary of state. Pitt insisted on retaining General Conway. Upon this Temple lost his patience and temper, declaring that he saw clearly Pitt was determined to be sole and absolute dictator. The interview ended in a violent and complete breach. On the following day Temple went to the king and informed his majesty that Mr. Pitt's terms were inconsistent with his honour; and on the same evening he told Lord Northampton that the farce was at an end, and the mask off—that there had never been any real wish or intention to have him in the administration. Left to himself, Pitt arranged the scheme of a cabinet in which he seems to have recruited from all sides, except from his old connections and friends the Grenvilles and the Newcastles. He requested an interview with the Marquis of Rockingham, but that nobleman, considering himself exceedingly ill-used, and probably considering Pitt as a person not to be trusted either in temper or intention, positively refused to see him. Support upon which he had counted in other quarters also failed him, and the proud man found himself compelled to sue to people he despised, and to beat the ministerial drum for recruits in new or unthought-of quarters. He now even offered the seals of secretary of state to Lord Gower, whom he had black-balled when proposed by Lord Temple; and he had to undergo the mortification of a flat and indignant refusal from Lord Gower. Mr. Dowdeswell, late chancellor of the exchequer, declined taking office with him, considering himself insulted by the rude, haughty manner in which Pitt made him the offer. This also happened with Lord Scarborough. While these negotiations were in progress, the king, on the 29th of July, in an autograph note, announced to Mr. Pitt his creation as Earl of Chatham. "I have signed this day," says his majesty, "the warrant for creating you an earl, and shall with pleasure receive you in that capacity to-mor-

row, as well as intrust you with my privy seal, as I know the *Earl of Chatham* will zealously give his aid towards destroying all party distinctions, and restoring that subordination to government which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, liberty, from degenerating into licentiousness." This was what Lord Chesterfield called having a *fall up stairs*—a fall which did Pitt so much hurt that he never would be able to stand upon his legs again. "Everybody," says his lordship, "is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been duped by low cunning. But be it what it will, he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr. Pitt in any respect."² On the 2d of August the members of the new cabinet were formally announced in the *Gazette*. "The curtain," says Chesterfield, "was at last drawn up, and discovered the new actors, together with some of the old ones. Mr. Pitt, who had a *carte blanche* given him, named every one of them." The list stood thus:—Mr. Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, took to himself the Duke of Newcastle's office of lord privy-seal; Lord Camden was made chancellor in room of the Earl of Northampton, who was transferred to the presidency of the council; the Earl of Shelburne was appointed one of the secretaries of state, General Conway continuing in office as the other. The place of first lord of the treasury was bestowed upon the Duke of Grafton, and the Honourable Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer, it being also arranged that he should henceforward be the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Saunders succeeded Lord Egmont at the head of the admiralty, and the Earl of Hillsborough, Lord Dartmouth, as first lord of trade. Several changes were also made in the subordinate places of the treasury and admiralty boards. Viscount Barrington was continued as secretary at war; and Lord North and Mr. George Cooke were associated in the office of paymaster-general, formerly held by Mr. Charles Townshend. In the household the Duke of Portland was succeeded as lord-chamberlain by the Earl of Hertford; Lord Edgumbe as treasurer by Mr. John Shelley; and Lord Scarborough as cofferer by Mr. Hans Stanley. The solicitor-general, Mr. William de Grey, became attorney-general, in the room of the Honourable Charles Yorke, and the appointment of solicitor-general was given to Mr. Edward Wiles.

¹ *Chatham Correspondence*. The great event was thus announced in the *London Gazette* of the following evening:—"St. James's, July 30th. The king has been pleased to grant unto the Right Honourable William Pitt, Esq., and his heirs male, the dignity of a Viscount and Earl of Great Britain, by the titles of Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent, and Earl of Chatham, in the county of Kent." "The effect of this peerage in Lord Chatham's own family, may also, considering the event, be deemed worthy of

commemoration. 'My Lord Pitt'—thus writes the tutor, Mr. Wilson—"is much better, Lady Hester quite well, and Mr. William very near it. The last gentleman is not only contented in retaining his papa's name, but perfectly happy in it. Three months ago, he told me in a very serious conversation, he was glad he was not the eldest son, but that he could serve his country in the House of Commons like his papa!" —*Lord Mahon*, v. 244.

² Letter already quoted from *Chatham Correspondence*.

The Marquis of Granby was placed at the head of the army. Before these arrangements were three weeks old it was announced that the Earl of Chatham's gout was worse than ever; that he was confined to his bed, and was incapable of transacting any business. In the meantime the Marquis of Rockingham had made a dignified retreat. It had become customary for ministers, after ever so short a tenure of office, to claim for themselves or their connections pensions, sinecures, or reversions of patent places: but Rockingham withdrew without asking or obtaining anything.

The speeches of Pitt had been echoed through all the corners of the American provinces, and were held as oracles emitted by a divinity—at least all that part of them which declared the illegality of taxation and flattered the pride of the colonists. The repeal of the stamp act was hailed with joy and triumph; but unfortunately, though perhaps inevitably, it was considered rather as the concession of weakness than a voluntary retraction. The declaratory bill with which, by Pitt's recommendation, the repeal was accompanied, found no acceptance; and the strong assertion contained therein of our absolute right of directing the trade, navigation, and manufactures of America provoked new resolutions to endeavour to do without British goods. Thanks and addresses were voted to the king by all the assemblies; but at the same time an evident reluctance was betrayed to chastise any of the rioters, or to pay for the damages which had been sustained. At the same time the assembly of New York got into a fresh quarrel with the

government on the subject of quartering and making better provision for the king's troops, by which an intense hatred between the colonists and the military was engendered, as a fit preparative for the war that afterwards ensued.

From his appointment at the end of July down to the meeting of parliament in November, the Earl of Chatham seems to have done nothing, and to have attempted nothing, except to gain some strength and consistency for the crazy, disjointed cabinet he had constructed.¹ To conciliate the very wealthy Earl of Northumberland, formerly Sir Hugh Smithson, he made him a duke, somewhat against the wishes of the king. The Earl of Cardigan was elevated to the rank of Duke of Montague. Chatham also opened a personal conference with his Grace of Bedford, who pledged himself to suspend his opposition in parliament.

The session opened on the 11th of November, when his majesty called the attention of parliament to a matter of the highest importance, and particularly affecting the poor. The scarcity of corn, which had been apprehended, had amounted almost to a famine, and had caused serious disturbances in many parts of the kingdom. His majesty said "The urgency of the necessity has called upon me in the meantime to exert my authority for the preservation of the public safety, against a growing calamity which could not admit of delay. I have, therefore, by the advice of my privy council laid an embargo on wheat and wheat-flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken." His majesty deplored the spirit of insurrection which

¹ Intense mental activity probably caused the strange mental prostration that soon followed. He seems now at least to have impressed his colleagues with a profound respect for his capacity as an adviser. Lord Mahon says:—"Both foreign and domestic affairs claimed the early attention of the new prime minister. He had ever regarded the family compact between France and Spain as threatening to the liberties of Europe. He had resigned office rather than forbear to strike a blow against it. But besides the more open and manifest dangers attending the union of these two great powers, Lord Chatham appears to have obtained intelligence of some secret and hostile designs which they had formed against us. There is reason to believe that at this very time, or shortly after it, French officers in disguise were perambulating our southern shores, and surveying the most favourable points for a future invasion. Among Lord Chatham's papers still exists, but without any indication how it came into his hands, a collection of most curious secret memoirs drawn up for the information of the French cabinet; two especially are of great length, and bear the dates 1767 and 1768. In the latter of these memoirs the whole range of our coast, even far inland, is accurately described from recent observations, and all our means and powers of resistance are minutely discussed. In Spain, Grimaldo was not less our enemy than Choiseul had showed himself in France. The British ambassador at Madrid discovered traces of a plot which he believed these two ministers conjointly to hold in reserve; a plot to surprise and burn the dockyards both at Plymouth and at Portsmouth.

"To provide in time against any treacherous assault from the united house of Bourbon, Lord Chatham had formed the design of a great northern, and for the most part Protestant alliance.

It was a noble scheme, which, had he remained in office after 1761, would have worthily concluded and secured the triumphs of the war. It was now resumed at a far less auspicious time, and under difficulties which had since arisen. . . . The Duke of Grafton's *Memoirs* bear a striking attestation to the ability with which Lord Chatham's views upon this subject were expounded to his colleagues:—"On the night preceding Lord Chatham's first journey to Bath, Mr. Charles Townshend was for the first time summoned to the cabinet. The business was on a general view and statement of the actual situation and interests of the various powers in Europe. Lord Chatham took the lead in this consideration in so masterly a manner, as to raise the admiration and desire of us all to co-operate with him in forwarding these views. Mr. Townshend was particularly astonished, and owned to me, as I was carrying him home in my carriage, that Lord Chatham had just shown to us what inferior animals we were; and that much as he had seen of him before, he did not conceive till that night his superiority to be so very transcendent."

"The return of Pitt to office was, however, in itself a tower of strength to England. 'His dismissal,' thus wrote an accomplished Frenchman in 1761, 'is a greater gain to us than would have been the winning of two battles.' In 1766, Horace Walpole, who had lately been at Paris, observes—Their panic at Mr. Pitt's name is not to be described. Whenever they were impertinent, I used to drop, as if by chance, that he would be minister in a few days, and it never failed to occasion a deep silence."—Lord Mahon's *History of England*, ch. xlvii. Ireland, too, now engaged much of Lord Chatham's attention, and the scarcity universally apprehended from the wet summer of 1766.

had manifested itself ; but the Earl of Chatham, before the meeting of parliament, had coolly or hotly proposed putting down the riots by hangings.¹ So important an exercise of prerogative as the laying an embargo could scarcely pass unnoticed. The address in answer to the king's speech was opposed in both houses, and in the commons no fewer than four amendments were moved ; but on every division the majority was with the government. Not one of the proposed amendments glanced at the subject of America ; the fighting ground taken up by the opposition was the embargo, or the delay of assembling parliament—a delay which they held to be unjustifiable at a time when the country was in such critical circumstances. It was to reply to these attacks that the Earl of Chatham first rose in the House of Lords. His exordium was studied and courtly in the highest degree. He described his feelings in his new situation, and from the place in which he now spoke—an unaccustomed place—before the most knowing in the laws, in the presence of the hereditary legislators of the realm, whilst he could not look upon the throne without remembering that it had just been filled by majesty, and by all the tender virtues which accompanied it. But, this done and said, he took a tone more natural to him. He allowed that it was physically possible to have called parliament two or three weeks sooner, when the alarm was at its height ; but such a measure would have done harm instead of good, as it would have called away from the country those principal persons whose weight and authority had been employed in suppressing the riots.² He proceeded to vindicate the issuing of the embargo by legal authority during the recess of parliament, as an act of power justifiable on the ground of necessity. Lord Camden, the new chancellor, took the same view of the case, and said that the power exercised by the crown on this occasion was so moderate and beneficial, that “Junius Brutus would not have hesitated to intrust it even to a Nero.” But Lord Northington the ex-chancellor, who was now president of the council, loudly declared not merely that the embargo was justifiable on other grounds as a part of the prerogative royal, but that it was strictly legal, and that the crown had a right, in cases of necessity, to interpose its authority, even against a positive act of parliament. His lord-

ship, moreover, said he was no patron of the people, and made use of something like sarcasm towards Lord Chatham. He challenged any lawyer to contradict him. Lord Mansfield did contradict him, however. When they had done, Chatham spoke again, and again concluded with calling the embargo an act of power, justifiable by necessity ; and for the rest he referred himself to the judgment of parliament. The cry was instantly raised that the present ministers had sold their consciences to the court, and were in league to extend the prerogative beyond the precedent of the worst of times ; and the ferment was increased by some hasty words spoken in the House of Commons by Mr. Beckford, whose speech was the more noticed as he was a warm adherent to Chatham, and a man of most enormous wealth. Chatham was embarrassed by other circumstances. Finding that the party of the Duke of Newcastle was still strong enough to be of the utmost importance to so weak a ministry, he overlooked his declarations that he would never again have any connection with that old statesman, and opened new negotiations with his grace, who was to be gratified by court distinctions and places conferred on his friends. As every place was filled, it was necessary to turn somebody out in order to get anybody in ; and in this kind of operation an enemy was sure to be made as well as a friend. Wanting the post of treasurer of the household for Sir John Shelley, a near relation of his Grace of Newcastle, Chatham intimated to Lord Edgumbe, who held that place, that it would be highly gratifying to ministers, and useful to his majesty's service, if he would resign it, and take in compensation that of a lord of the bedchamber. An interview took place, and then Chatham insulted and browbeat Lord Edgumbe because he would not immediately go into the proposed change. Chatham told his lordship to his face that he despised his parliamentary interest, and did not want his assistance. Very reluctantly the king by letter desired Lord Edgumbe to resign his treasurer's staff, which was presently given to Sir John Shelley. Hereupon not only Lord Besborough, but also the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Scarborough, and Lord Monson sent in their resignations ; which were followed by those of Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the admiralty, and of Admiral Keppel and Sir William Meredith, two of the junior lords.

These numerous secessions forced Chatham to negotiate more explicitly both with Newcastle and with the Bedford party. Lord Chesterfield, in speaking of this negotiation, says, “Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments ; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his

¹ Letter to Lord Shelburne, in *Chatham Correspondence*.

² The parliament had been originally prorogued to the 16th of September, and then further prorogued till the 11th of November. This latter postponement was adopted at a moment when the country was in a state of extreme alarm, though before the disturbances commenced. If the houses had met in September, they could have taken the embargo question into consideration ; and it was believed that the only reason why the houses did not meet then was, to allow the Earl of Chatham time for his ministerial negotiations.

people, but they could by no means agree, and his grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn, so that negotiation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have; even *he* cannot be alone *contra mundum*." Chesterfield's doubts on this head must have been soon removed, for, in a few days after, the *Gazette* announced the appointment of Sir Edward Hawke as first lord of the admiralty; of Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) and Sir Piercy Brett as the two new junior lords; and of Lord Spencer as the new joint postmaster-general. Lord Cornwallis was also appointed chief-justice in eyre; the Earl of Hertford, lord-chamberlain of the household; and Mr. Hans Stanley, cofferer. Some of these new placemen were old friends of the Duke of Newcastle—some were Lord Bute's friends. Many of those who had been driven out of the king's service by preceding administrations were now restored to it; and Chatham, more openly than his royal master, proclaimed a war against party cabals and family connections, though he had in reality just been compelled to make sacrifices to them. He proclaimed to all the world that *his great point was to destroy faction*; and in the House of Lords he declared, as he had done before to Lord Edgecumbe, that he could face and dare the greatest and proudest connections. At the end of December, when all the new appointments were made, Chatham returned to Bath, whence he repaired immediately to his estate of Burton Pynsent, which had been left him by the eccentric baronet. It was evident at once that the greater part of this ministry, now made more anomalous than ever, would not act with him, and could not act without him. "Having," says Burke, "put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass."¹ The proud man writhed and groaned under the incubus—throw it off he could not: the way of obtaining relief was to creep from under it, through the easy avenue of resignation. But this he would not do, clinging to the privy seal as if breath and life depended upon its possession. He kept the seal and stayed away in the west of England, doing nothing for the state, taking the

thousands a-year attached to his office, and becoming every day more useless and unpopular. Mr. Charles Townshend, his chancellor of the exchequer, General Conway, his secretary of state, the Duke of Grafton, his nominee, his ardent friend, Mr. Beckford, all expressed the anxiety they felt at his prolonged absence; and the king himself wondered and lamented.

A.D. 1767. When the chancellor of the exchequer proposed in committee that the land tax should be continued at four shillings in the pound for one year, stating in his sanguine, confident manner, that the money would enable him to set about the most brilliant operation of finance ever seen in England, and to insure dignity abroad and stability at home, he was opposed by the country gentlemen, who contended for the reduction of the land tax, as usual in time of peace, to three or even two shillings in the pound, and laughed at his financial vision. Townshend had nobody by him to second his assertions or give him powerful support. The government was accused of promise-breaking and want of faith to the landed interest; Mr. George Grenville moved that the land tax should be reduced to three shillings, and he carried his point by a majority of eighteen against ministers. In our days, a chancellor of the exchequer left in such a predicament would have resigned; but Charles Townshend held on.

Unfortunately the opposition and the ministry had agreed in falling again upon the American colonies. As early as the month of January, George Grenville, the foster-father of the stamp act, had proposed "saddling America with £400,000 per annum for the support of troops, &c."² The chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, in answering him, fully agreed as to the principle of the stamp act itself, only adding, that the heats which had prevailed had made it an improper time to press that tax. He treated the distinction between external and internal taxation as ridiculous in the opinion of everybody except the Americans; and he, in short, *pledged himself* to the house to find a revenue in the colonies sufficient to meet the expenses.³ Lord Shelburne, like others, was at a loss to conceive what he meant. His lordship, however, heard from general conversation, that Mr. Townshend had a plan for establishing a board of customs in America, and, by a new regulation of the tea duty here and some other alterations, to produce a revenue on imports there. "This," added Lord Shelburne, "in many views appears a matter that will require the deepest consideration at this time especially. Besides, I believe the speech I have just heard is not the way to make anything go down well in

¹ Speech on American taxation.

² Beckford to Chatham, *Chatham Correspondence*.

³ The Earl of Shelburne to Chatham, *Chatham Correspondence*.

North America.¹ In fact, at this moment, the colonies, having had time to consider the Earl of Chatham's declaratory bill, were still more dissatisfied with its extreme principles and strong expressions. Lord Shelburne had letters from the king's governors, inveighing against the insubordinate spirit of the people, and complaining of the resolution of the houses of assembly not to provide the troops with vinegar and other articles, lest their compliance should be deemed a precedent for some new tax act. Chatham, excited by the communication of this intelligence, replied to Lord Shelburne in a violent passion against the Americans, and without expressing any disapprobation of Townshend's exasperating speech and avowed determination of a new taxation scheme. Meanwhile fresh petitions and remonstrances, and bitter complaints against a new mutiny act, kept pouring in from the colonies. Shelburne found himself obliged to speak of the declaratory act in a style which could not have been very agreeable to the Earl of Chatham. "That act," says his lordship, "asserting the right of parliament, has certainly spread a most unfortunate jealousy and diffidence of government throughout America, and makes them jealous of the least distinction between this country and that, *lest the same principle may be extended to taxing them.*" Replying, from his easy chair at Bath, Chatham was more irate than before against the Americans, but he seems to have discovered nothing wrong either in the declaratory bill or in the scheme of his colleague and nominee Townshend. He threw the whole blame upon George Grenville. His friend Beckford joined in these sentiments, and in the belief, implied by Chatham, that the Americans in making any attempt at resistance would only seal their ruin. Beckford—they all seem to have regarded the matter in a frenzy of passion—exclaims, "The devil has possessed the minds of the North Americans. George Grenville and his stamp act raised the foul fiend; a prudent firmness will lay him, I hope, for ever."

Townshend's bill, imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colours, and tea, payable upon the importation into the colonies, and to be applied to the purposes specified in the stamp act, was carried through both Houses of Parliament with as much ease as if it had been a turnpike bill. And the same facility attended another act by which these duties, and all other customs and duties in the American colonies, were put under the management of the king's resident commissioners. Moreover, a third bill was passed, prohibiting the governor, council, and assembly of New York from passing any legislative act, for any purposes whatsoever, till satisfaction should be given as

to the treatment of the commissioners and troops, and submission paid to the mutiny act. Parliament was prorogued on the 2d of July.

Charles Townshend, aspiring to be the real head of a ministry, had opened negotiations with the Rockingham party; Lord Northington, as well as General Conway, had expressed a strong desire to resign; the Duke of Grafton seemed to regret the hours which business stole from pleasure; and the whole cabinet was a very Babel of confusion. About the middle of February Chatham seemed roused by a jealousy of Charles Townshend, and by the constant prayers and entreaties that were sent down to him; and he then actually began his journey towards London. But on the 17th of that month a doleful letter arrived, stating that the gout had returned very severely, and had stopped his lordship at Marlborough. There he remained at the inn a whole fortnight. As affairs of the utmost importance were depending, the Duke of Grafton offered to go down to Marlborough to receive his directions *vivâ voce*. This seemingly natural proposition was declined in Chatham's usual pomposity of style. At last, early in March, he reached London; but he declared himself to be wholly incompetent to the transaction of public business, and immediately retired to North End, Hampstead. Even at that suburban retreat he refused to transact any business or to see any of his colleagues; although, at the time, he was well enough to drive about Hampstead Heath in his carriage.² In the month of May, when the Duke of Grafton was more embarrassed than ever, and particularly alarmed by two unfavourable divisions in the House of Lords, he had again entreated to be allowed to wait personally upon the determined recluse. Nothing could be more earnest—no great man could be more condescending, and yet Chatham returned another circumlocutory yet positive negative. Two days after this the Duke of Grafton again made a strong appeal, stating that other lords had come down even from their beds to support government; that the king was of opinion that Lord Chatham's presence and advice "might still reinstate and give administration some consistence again;" that his majesty had no expectation of being relieved from an embarrassing dilemma but by his lordship's counsel and advice. But Chatham would send neither advice nor commands, and repeated his protestation that it was impossible for him either to see the Duke of Grafton or to attend to any business. The day after Grafton received this austere answer from North End (on the 30th of May), the king himself took up the pen and became a supplicant. "No one," wrote his majesty, "has more cautiously avoided writing to you than

¹ The Earl of Shelburne to Chatham, *Chatham Correspondence*.

² Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*.

myself, during your late indisposition; but the moment is so extremely critical, that I cannot possibly delay it any longer. . . . Your duty and affection for my person, your own honour call on

Duke of Grafton would answer every purpose; and accordingly the duke posted down to North End. But, for any useful purpose, his grace might as well have remained in Downing Street, or posted away to his favourite resort, Newmarket. Chatham would hardly enter upon any business, reported to the king that his grace's visit and his late efforts had produced an unfavourable effect upon his health, and then very reluctantly consented to see his grace once more at North End. In the month of June several urgent notes were written by the king to his lord privy-seal; but Chatham, upon paper, laid himself with all duty and submission at his majesty's feet, penetrated with the excess of his majesty's goodness, &c.—and continued to complain of his nerves and his gout, and to do nothing. But neither he



CHATHAM'S RESIDENCE AT NORTH END, HAMPESTEAD.

Drawn by T. S. Boys, from his sketch on the spot.

you to make an effort; five minutes' conversation with you would raise his (Grafton's) spirits, for his heart is good; mine, I thank heaven, want no rousing; my love to my country, as well as what I owe to my own character and to my family, prompt me not to yield to faction. Be firm, and you will find me amply ready to take as active a part as the hour seems to require. *Though none of my ministers stand by me, I cannot truckle.* I wish a few lines in answer, as I am to have the Duke of Grafton with me this evening; and if you cannot come to me to-morrow, I am ready to call at North End on my return that evening to this place."¹

This was a home-thrust there was no parrying, and, preferring Grafton's visit to the king's, Chatham replied he was penetrated and overwhelmed with his majesty's letter, and the boundless extent of his royal goodness; that, incapable and ill as he was, he would obey his majesty's commands, and beg to see the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning, though hopeless of being able to add weight to his majesty's gracious wishes. But later in the day, fearing that Grafton's visit to him and his waiting upon the king afterwards might be coupled together, he wrote again to say that in seeing the duke he did not understand it to be his majesty's pleasure that he should attend his majesty any part of the day to-morrow—"the weight of such an audience being more than he could sustain in his present weakness of nerves and spirits." The king was then obliged to say that Chatham's seeing the

nor any one of his family seems to have reflected for a moment that one who was sick and could not, or obstinate and would not, do the commonest duties of his office ought to resign.

Soon after the rising of parliament, the king authorized the Duke of Grafton to open a direct negotiation with the Marquis of Rockingham. Grafton offered the marquis his own place of first lord of the treasury. Rockingham replied that he must consult his friends, and then he went down to Woburn to confer with the Duke of Bedford. A sort of compromise was made; but when Rockingham proposed that General Conway should continue to be one of the secretaries of state, with the management of the House of Commons, the Duke of Bedford positively refused his assent, insisting that Conway's offices should be given to his own personal friend, Mr. Rigby. Upon his difference the meeting broke up, and another conference, held a few days after, was equally unproductive of results or union. It is believed that Charles Townshend had gratified the king by his tone and conduct, and, in an especial manner, by the alacrity he had shown on the subject of American taxation. His interest was sufficient to procure for his brother, Lord Townshend, the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and for his wife (following in the latter particular the precedent of Pitt) a peerage, under the title of Baroness of Greenwich, with remainder to her issue male by her present husband. All this was interpreted into proof that Charles Townshend was destined to change his post of chancellor of the exchequer

¹ Chatham Correspondence.

for that of premier; but on the 4th of September, he was suddenly cut off by a putrid fever, in the forty-second year of his age. This death necessitated very different arrangements. Chatham was again applied to for his advice and assistance; but he had gone from North End to Bath, and apparently would do nothing. Lord North and Lord Barrington having both refused the chancellorship of the exchequer, the seals of that office were (merely to prevent the interruption of the public business) intrusted, till some arrangement should be made, to Lord Mansfield, Chief-justice of the King's Bench.

The ministry was in this unsettled state when parliament met on the 24th of November. The speech from the throne announced that the members were called together merely to transact some urgent public business, in order that, as soon as it was over, a dissolution might take place without inconvenience to the country.

The principal matter was the high price of corn, with the consequent sufferings of the poor—a subject impressed on parliament by some strong petitions. They immediately passed an act to extend the prohibition against exportation, and to encourage the importation of grain. When this was done, or while it was doing, Lord North was prevailed upon by the Princess-dowager of Wales and his father, the Earl of Guildford, to accept the difficult place of chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Thomas Townshend, a cousin of the late Mr. Charles Townshend, succeeded North as joint paymaster of the forces; and Mr. Thomas Townshend's place, as one of the lords of the treasury, was given to Mr. Jenkinson, formerly

Lord Bute's private secretary, and eventually Earl of Liverpool. Shortly after this, General Conway and Lord Northington insisted upon resigning,¹ and fresh overtures were made to the Duke of Bedford, who substituted Viscount Weymouth for Rigby, as the proper person to be secretary of state in lieu of Conway, and proposed Lord Gower as president of the council in the place of Lord Northington. This was agreed to; and a day or two after, the Earl of Hillsborough was appointed third secretary of state, a new office, devoted exclusively to American affairs, which seemed to be required by the importance of the colonies, and the increasing difficulty of managing them. Lord Hillsborough, who had been joint paymaster with Lord North, was succeeded in that half office by the Duke of Bedford's ally, or protégé, Lord Sandwich. General Conway was appointed lieutenant-general of ordnance, a post which had been vacated by Lord Townshend. The ministry thus hastily reconstructed, in which fitness for the office seemed in no case to be regarded, took the name of the Duke of Grafton's administration. The Earl of Chatham was not cured or affected by its new materials—he kept aloof at Bath, or at Burton Pynsent, was exceedingly vapourish, and would neither see nor speak to anybody. By this time, or shortly after, Lord Chesterfield had come to the conclusion that he was mad. He removed from Bath to his old residence at Hayes, in Kent, where he continued to deny himself, or to be denied, to all the world. But, sane or insane, Chatham kept the privy seal, and the king was evidently afraid to demand it back.²

¹ General Conway was in the habit of saying, that to a man of any spirit no life could be so insupportable as a ministerial one at this moment, and that it was impossible for a person who had not gone through the ordeal, to form any conception of the manœuvres, intrigues, and cabals that prevailed. In the course of a debate, in December, 1768, he said—"There are so many great men in the world, and so many little ones belonging to them, that it is impracticable for any party to set up a firm

administration. I have long laid aside ministerial ambition. I was a minister *malgré moi*."—Cavendish's *Debates*.

² It is quite clear, from the tone of the king's letters to Chatham, that he dreaded the great orator more as an antagonist, than he wished for him as a minister; and that his majesty felt convinced that, if Chatham were dismissed, it was not his gout that would long prevent him from heading the opposition.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A. D. 1768—1769.

GEORGE III.

New parliamentary elections—Wilkes offers himself as a candidate for Middlesex—He is committed to prison upon his former sentence of outlawry—Popular excitement and rioting in his cause—An affray between the military and the mob—Wilkes sentenced to fine and imprisonment—The Earl of Chatham resigns—He refuses to resume office—Indifference with which his resignation was regarded—Wilkes petitions parliament for redress—He is heard before the bar of the House of Commons—His expulsion from parliament carried—Riots between his supporters and their opponents—He is re-elected for Middlesex—His election negated by parliament—Parliamentary debate on American affairs—The petitions and remonstrances of the Americans rejected—They are further provoked by the imposition of a mutiny act—Resistance organized by the citizens of Boston—They resolve to reject British importations—The resolution becomes general throughout the colonies—Riot at Boston—The British sloop *Liberty* captured by the mob—The home government resolves to suppress these insurrections by force—Resolutions of the merchants and traders of Boston—Design to meet force with force—Arrival of British ships and troops at Boston—Hostile feeling of the inhabitants—Coalitions and preparations for the coming struggle—Angry remonstrances and riots at Boston—Wilkes meetings and popular discontent in London—First appearance of the “Junius Letters”—Their popularity and effects—Sudden return of the Earl of Chatham to court—His gracious reception from the king—Preparations for a keen parliamentary campaign.



ARLIAMENT was prorogued on the 10th of March, and two days afterwards, dissolved by proclamation. It had nearly completed its full legal term of seven years.

Scarcely were the writs issued for a general election, when John Wilkes stepped upon the stage once more, to increase the ordinary storm and tumult by offering himself as a candidate. Mephistopheles himself could not have chosen a better time for mischief. The poorer people were hungry and discontented, the richest divided into furious factions, and all classes had lost their quieting confidence in the honour and ability of public men. Since Pitt's eclipse under the peerage they had taken no new idol to worship; but the intensity of feeling which formerly went in that way was now turned, very generally, into hatred and scorn of all the members of the present cabinet. The outlaw had arrived in England on the 6th or 7th of February, after a visit paid to him at Ostend by Mr. Coates, who thought that he might secure his election for Westminster, as he had a good interest there through Mr. John Churchill, the brother of the poet, and many other friends; but Wilkes preferred trying the city. “His situation at Paris,” says his biographer, “was become disagreeable, for his necessities had compelled him to contract many debts there, and he could draw no more money from England. His affairs were desperate; but his popularity in England was high.”¹ He lay *perdu* at Mr. Hayley's, in Great Alie Street, Goodman's-fields, till the general election came on; but, on the 4th of March, he wrote a supplicating letter to the king, which was delivered by his

servant at Queen's Palace. No notice whatever was taken of the letter, which was delivered in so irregular a manner; and when Wilkes appeared publicly in the streets of London to stand for the city, the outlawry was in full force against him. The populace received him with tremendous acclamations, but on the poll he was left in a minority, though 1247 liverymen voted for him.² Rejected by the city, but not discouraged, he immediately offered himself for the county; and the freeholders of Middlesex returned him by a very large majority. The mob was in a transport of joy; they made the air ring with shouts of “Wilkes and liberty!” and they not only broke Lord Bute's windows in the west end, but also the Mansion House windows in the east. This was nothing more than a common election episode, but the court and a part of the cabinet gave to it a great deal of importance, and already began to talk of the necessity of strong measures. It was this exaggerating and vindictive spirit that had given Wilkes his real importance.

The new parliament met on the 10th of May. An order was voted that the proper crown officer should report why the laws had not been put in force against John Wilkes as an outlaw. Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of May. But before the prorogation Wilkes was a close prisoner. Having secured his election for Middlesex at the end of March, he, on the 20th of April, appeared in the Court of King's Bench and declared himself ready to submit to the laws of his country. But Lord Mansfield suggested, that, as he was not before the court by any legal pro-

² This gave great dissatisfaction to the London mob, who, at the close of the election, broke the iron gates in front of Guildhall to pieces, demolished the lamps, and did other damage.

¹ *Almon*.

cess, the court could not take any notice of this voluntary appearance; and he was permitted to depart at perfect liberty. But a few days after, what is termed a writ of *capias ut legatum* was issued against him; and on the 27th of April he was brought into court in custody. Serjeant Glynn, his counsel, pointed out several errors in the outlawry, and offered bail to any amount. Thurlow replied; bail was refused, and Wilkes was committed to the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench Prison. As he was proceeding in a hackney-coach over Westminster Bridge, the London mob, shouting "Wilkes and liberty!" stopped the carriage, took out the horses, and dragged him in triumph through the city to a public-house in Spitalfields, where they kept him till near the hour of midnight; but when the people dispersed, he repaired in a quieter manner to the marshal of the King's Bench, who had been compelled to quit the coach and his prisoner at Temple Bar, and surrendered himself. On the following morning, as soon as it was known that the *patriot* was in durance, great crowds began to collect outside of the walls; and as this continued, together with a terrible strife of tongues, an order was sent to the Horse Guards, and a body of soldiers were stationed near the prison. This increased the popular excitement; and every day for nearly a fortnight the mob abused the soldiers, and the soldiers—if we are to believe some accounts—threatened the mob. In this temper the 10th of May, the day for the opening of the new parliament, arrived; and as the people had taken it into their heads that neither the walls of the King's Bench, nor any walls or laws whatsoever, could hinder Mr. Wilkes from taking that seat in the House of Commons to which he had been elected by the freeholders of Middlesex, they assembled in greater numbers, and with a louder noise than ever, to have the honour of escorting him to Westminster. But the gates remained closed, the patriot unseen. A tremendous uproar ensued: the soldiers, considerably reinforced, put themselves in motion, and two of the Surrey magistrates, Messrs. Gillam and Ponton, began, or attempted to begin to read the riot act. Their voices were drowned in the shouts of the mob and the roll of the drum; and dirt and stones were thrown at them and at the soldiers. By a fatality which attended all these Wilkes transactions, the companies selected for this service were nearly all Highlanders or Lowland Scots. One Donald Maclean, with two other hot Macs, broke away from the ranks, gave chase to one of the mob who had been pelting them, and shot a young man named Allen in a cowhouse hard by in St. George's Fields. Meanwhile, in the grander scene of action, the riot had increased. With more

precipitancy, certainly, than would be approved of at the present day, orders were given to the troops to fire upon the people; and at one volley six were killed, and fourteen or sixteen badly wounded.¹ The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Donald Maclean for shooting Allen; and charged his comrade, Donald Maclaury, and his commanding officer, Ensign Murray, with aiding and abetting. Maclean was given up and conveyed to prison, not without risk of being torn to pieces by the infuriated people. Ensign Alexander Murray had a warrant issued against him as an accessory; and Mr. Gillam, one of the Surrey magistrates, who had ordered the military to fire, was indicted for murder. But, on the other side, the new parliament then sitting voted very loyal addresses on the occasion, with assurances of their hearty concurrence in every measure that might enable his majesty to maintain the authority of the laws; and thanks were ostentatiously returned by Lord Barrington, the secretary at war, in the king's name, to the officers and men employed on this always odious service. If nothing more, the latter step was a political mistake. It was thus considered, we believe, even in the army itself.² With the populace it added fuel to the fire; and the exploit for which his majesty had applauded the soldiery got and kept the name of the "Massacre of St. George's Fields." At the same time riots and disturbances, unconnected with politics, but probably heightened by a spirit of imitation, broke out in the east end of the capital among coal-heavers, sailors, and watermen, who complained of low wages and of frauds practised upon them by their employers. Stepney Fields became a scene of combat as well as St. George's Fields; and the civil force was found not sufficient to dissipate the combatants without calling in the military.

On the 6th of June Wilkes' case was heard in the Court of King's Bench. As he had returned to his country and surrendered, the outlawry against him was reversed; but he was sentenced for the republication of the *North Briton*, No. 45, to pay a fine of £500 and be imprisoned ten calendar months (he had already been imprisoned two months); and for publishing the *Essay on Woman*, to pay a fine of £500 and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the term of the former imprisonment; and that he should afterwards find security for good behaviour for seven years; himself in the sum of £1000, and two sureties in £500 each.

¹ *Ann. Reg.; Gent. Mag.*; and other periodicals of the day.

² This letter was read to the men the very next day. A copy of it got into the orderly-book, and from thence into the newspapers.—*The Political Life of William Windham, Viscount Barrington*, by his brother, Shute, Bishop of Durham.

For weeks and months Wilkes' business occupied the attention of court and cabinet, to the exclusion of almost everything else. In July, Gillam, the Surrey magistrate, was put upon his trial for murder. He was defended by the attorney and solicitor-general, and acquitted by the jury. In August, Donald Maclean was tried and acquitted also. It was at this moment, when the ministry was staggering and reeling under a greater weight of unpopularity than had been known for ages, that the Earl of Chatham chose to withdraw his name, as he had long done his person, from it. It has been shrewdly conjectured that he had clung to office thus long, *only that he might find some striking and popular occasion for resignation*.¹ Notwithstanding his former declamations against Wilkes personally, he certainly gave a pretty strong proof, just at this time, that he was not disposed to take part with the opponents of the popular idol or his friends. The Duke of Grafton hastened to represent that Chatham's retirement at this critical moment would be unfavourable to the king's service and unfair to himself. "Having myself," he said, "given way some time ago to your entreaties to me to remain in my present post, *when your health was at least as bad as it now is*, I have some right to claim from you a return of the same conduct, when I see, as your lordship was pleased then to say, that nothing could be so truly serviceable to his majesty's affairs." His majesty tried what he could himself do with his refractory patient, and wrote him a most earnest letter. "As you entered upon this employment," said the king, "in August, 1766, at my own requisition, I think I have a right to *insist* on your remaining in my service; for I with pleasure look forward to the time of your recovery, when I may have your assistance in resisting the torrent of factions this country so much labours under. This thought is the more frequent in my mind, as the lord-chancellor and the Duke of Grafton take every opportunity to declare warmly to me their desire of seeing that; therefore, I again repeat it, you must not think of retiring, but of pursuing what may be most conducive to restore your health, and to my seeing you take a public share in my affairs." The answer the king got was in the great orator's very worst fustian. Affliction, submission, gratitude, veneration, despair, figured through the page, but the end of all was, that the Earl of Chatham was not to be moved even by royal prayers, but insisted upon resigning.

The Earl of Bristol then accepted the privy seal, to hold it as long as this strange disjointed ministry should keep together. On the 21st of October, Lord Shelburne was forced to resign his

seals of secretary of state, which were given to the Earl of Rochford. As to the great man who had been so long doing nothing, his resignation excited no more interest than that of a borough-reeve or a parish clerk. Even his admiring biographer finds himself obliged to make this humiliating confession:—"A greater contrast in the feelings of the cabinet and of the nation upon the present resignation of Lord Chatham to those which were evinced upon his dismission from office in 1757, and upon his retirement in 1761, can scarcely be imagined. His dismission in 1757 excited one common cry of enthusiastic admiration towards himself and of indignation towards his political opponents. The attention, not only of Great Britain, but of the whole of Europe, was attracted by his resignation in 1761; and, although the voices of his countrymen were not so universally united in his favour as upon the former occasion, the event was considered as affecting the interests of nations in the four quarters of the globe. The resignation of Lord Chatham in 1768 was in fact nothing more than the official relinquishment of an appointment in which he had long ceased to exercise his authority or to exert his abilities. It was expected by the ministry—it was little regarded by the people of Great Britain—it was almost unknown to the continent of Europe."²

In the meantime Wilkes' friend, Serjeant Glynn, had come off triumphantly in Middlesex, and Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, who had vainly solicited the support of Chatham, had not only lost his election, but had found himself involved in some very serious electioneering troubles. Some of his chairmen killed a man of the name of Clarke in an affray. Such accidents were not very uncommon on such occasions; but as Sir William was a ministerial candidate, and as the popular animosity was at its height, terrible accusations and surmises were circulated. The baronet was represented as an employer of assassins; two of his chairmen were indicted for wilful murder; and when they were tried at the Old Bailey (in the month of January following) the jury returned a verdict of guilty against one of them, who answered to the name of *Mac Quirk*. The populace testified their joy by shouting and clapping their hands; but the government stepped in with a respite, and not long after with a free pardon. The people were far too much excited to admit that violence had been used on both sides, and that, at most, the offence of the chairman amounted to manslaughter.³

² Thackeray, *Life of Chatham*.

³ It is quite certain that the popular party, as well as the court party, had their hired mobs at Brentford. The vile practice was universal, except in cases of rotten boroughs, or in places so absolutely under the control of some great man, that no opposition could be offered.

¹ *Quarterly Review*, No. cccxii.

Parliament assembled on the 8th of November, the Duke of Grafton remaining reluctantly at the head of the unpopular ministry. The speech from the throne alluded to fresh troubles in America, and denounced in strong terms the *rebellious spirit* which prevailed in Massachusetts Bay.

On the 14th, before the session was a week old, the Wilkes war was recommenced with more *acharnement* than ever. Sir Joseph Mawbey, one of the members for Southwark, presented a petition from the inmate of the King's Bench, reciting all the proceedings of government against him, and claiming redress and liberty as a member of parliament. After much violent discussion, and several close divisions, it was agreed that the petitioner, Mr. Wilkes, should have liberty to attend the house to support the allegations of his petition, and should also be allowed the assistance of counsel. The day fixed for his appearance was the 2d of December. But, on the 23d of November, Sir William Meredith moved for an inquiry into the melancholy occurrences in St. George's Fields and the conduct of the military on that occasion. Sir William was very severe against the noble secretary-at-war for writing the letter of thanks to the troops. Lord Barrington said that he was not the least flurried—that his sleep would not be discomposed—that he had done nothing but what he was justified in—and the motion was negatived. Subsequently it was renewed by Mr. Burke, now acting as a leader of the Rockingham section of opposition in the commons. The motion was, however, again negatived by a great majority. Before the 2d of December arrived the house postponed the hearing of Wilkes' petition, and this postponement was repeated several times.¹

Wilkes and his counsel were yet unheard, when, on the 23d of January, it was moved by Mr. Joseph Martin, one of the members for Gatton, "That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of publishing a seditious libel, is entitled to privilege of parliament." Lord North, now chancellor of the exchequer, moved as an amendment, a sentence which very materially changed the aspect and animus of Martin's motion, and which was carried, after a hot debate, by a majority of 165 to 71—"That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of printing and publishing a *malignant, seditious, and scandalous* libel, and of printing and publishing *three obscene and impious libels*, and now stands committed to the King's Bench Prison by virtue of two several judgments in the

Court of King's Bench for the said offences, is entitled by privilege of parliament to be discharged from his imprisonment for the said offences." Martin complained of unfairness; but the main question was put in this altered shape, and was, as a matter of course, negatived at once.

On the 31st of January Wilkes appeared as a prisoner at the bar of the house. He objected that, as a member, he could not legally appear there, without taking the oaths; but this objection was overruled. After various other proceedings, Lord Barrington, on the 3d of February moved—"That John Wilkes, Esq., a member of this house, who hath at the bar of this house certified himself to be the author and publisher of what this house has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, and who has been convicted in the Court of King's Bench of having printed and published a seditious libel, and three obscene, impious libels, and by the judgment of the said court has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months' imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, be expelled this house." This was carried by 219 against 137, but the debate was long and vehement, and several admired speeches were made against the motion, by Burke, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. George Grenville, the Earl of Chatham's friend Mr. Beckford, his brother Mr. Thomas Pitt, and others. Burke, with equal humour and truth, called this the fifth act of the tragi-comedy acted by his majesty's servants for the *benefit* of Mr. Wilkes, and at the *expense* of the constitution. Wilkes, in fact, after indulging in many witticisms at the expense of his moral adversaries, said that he would stand again for Middlesex, and that he was quite sure no ministerial candidate would have a chance against him. The event justified his boast. At a meeting of freeholders he was proposed by James Townshend, Esq., member for West Looe, who was seconded by the member for Hythe, Alderman Sawbridge, brother to the well-known Catherine Macauley. His nomination was hailed with enthusiasm. A Mr. Dingley, a mercantile speculator of London—a man of many trades—who had intended to get himself proposed, took fright and retired without being named; and on the 16th of February, thirteen days after his expulsion, Wilkes was re-elected without opposition. On the very next day Lord Strange moved in the commons, "That John Wilkes, Esq., having been in this session of parliament expelled this house, and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament." Mr. Dowdeswell, the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, spoke strongly against the doctrine thus attempted to be established, that a member once expelled is incapable of re-election to the same parliament,

¹ Notes of the several spirited debates which preceded these adjournments are given in Sir H. Cavendish's *Debates*. Burke spoke very eloquently on one occasion. He exclaimed—"Our privilege has received a wound; it is our business not to make it a mortal one!"

and ridiculed the notion of making Wilkes' morals a ground of expulsion. "If this," said he, "is to be your rule, where will you stop? You have turned one out for impiety and obscenity: when half a dozen members meet over their bottle, is their discourse entirely free from obscenity, impiety, and abuse of government? Even in the cabinet, that pious reforming society!—why, were Mr. Wilkes to be adjudged there, and the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would slink out one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned!" This satire told the better as all the world was acquainted with the irregularities of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Sandwich, and other members of the administration; but the commons, nevertheless, rejected an amendment proposed by Mr. Dowdeswell, by a majority of 228 to 102, and then adopted Lord Strange's motion by a majority of 235 to 89.¹ The prisoner in the King's Bench laughed, and said he would try again.

Great efforts were made in the city of London by the ministerial party, who were said to be assisted by money from the treasury; but Wilkes had not only the public press and the mob, but also many of the most considerable merchants on his side, which they thought the side of liberty. A meeting was called on the 8th of March, at the King's Arms Tavern in Cornhill, by Mr. Dingley, who was anxious to try his fortune at the hustings once more, and who now proposed a loyal address to his majesty, in contradiction of certain instructions which the city had prepared. But, though they had gone to a loyal tavern, they could not keep out the Wilkites, and the consequence was a scuffle, which is thus related by Earl Temple to the Chathams:—"The Dingleyans, apprehensive of being outvoted, had prepared an address, ready cut and dried; words ensued, and the hero of the meeting, Master Dingley, struck Wilkes' attorney, who knocked him down in return, and bade him go to the treasury for more money, as next term he should be put in the crown-office. Dingley was then deprived of the honour of presiding, and Vaughan, the merchant, put in the chair, who had taken the lead in the city instructions. The Dingley party retired from the field of battle, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address."² In a second attempt, made in another place, the Dingleyans were more successful; but the saturnalia continued and grew worse. On the 22d of March, when they went to present their loyal address to the king, they were beset by a countless mob shouting "Wilkes and liberty! Liberty and Wilkes for ever!" and pelting them with the contents of the kennels. Nor was this all; for some ingenious mischief-maker had pro-

cured an undertaker's hearse, and had partially covered it with paintings or daubs representing the death of young Allen in St. George's Fields, and the murder at Brentford by Sir William Proctor's chairman; and this lugubrious vehicle, with its bloody decorations, was dragged slowly along at the head of the procession. As the mob became more excited they threw stones as well as dirt, and so terrified those who were going up with the address, that many of them stopped their coaches and went off from the scene of danger by by-streets, or ran into some friendly house. The braver continued their slow drive, still preceded by the hearse, which never halted till it came in front of the gates of St. James's Palace. There Lord Talbot rushed out and seized two of the mob, and the soldiers on duty seized fifteen more.³ The hearse was then removed, and the loyal address was carried in amidst hisses and execrations. The seventeen men seized were carried to prison; but their sufferings were not great, as the grand jury for Middlesex refused to find bills of indictment against them.

In the meanwhile Wilkes had again been returned for Middlesex. The election took place on the 16th of March, at Brentford. Dingley attempted to get himself named, but he found the timidity of his party so epidemic that he had not one freeholder to attend him, and he could not get near the hustings.⁴ On the following day the House of Commons again declared Wilkes' return to be null and void, and ordered a new writ. There was then sitting in the house, as member for Bossiney, a military officer who was bold enough to conceive that he might assist ministers in their dilemma, and run the perilous chances of Brentford with a hope of success. This was Colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell, eldest son of the lately created Irish peer Lord Irnham,⁵ a name odious in Ireland, and not as yet at all popular in England. He vacated his seat and offered himself for Middlesex. The house ordered the sheriffs to be attentive to the preservation of the peace, and to appoint a number of extra constables to be on duty at Brentford. Encouraged by this care and by Colonel Luttrell's boldness, two other candidates, Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Roach, offered themselves at the hustings. Contrary to expectation, the election, on the 13th of April, passed off quietly; the result of the poll being—for Mr. Wilkes 1143, for Colonel Luttrell 296, for Mr. Whitaker 5, and for Mr. Roach 0. Illuminations from Northumberland House all through the city testified the popular triumph;

³ Talbot, the same noble lord who had fought a duel with John Wilkes by moonlight, got his staff of lord-steward broke in the scuffle.

⁴ Dingley's own letter.

⁵ Afterwards Viscount and Earl of Carhampton (in the Irish peerage). The readers of Junius will recollect a remarkable note relating to this family, attached to the sixty-seventh letter.

¹ *Cavalendish*.

² *Chatham Correspondence*.

but there was no riot or violence. The sheriffs returned Wilkes as duly elected. But on the very next day, the 14th of April, Mr. Onslow moved that the sheriffs of Middlesex should immediately attend the house with the poll. This was agreed to; but as no previous notice had been given to the sheriffs, those functionaries kept the house waiting a very long time, during which the *members* are stated to have gone into "confusion and riot." At last the sheriffs appeared and presented the poll. But it was now considered that the hour was too late, or the house too much disordered, to enter upon the debate; and a motion was made by the ministry to adjourn to next day, Saturday—a day on which the house never transacted business. The opposition opposed this adjournment to Saturday, as contrary to the custom of parliament; and represented that such a hurrying on of this particular business would seem irregular and unfair, and inflame rather than quiet the minds of the people. Ministers however persisted, and carried their point by a majority of 207 to 115.¹

On Saturday, the 15th of April, it was moved by Mr. Onslow, "That Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq., *ought to have been* returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex." In the animated debate which followed, Mr. George Grenville distinguished himself on the opposition side, and the whole of the Grenville or Temple interest, together with that of the Chatham party, was exerted for Wilkes, or against the return of Luttrell. But upon a division, which did not take place till three o'clock on *Sunday morning*, ministers carried their point by a majority of 197 to 143. The freeholders of Middlesex, keeping in view the poll-books alone, exclaimed against the iniquity of substituting Luttrell with his 296 votes, for Wilkes with his 1143; and they joined in a petition to the king, in which they implored

his majesty to dissolve the present parliament. It appears, however, that this petition was set aside for another to the commons, begging them to rescind their motion about Colonel Luttrell and to admit Mr. Wilkes to his seat. Counsel was heard upon such a petition on the 8th of May; but, after the question had been debated, Luttrell was confirmed in his seat by a majority of 221 to 152.

During this session committees had been appointed by both houses to examine and report upon papers relating to American affairs, and submitted to them by the crown. A petition from the people of Boston, the centre of trouble, was contemptuously rejected, and measures of rigour were urged by majorities in both houses.² The lords, alleging that both the people and the legislature of Massachusetts Bay had been guilty of various illegal and treasonable acts, and that there was no probability of these crimes being properly punished in the country by native courts and juries, recommended, in an address to the king, that the criminals should be brought over to England and tried by a special commission, according to a statute of the 35th of Henry VIII.—a most unlucky name to introduce at such a time and in such a cause! It was moved in the commons that they should concur with their lordships. Mr. George Grenville opposed the motion, and caused the government some perplexity by contradicting their statement of the occurrences at Boston. The debate was prolonged till three o'clock in the morning. This time at least there was no want of warning voices. Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Pennant, member for Liverpool, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Burke, Mr. George Grenville, Alderman Beckford, Colonel Barré, Governor Johnston, and Governor Pownall, all spoke vehemently against the address and the coercive plan of the House of Lords. Burke characterized all the preceding measures of government as rash,

and virtue enough to like a free commonwealth—and that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty—this made me conclude that freedom is a great blessing.' From early life Mayhew took to his heart the right of private judgment, clinging to it as to his religion. Truth and justice he revered as realities which every human being had capacity to discern. The duty of each individual to inquire and judge he deduced from the constitution of man, and held to be as universal as reason itself. At once becoming revolutionary, he scoffed at receiving opinions because our forefathers had embraced them; and pushing the principle of Protestantism to its universal expression, he sent forth the American mind to do its work, disburdened of prejudices. The ocean which it had crossed had broken the trammels of tradition, and it was now to find its own paths, and make for itself a new existence, with not even its footsteps behind, and nothing before it but its own futurity." This was about 1750.—Bancroft, *History of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 65.

A century has passed since "Boston received Mayhew's doctrine, and its ablest citizens delighted in the friendship of the eloquent teacher;" yet no such marvels have arisen in New England or America from his new philosophy in religion, morals, or politics, as to recommend it to those who still keep to the old paths, whether on this side of the Atlantic or the other.

¹ *Parl. Hist.*; Letter from Earl Temple to the Countess of Chatham.

² Some twenty years before this, the same spirit of abstract speculation, accompanied too often with a reluctance to submit to revealed truth, and to the authority of established governments—which heralded throughout Europe great corruption of doctrine and morals in the Christian churches, and civil revolutions that have as yet done little for true freedom—had deeply entered the minds of many of the New Englanders. Bancroft says—"The public mind in that province (Massachusetts), and most of all in Boston, was earnestly inquiring into the active powers of man, to deduce from them the right to uncontrolled inquiry as the only security against religious and civil bondage. Of that cause the champion was Jonathan Mayhew, offspring of purest ancestors, nurtured by the ocean's side, sanctified from childhood, a pupil of New England's Cambridge. 'Instructed in youth,' thus he speaks of himself, 'in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and others among the ancients; and such as Sidney and Milton, Locke and Hoadley, among the moderns; I liked them; and having learned from the Holy Scriptures that wise, brave, and virtuous men were always friends to liberty—that God gave the Israelites a king in his anger, because they had not sense

raw, undigested measures, which had inflamed America from one end of the country to the other. He said the remedy now proposed was not likely to appease, but to exasperate; that they were firing a cannon upon the Americans which would



EDMUND BURKE.—After Sir Joshua Reynolds.

react upon themselves. "At the desire of an exasperated governor," he exclaimed, "we are called upon to agree to an address, advising the king to put in force against the Americans the act of Henry VIII. And why? Because you cannot trust the juries of that country. Sir, that word must convey horror to every feeling mind. If you have not a party among 2,000,000 of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce the colonies for ever. If the people are uniform, and steady, and united, you never can punish them." Mr. George Grenville, in a long speech, said—"Why have the lords named this act of Henry VIII.—an act which has a very odd meaning—an act 'concerning the trials of treasons committed out of his majesty's dominions?' Will not the Americans say—We then are out of his majesty's dominions? In the present instance this is a most futile provision, one that cannot be acted upon, and upon which ministers do not intend to act. Do not let us make use of big words, and then suffer ourselves to be laughed at, like ancient Pistol in the play." Beckford, in his usual warm way, exclaimed—"There seems as if there was a regular plan of ruling by a military force, *both here and in America!*" Yet, upon a division, it was carried by a majority of 155 against 89 that the house concurred with the lords in the resolutions and address.¹

¹ Cavendish's *Debates*.

This was on the 26th of January. On the 8th of February, during a short interval allowed by Wilkes' transcendent affair, the subject was again brought before the House of Commons. The debate was most animated; and this time ministers were still more fully warned of the danger of driving matters to extremities." Sir William Meredith said, "If I were an American, rather than have the act of Henry VIII. applied to me, I would undergo any degree of suffering. It is giving the Americans a horrid impression of the government of this country, to see them raking into acts of arbitrary times. Lord Bacon says, *that to ramble back into antiquity is the same as to innovate.*" General Conway admitted the importance and the difficulty of the case, but said something must be done; and that no gentleman had substituted any other remedy in the place of the measures proposed by ministers. He then maintained, as many others had done, that there was a wide difference between internal taxes and duties laid upon certain articles, which he called regulations of trade. "The Americans," he continued, "have submitted to thirty acts of parliament; yet the language has been, that they ought not to be taxed by any but themselves." But the longest and in every way most remarkable speech delivered during the night was one from Governor Pownall, who treated the American question in point of law, in relation to commerce, in a military view, and in all its bearings. He had once been governor at Boston himself, and he had the reputation of knowing more about the Bostonians and the colonists in general than any man in the house, so that every word from him was entitled to respect and attention. He reminded them that the crown, in the eighth year of William III., gave its consent to an act of the province of Massachusetts Bay, for regulating trials for high treason within that province, according to the act of the 7th of King William; and he held that the crown and parliament could not now, consistently or with justice, issue a commission to bring any delinquent out of the province to try him here in England upon the act of Henry VIII. He quoted the charters of Massachusetts Bay, of Virginia, of Maryland, which were all decisive against internal taxation, and which all recognized the right of the mother country to impose duties and customs according to the law of merchants. He called to the recollection of the house the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, and all the hardships the first British settlers in America had encountered and cheerfully borne, in order to avoid religious persecution and civil slavery in the mother country. "But now," said he, "that spirit, equally strong and equally inflamed,

² Cavendish's *Debates*.

has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make; the Americans have not a country to leave, but a country to defend; they have not friends and relations to leave and forsake, but friends and relations to unite with and stand by; in one common union. Gentlemen high in office have been told this, but they will not believe it. The house, if they will not believe it, have been warned of it. The only sacrifice they have to make is that of a few follies and a few luxuries." Yet, upon a division, Mr. Rose Fuller's motion to have the address recommitted was negatived by a majority of 169 against 65.¹

On the 14th of March a petition or remonstrance was offered from the people of New York, denying the right of parliament to tax them in any way. It was carried, on the motion of Lord North, that such a paper should not be received. Later in the session, Governor Pownall moved, in a long speech, that the revenue acts affecting America should be repealed forthwith. "Every person," it is said, "seemed to agree with his motion; but the ministry complaining that the late time of the session would not allow a matter of so much consequence to be properly agitated, *as they were not prepared for it*, a motion was made to put it off till next session."²

Early in the year it was announced in a message from the king, that, in consequence of a deficiency in some branches of the revenue appropriated to the civil list, he had been obliged to contract debts amounting to £513,511, which his majesty trusted the house would enable him to discharge. The opposition moved for papers to explain the alleged deficiency. Lord North promised the papers, but hoped they would vote the money first, as the papers could not be prepared immediately. This proposition was combated for two or three days, but in the end the minister succeeded, and the money was voted.

The king went down to prorogue parliament on the 9th of May, which was the day after the last vehement debate and division on Wilkes' election. The mob grossly insulted him as he passed from the palace to the House of Lords. In his speech he said it gave him great concern to be obliged to recommend to them with more than ordinary earnestness, that they would all, in their several counties, exert their utmost efforts for the maintenance of public peace and good order.

The reader has seen how little the Americans were satisfied with the declaratory bill which accompanied the repeal of the stamp act. The discontents were increased by the endeavours of government to enforce what was styled the mutiny act, but what was more properly an act for quartering and better providing for the troops

at the expense of the colonies. It was an act carried through in a hurry at the fag-end of the session, and yet blindly persevered in. In depriving the assembly of New York of its legislative faculties, for opposing this act, ministers threw fresh materials into the black caldron; and then came Charles Townshend's taxes to make it boil over; and then again, as fuel to keep up the fire beneath it, there arrived at Boston the newly formed American board of commissioners to enforce the payment of the new duties and to put an end to all smuggling. These commissioners could not possibly have been sent to a worse place than Boston. New York for many reasons was preferable; but whenever there was a choice to make the cabinet committed a blunder. The colonists read in the preamble to Charles Townshend's act that the duties were laid "for the better support of government and the administration of the colonies;" and they detected a clause in the bill which seemed to enable the king, by sign manual, to establish a general civil list in every province in North America, with salaries, pensions, &c.³ They instantly declared that all this was unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights; and they insisted that the establishment of any civil list in America independent of the assemblies was altogether illegal. On the 28th of October, 1767, a few gentlemen met at a private club in Boston, the great centre of discontent and pivot of resistance, and arranged plans for making real and effectual the non-importation agreements which had been before suggested. They drew up a bond or subscription paper, whereby the parties signing engaged to encourage the use and consumption of native manufactures only, and to cease importing, buying, or selling anything from Great Britain except a few named indispensable articles; and they appointed a committee to obtain subscriptions to this agreement. One Malcolm, a daring smuggler, who some months before this had fought the custom-house officers sword in hand, and landed sixty pipes of Madeira wine without paying duty, became the most active agent in promoting the non-importation scheme; and he and some of his followers did not hesitate to threaten the persons and houses of such as refused to sign the agreement. The merchants in New York and Philadelphia, however, declined joining in the measure; and the Bostonians for the present gave it up. In the meantime, various individuals took up the pen and employed the press to demonstrate the iniquity of the taxing acts, and the little that the American people had to expect from a corrupt and subservient British parliament. The foremost of these writers was Mr. John Dickinson, whose

¹ Cavendish's Debates.
Vol. III.

² *Parl. Hist.*

³ Dr. Gordon, *History of the American Revolution.*

"Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies" made a deep and lasting impression. Dickinson, however, recommended his countrymen still to have recourse to petitions to the crown and parliament, and to strong instructions to their agents in England, which, in his opinion, would have the same effect now as they had at the time of the stamp act. Other writers suggested more violent measures, but not one of them ventured to hint at the disavowance of the colonies from the mother country. On the 15th of February, 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the other colonies inviting them to combine in taking measures to defeat the obnoxious act. The speaker of the New Hampshire assembly immediately replied, by order of his house, that the sentiments contained in the circular letter were highly approved of; but that, as the time of that house's existence was near expiring, they could not engage for their successors. But other colonies readily adopted the sentiments and the plan contained in the letter, and passed votes of thanks to the authors of it. In the month of April Lord Hillsborough, one of the secretaries of state, sent instructions from England to Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, to require the house of representatives, in the king's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and to declare their disapprobation of that rash and hasty proceeding. The house refused compliance. The very next day Governor Bernard, in pursuance of Lord Hillsborough's positive instructions, dissolved the assembly. By this time associations and committees were formed in most of the provinces. In the month of June the sloop *Liberty* arrived at Boston with another cargo of choice Madeira. The commissioners sent an excise officer on board, but the skipper and his crew confined the poor man below deck and smuggled the wine on shore without entry at the custom-house or any other formula. The officer was then liberated and threatened with destruction if he noticed what had been done; and the following morning the skipper of the sloop entered at the custom-house four or five pipes, swearing that that was all his cargo. But the commissioners, aware of the truth, ordered a comptroller to seize the sloop and clap the king's broad arrow upon her. As a crowd assembled on the wharfs, the comptroller made signals to the *Romney* man-of-war, which was lying at anchor off Boston, and the captain manned his boats and sent them to assist the excise. Malcolm, the bold smuggler we have already mentioned, who had been actively engaged in running the Madeira the day before, was now at the head of a mob of boys and negroes, who attempted to prevent the seizure of the sloop, and

pelted the excisemen and the sailors with stones and dirt; but the man-of-war's boats presently cut the sloop from her moorings and carried her under the guns of the *Romney*. The mob on shore continued their riot, beating and nearly killing several of the revenue officers. The commissioners applied to the governor for protection, but the governor told them he had no troops, no force of any kind, and thereupon they fled on board the *Romney*. The capture of the sloop *Liberty* was made on a Friday; Saturday was a busy day, and Sunday was kept very strictly by the New Englanders; but on Monday an immense mob gathered in the streets of Boston; and in the afternoon of that day placards were stuck up to call a meeting of the "Sons of Liberty"¹ on Tuesday, at ten o'clock. At this meeting they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor to inquire why the sloop had been seized in so arbitrary a manner, which they declared to be an affront offered to the town of Boston. They pretended that she might have been left with perfect safety at the wharf. The magnates of the town affected to disapprove of a riot which not a few of them were suspected of having promoted; but they took care to mention in extenuation the extraordinary circumstances of the said seizure, and the violence and unprecedentedness of that procedure. They offered a reward for the discovery of the ringleaders, and a few vagabonds were pointed out; but Malcolm, the smuggler, and others of that stamp, sat upon the grand jury and quashed all prosecution. It was this fact which seems to have persuaded the ministry at home that offences in America would not be punished by American juries, and which seems to have recommended to their attention the statute of Henry VIII. The commissioners, who had left the *Romney* man-of-war to take up their quarters in Castle-William, now applied to General Gage, Colonel Dalrymple, and Commodore Hood for troops to support them in their office. Previously, however, to this application, and even a month or six weeks before the news of these Boston riots could have reached London, ministers had resolved to employ force, and Lord Hillsborough, in a secret and confidential letter, had told General Gage that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should forthwith send from Halifax one regiment or more to Boston, to be quartered in that town, to assist the civil magistrates and the officers of revenue. This letter was dated on the 8th of June; and on the 11th his lordship informed Governor Bernard that his majesty had directed one regiment at least to be stationed in Boston, and had ordered a frigate, two sloops,

¹ The Americans adopted this name out of a speech delivered by Colonel Barré in the House of Commons as early as the year 1765.

and two armed cutters to repair to and remain in the harbour of Boston, in order to support and assist the officers of the customs. Fresh appeals were made, by those who had put themselves in

on those articles shall be absolutely repealed." In the course of the same month the merchants of Connecticut and New York made similar agreements, and in the beginning of September the merchants of Salem did the same.

It appears that it was not till the beginning of September that the people of Boston became fully aware of the intention of government to send troops. On the 12th of that month a meeting was called and a committee appointed to make inquiries of the governor, and to pray him at the same time to convene a general assembly. Governor Bernard said that he had intelligence, of a private nature, that a military force was coming; and that, as to



CASTLE-WILLIAM, BOSTON HARBOUR.—From a drawing of the period, in the King's Collection, British Museum.

the van of the movement, to the hopes, fears, and strongest passions of the American people; and these addresses usually concluded with the significant truism—"United we conquer, divided we die." They called upon all the colonists to resist to the utmost the mutiny act, which granted power to every officer, upon obtaining a warrant from any justice, to break into any house by day or by night in search of deserters. They represented that, if the colonists would only cordially agree as to the non-importation, multitudes in Great Britain who lived and thrived by their trade would be reduced to want, and would then, in their desperation, force from parliament the repeal of the acts. In the month of August the merchants and traders of Boston agreed upon a new subscription paper to this effect:—"We will not send for or import from Great Britain, either upon our own account, or upon commission, this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply. We will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandise from Great Britain, &c., from the 1st of January, 1769, to the 1st of January, 1770, except salt, coals, fish hooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar-lead and shot, wool-cards, and card-wire. We will not purchase of any factor or others any kind of goods imported from Great Britain, from January, 1769, to January, 1770. We will not import, on our own account or on commission, or purchase of any who shall import from any other colony in America, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, any tea, paper, glass, or other goods, commonly imported from Great Britain. We will not, from and after the 1st of January, 1769, import into this province any tea, paper, glass, or painters' colours, until the act imposing duties

on those articles shall be absolutely repealed." In the course of the same month the merchants of Connecticut and New York made similar agreements, and in the beginning of September the merchants of Salem did the same. It appears that it was not till the beginning of September that the people of Boston became fully aware of the intention of government to send troops. On the 12th of that month a meeting was called and a committee appointed to make inquiries of the governor, and to pray him at the same time to convene a general assembly. Governor Bernard said that he had intelligence, of a private nature, that a military force was coming; and that, as to the calling of another assembly, it was a measure not to be complied with till he had received the commands of his majesty. It was then resolved, "That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in their royal charter." The inhabitants further agreed that a suitable number of persons should now be chosen to act for them as a *committee in convention*, and to consult and to advise with such as might be sent to join them from the other towns of the province. They fixed a convention to be held at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on the 22d of September; and before breaking up they voted, "That, as there is an apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants who are not provided be requested to furnish themselves forthwith with arms." This was pretty plain! The approaching war with France was nothing but an ingenious device.

On the 22d of September, the day appointed, the convention, consisting of deputies from eight districts and ninety-six towns, met at Faneuil Hall; but the day before, the men-of-war and transports from Halifax had safely arrived in Nantasket Roads, a few miles below Boston. The convention therefore merely conferred and consulted, petitioned the governor, made sundry loyal professions, expressed their aversion to standing armies, tumults, and disorders of all kinds, and quietly dispersed. Governor Bernard then attempted to prevail upon the town council to provide quarters for the troops in Boston; but they refused, and stated that the troops by act of parliament were to be quartered in the bar-

racks, that there were barracks enough at the castle to hold them all, and that it was against law to bring any of them into the town. Colonel Dalrymple, who held the command, had positive orders to land at least one regiment at Boston, and he, of himself, concluded it would be better not to separate his small force. Accordingly, on the last day of September, he left Nantasket Roads and sailed up to Boston. The ships of war, consisting of the *Romney* of sixty guns, the *Launceston* of forty, the *Mermaid* of twenty-eight, the *Beaver* of fourteen, the *Senegal* of fourteen, the *Boneta* of ten, and several armed schooners, came to anchor with springs on their cables, with their guns ready shotted, and their broadsides covering the town. Resistance was expected, but none was offered; and, on the following day, the 1st of October, 1768, Colonel Dalrymple landed the two regiments he had brought with him—the 27th and the 14th, who, with train of artillery and all, did not much exceed 700 men. They marched from the landing-place up to the common on the outside of Boston, with drums

In the evening the town council was again required to quarter the two regiments in the town, and again they refused, quoting charters and acts of parliament. One of the regiments, who had brought with them no tents or camp equipage of any kind, were *humanely permitted*—or, which is more probable, took permission themselves—to occupy Faneuil Hall; the other regiment lay out all night on the cold common. The following being the Lord's-day, no business could be done; and the devout Bostonians were offended at the desecration of the Sabbath by drums and fifes—sounds hitherto unknown on that day in the Presbyterian provinces of New England! Pressed by Colonel Dalrymple and his officers, the governor, towards evening, ordered the town or state house to be opened to the regiment out on the common. The soldiers instantly came in and took possession of every part of that public building except the great council chamber. Two field-pieces were placed in front of the edifice, and the main guard was posted at a few yards' distance. These proceedings excited deep resentment, and

caused besides many inconveniences, for the lower part of the state-house had been used by the merchants as an exchange, and the members of the town council could no longer get to their hall to transact business without passing through files of soldiers. Having thus obtained quarters, the governor and Colonel Dalrymple required the council to provide barrack provisions, as regulated by the mutiny act. The council resolutely replied that they would furnish nothing, and do nothing that might be construed into a submission to that obnoxious law. For the present the Bostonians and their neighbours suppressed their vindictive feel-



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.¹—From a print of the time.

beating, fifes playing, and colours flying, and receiving no insult except from some lubberly boys and black men who hissed at a distance.

¹ "Faneuil Hall has been denominated 'the cradle of American liberty,' having been the popular gathering-place of the 'sons of liberty' during the incipient stages of the revolution. It was erected in 1742, at the sole expense of Peter Faneuil, Esq., of Boston, and by him given to the town—the basement for a market, with a spacious hall and other convenient rooms above for public meetings. It was burned in 1761, nothing but the brick walls remaining. The town immediately ordered it to be rebuilt. Mr. Faneuil had then been dead several years. The engraving shows it as it appeared during the revolution. It was enlarged in 1805, by the addition of another story, and an increase of forty feet in its width. The hall is about eighty feet square, and contains some fine paintings of distinguished men. The lower part is no longer used as a market."—*Lossing's Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*.

ings; but the tranquillity was every moment exposed to the chances of sudden interruption and bloodshed; every one of them looked upon the soldiers as forcible intruders, slavish instruments of tyranny, men without faith or morals; and every soldier had been taught to consider the colonists as smugglers, canting hypocrites, and rebels to a most gracious king. At the same time all possible care was taken by the Bostonians to impart an exaggerated picture of the injuries and insults they endured to every part of British America. Philadelphia, which had hitherto been inclined to moderation and compromises, now spoke in a louder tone, and other towns which had been violent from the

beginning now became more intemperate. In the month of May, 1769, the Virginia house of burgesses, which held its meetings at Williamsburg, the old capital of that colony, voted a series of strong resolutions, followed by an address to the king. Lord Botetourt, the governor, hastened to dissolve them; but they repaired forthwith to the Raleigh Tavern, and in a room, which bore the name of "Apollo," they entered into the articles of the agreement, or, as it was now termed, "the association," by which they pledged their honour not to import British merchandise so long as the acts of parliament for raising a revenue in America remained unrepealed. Among the eighty-eight signatures to this Virginia association were those of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and others, who afterwards took the lead in the great struggle.¹ On returning to their respective counties, all these Virginia members were re-elected for the next assembly; and the small minority who had opposed the resolutions were rejected to a man. The gentlemen and merchants of Maryland and South Carolina followed the example of Virginia, and signed the association. Trade with the Rhode Islanders and the Georgians was broken off, and those colonies were put under a kind of ban and interdict "for having acted a weak and infamous part from the beginning of the present struggle for the preservation of American rights." The Georgians made haste to remove this excommunication and joined the non-importing association. The Rhode Islanders and the people of North Carolina soon followed; and, partly through conviction, partly through coercion, the merchants of all the other colonies and towns, with the single exception of Portsmouth, the sole seaport in New Hampshire, joined and signed the bond. It must be confessed that a deal of tyranny was exercised in sowing these seeds of liberty. The houses of the merchants who refused compliance were surrounded by organized mobs, who threatened destruction, not only to house and goods, but also to life or limbs. These threats, not always unattended with actual deeds of violence, generally drove the merchants to the committees; and they signed the agreement and gave up trade rather than risk everything by selling British goods. The "Daughters of Liberty"—for the American ladies had taken their part of Colonel Barré's compliment—entered into associations among themselves proscribing the use of tea.

Meanwhile the storm thickened at Boston. At the end of May, the assembly being called together,

a committee from the house of representatives remonstrated with the governor, complaining of an armament investing their metropolis, of the military guard, of cannon pointed at the door of their state-house, and requesting his excellency, as his majesty's representative, to give effectual orders for the removal of the ships and troops. Governor Bernard, who had certainly become less courteous since the arrival of the armament, replied drily, "Gentlemen, I have no authority over his majesty's ships in this port, or over his troops within this town." A few days after, the house declared that the use of the military power to enforce the execution of the laws was inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution, and that they would not do any business, surrounded as they were with an armed force, threatening their privileges and their personal security. The governor thought to remove the latter strong objection by adjourning the assembly to Cambridge, a town in which there were no troops, separated from Boston by a narrow arm of the sea. But they were not likely to be more compliant at Cambridge than they had been at Boston. They voted "That the establishment of a standing army in this colony in time of peace is an invasion of natural rights; that a standing army is not known as a part of the *British* constitution; that sending an armed force into the colony, under a pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional." They refused to make any provision for the troops, and they were thereupon prorogued by the governor, to meet at Boston in the month of January, 1770. The king, to testify his approbation, created General Bernard a baronet, and took upon himself the whole expense of passing the patent. Sir Francis left the colony on the 1st of August, as poor as when he came there eleven years before, and followed by very few regrets. Before his departure an affray took place in a coffee-house between Mr. Robinson, one of the board of commissioners, and Mr. Otis, one of the patriots, or leaders of the opposition, in the assembly. In consequence of a newspaper attack, the commissioner attempted to pull the patriot's nose—the patriot knocked the commissioner down—friends interfered on either side, and a combat with fists and canes became general. It may be fancied that the excise party proved the weaker—Robinson and his friends were compelled to retreat by a back door. If a few soldiers had chanced to pass at the time there would probably have been bloodshed. Meanwhile smuggling went on in spite of troops, ships, and commissioners; and the Bostonians had adopted the practice of tarring and feathering all informers, or all who attempted to assist the government in any way. The process was to

¹ *The Life of Thomas Jefferson, with Parts of his Correspondence, never before published.* By George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. London, 1837.

strip the obnoxious person naked, tar him all over, roll him in feathers, and then drive him out into the streets. The brutal operation was often attended with violence that destroyed health or life!

Shortly after the rising of the English parliament (on the 9th of May, 1769) Lord Hillsborough had written a circular letter to the colonies, stating that in the very next session the duties upon glass, paper, and painters' colours would be taken off, as contrary to the true principles of commerce. But this would leave the duty upon tea; and his lordship said nothing about repealing the odious clauses in the mutiny act. Moreover, the colonists complained that his letter spoke of commercial expediency, and not of the right they claimed to pay no taxes whatever without their own consent. Various other causes are stated to show how Lord Hillsborough's letter failed of producing any tranquillizing effect, and to demonstrate that it ought so to have failed. It will perhaps be sufficient to say, that the storm had now risen too high to be calmed by a little oil thrown upon its waves.¹

The city of London was scarcely more tranquil or more contented than Boston. From the prorogation of parliament in May to its tardy re-assembling in January, little was seen or heard but noise, strife, faction, and confusion. The Earl of Chatham was no stranger to the movements; the Earl of Temple gave most of them his open countenance and assistance, and did not disdain to make use of John Wilkes as a bugbear to the court, and as a model patriot to the people. Liberal subscriptions were made to pay Wilkes' fines, and to provide for his subsistence when his imprisonment should expire.² Dinners, attended by Burke, Thomas Pitt, Alderman Beckford, Lord Clive, Lord John Cavendish, Colonel Barré, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Byng, and many other parliament men of rank and consideration, were held at the Thatched-house Tavern, where, among other toasts, was drunk—"May future administrations not be so remarkable for incapacity as the present." Allen, the father of the unfortunate youth killed in St. George's Fields, was sent up to St. James's with a petition, demanding

"justice upon the cruel murderers of his beloved child, whose blood cried aloud for vengeance." To keep the odium alive, a tombstone, with long and exciting inscriptions, was placed over the youth's grave. On the 24th of May a petition was presented to the House of Commons from 1565 freeholders of the county of Middlesex, who criticized all public measures since his majesty's accession, and who asked nothing less than the immediate dismissal of ministers as enemies to freedom everywhere, and traitors to their country. The city of London was only a few days behind the county of Middlesex, and their petition, which was presented in full levee, was equally violent. Westminster contented herself with demanding an immediate dissolution of parliament; and her petition served as a model for many counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom. So much vehemence and discontent had not been witnessed in England for nearly a century.

A new enemy, too, terrible and mysterious—in some respects far more bitter and dangerous than John Wilkes—had taken the field. This was the anonymous author of *Junius's Letters*, who indeed "shot his arrows in darkness," and passed to the grave undetected.³ The first of these celebrated letters appeared in the columns of the *Public Advertiser* at the beginning of the present year, 1769. The extraordinary force of the style, the apparent familiarity with all public affairs and public men, as well as with all court and cabinet secrets, the sharpness of the invective, the uncompromising boldness of the attack, harmonized with the temper of the times, and produced a fresh excitement. But the impression became much deeper when government laid its actions for libel, and when Sir William Draper, the classical captor of Manila, entered the field against Junius as champion for his friend or patron, the Duke of Grafton. The letters were then sought after and perused by all classes with astonishing avidity, and they became the political text-book of no inconsiderable part of the nation. Many truths in them were palpable and undeniable, and the falsehoods and exaggerations were made to look like truth in the eyes of the multitude, who had no means of examining the secret passages in

¹ Gordon, *Hist. American Revolution; the History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American Wars*, by C. Stedman, who served under Sir W. Howe, Sir H. Clinton, and the Marquis Cornwallis; Tucker, *Life of Jefferson*.

² As early as the 20th of February (three days after the last declaration of the commons that Wilkes was incapable of being a member), a large and respectable meeting was held at the London Tavern, and was attended by many of the opposition members. A subscription was set on foot, and the sum of £340, subscribed on the spot. A paper was widely distributed, and a committee was appointed to carry on the subscription throughout England. On the 7th of March the society called the "Supporters of the Bill of Rights" had a meeting at the London Tavern, and sent Wilkes £300 for his immediate necessities, and instituted an inquiry into the state of his debts. On

the 6th of June, at another meeting of the same society, it was reported that Wilkes' debts amounted to £17,000, £7000 of which had been already compromised; and a circular letter was agreed upon to forward the subscription. On the same day, on opening the will of a country gentleman, there was found a legacy of £2000 "to that true Englishman and patriot, John Wilkes, Esq." On the 23d of October the 'supporters of the bill of rights' ordered £300 to be carried by Mr. Oliver to Mr. Wilkes in the King's Bench Prison. Patriotism was not an unprofitable calling. From first to last, John Wilkes is said to have got more than £30,000 of public subscription money, besides very considerable sums levied in a more private manner.

³ Mr. John Taylor's ingenious pamphlet, entitled, *Junius identified with a distinguished Living Character*, and first published in 1816, has fully convinced us that Sir Philip Francis was the author.

courts and cabinets, and who are generally disposed to take for true the story which is best told, and most exciting. From the sovereign and his mother—from the prime minister down to the meanest courtier and meanest clerk in office—from the head of the church and the head of the law down to the last-made chaplain or practising barrister, few escaped the scourge of this powerful and invisible flagellant. The king was impatient and resentful; the Duke of Grafton writhed under the infliction, and complained, not without reason, of the envenomed falsehoods aimed at his character and public conduct, which, if far from faultless, was still farther from the black iniquity depicted by Junius. It is said that Grafton was thrown into a perfect agony by these productions, and that their effect on his mind at times utterly incapacitated him, for days together, for the ministerial duties of his office.¹

In the month of July, to the astonishment of most present, the Earl of Chatham stalked into the drawing-room at St. James's, and, after the levee, had twenty minutes' private conversation with the king. Of what passed we know nothing, except that his reception was most flattering, and the king all condescension and goodness.² We may guess, however, that the interview did not satisfy Chatham, or in any way tend to soften the violence of opposition. Some weeks after, Temple and the rest of the Grenvilles got up a grand meeting at Aylesbury, and voted a remonstrance and petition. "The ardent eagerness," says Temple, "which was expressed for the union of the three brothers (that is Chatham, George Grenville, and himself), and the applause with which my assurances that it did exist in the highest degree was received, did indeed give me inexpressible delight. In short, all things passed inexpressibly well; and I hear the holy flame has caught in Dorsetshire, where I suppose I shall find it ready to blaze by the time I get there, which will be by the end of next week."³

In the month of November, Mr. Calcraft, a most busy go-between, was deputed by Chatham to confer with the Marquis of Granby, and evidently with the intention of weakening the cabinet by inducing that nobleman to resign. Granby said that his retiring now would look like skulking to Junius, who had dealt him some of his heaviest blows, or might be considered as an admission on his part that he was what Junius declared him to be—unfit for the command of the army. Calcraft saw that Granby was looking up to Lord Chatham, but was not very cordial with Temple and George Grenville. Granby told him that he never knew why Chatham had resigned; that he would advise the king to send for Lord Chatham; and that he would certainly recommend a dissolution of parliament as the only measure likely to quiet people's minds, now that they were so inflamed. This was on the 6th of November. Calcraft waited again on Lord Granby on the 25th; and on the 26th his lordship went down to Hayes, where it appears that Chatham advised him "not to go to a place where it rained snares"—that is to say, not to attend a meeting of the council on the following Monday upon American affairs. During the same month of November, Calcraft, who was living at Shooter's Hill, busied himself in getting up meetings, petitions, and addresses from the men of Kent! All this seemed to denote a fierce parliamentary campaign; but ministerial troubles were growing on every side. Ireland, never well governed, and never tranquil, had now been in a very turbulent state for years, split into factions, and overrun by bands of Levellers and White Boys, Oak Boys and Hearts of Steel, who were bound together by secret oaths and a detestation of tithes. And a financial encroachment attempted by his majesty's ministers this year roused a terrible storm in the Irish parliament. Even the silly pageantry of my lord-mayor's day in the city of London was a spectacle of woe to the cabinet; for Mr. Beckford, the friend of Chatham, the wealthiest commoner in England, ascended, for a second time, the civic throne, in spite of all the efforts made by ministers and their city friends to prevent it.

¹ Sir N. W. Wraxall, *Historical Memoirs of his Own Time*.

² Letter from Earl Temple to Chatham, in *Chatham Correspondence*; Letter from Horace Walpole to General Conway.

³ Letter to the Countess of Chatham, in *Chatham Cor.*

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1770.

GEORGE III.

George III. opens parliament—His strange intimation—Chatham's formidable eloquence in the House of Lords—His defence of the American malcontents—Violent debate in the House of Commons—Appearance of Charles James Fox—The Lord-chancellor Camden dismissed—The great seal repeatedly rejected, and put in commission—Offices resigned—Resignation of the Marquis of Granby—Lord Chatham's speech on the national difficulties—His proposals for reform in parliamentary representation—Lord North becomes premier by the resignation of the Duke of Grafton—New ministerial appointments—Account of Lord North—Debate in the lords on the judicative right of the commons in elections—Resolution passed confirmatory of the right of the House of Commons—Rejection of Wilkes from parliament confirmed—Motion for an increase of seamen in the royal navy—Chatham's complaints of royal favouritism—Effects of his speech on the popular mind—City petition for the redress of grievances—Its rejection by the king—It is brought before parliament—Its language disapproved of—Mr. Horne Tooke's popular attacks on the Rockingham party—Question of controverted elections—Grenville's bill for its settlement passed—Debate on American taxation—The duty on tea retained—Wilkes liberated—Bill for his reposition in parliament—A keen debate—The bill rejected—American affairs—Care to exclude reporters from the house—Chatham's motion on the American disorders, and proposal for the dissolution of parliament—The motion negatived—Parliament prorogued—Beckford, mayor of London, presents a civic petition to the king—The mayor's unpalatable conduct on the occasion—Death of Beckford—Revolutionary meetings at Boston—The first life lost in the American commotion—Unwarrantable proceedings of the Boston patriots—Quarrels between them and the soldiers—Attack on the military by the mob—Death of Attucks, the mulatto ringleader—The citizens demand the removal of all the troops from Boston—Their threats in the event of a refusal—The troops withdrawn—The people of Boston resolve to abstain from tea—Leaders of the American revolt—The affair of the Falkland Islands—It threatens to produce a war between Britain and Spain—It is brought before parliament in the king's opening speech—Chatham's speech on the subject—Peaceful close of the negotiation with Spain—Political movements during the Christmas recess.

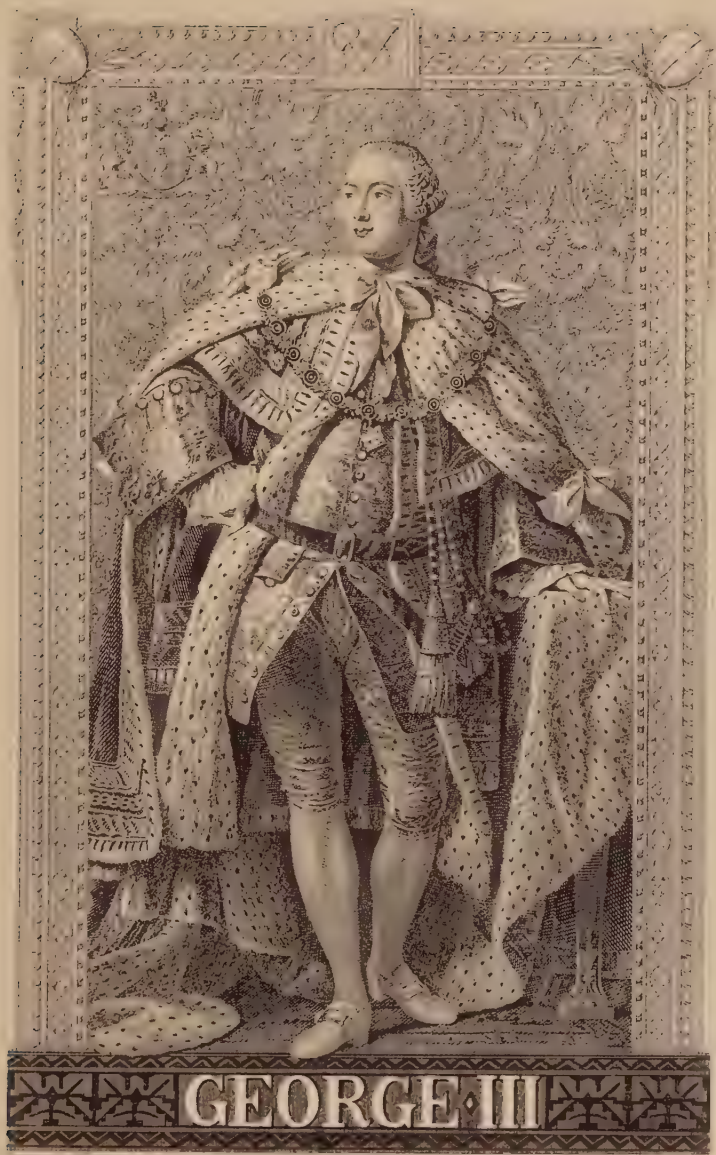


PARLIAMENT did not assemble till the 9th January, 1770. His majesty commenced his speech by deploring an unfortunate distemper which had broken out among—*horned cattle*: and he assured the lords and commons that he had used his best endeavours to stop the progress of the contagion! And this was solemnly uttered from the throne when the land was full of wicked wits and scoffers, when Junius was writing, and Wilkes making his *bons-mots*! It rained, it deluged jokes and repartees in newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines. The session was nick-named “the horned-cattle session;” the king's love of farming was turned against him, and he was represented as looking after cows, stalls, dairies, and farms, when his empire was breaking to pieces, and his people everywhere misgoverned and discontented. And now, too, the great Chatham was in his place in the House of Lords, vigorous and more eloquent than ever, like a giant refreshed by sleep, or like Samson bursting his bonds at the cry that the Philistines were upon him. Among Chatham's Philistine foes he now counted his recent colleague, friend, and nominee, the Duke of Grafton, who had consented to remain in office at his earnest prayer. The address was moved in the upper house by the Duke of Ancaster, and seconded by Lord Dunmore, the Earls of

Carlisle and March having refused the unthankful office. It was as general and unmeaning as the speech from the throne. Chatham presently rose, and after a little talk about his own age and infirmities, and his respect and duty to the crown, he spoke in thunder. He said that there never was a period which called more forcibly than the present for the serious attention and consideration of that house; and that at a crisis of such importance and danger, when discontent, distress, and injuries were universal, it was the bounden duty of their lordships to lay before the sovereign the true state and condition of his subjects. After indulging in a quiet sneer at the care of the council for horned cattle, he said he was extremely glad to hear what he owned he did not expect when he came into the house, that the king had reason to believe that his endeavours to secure the peace of his country would be successful. Circumstances and views had changed. Chatham no longer called the colonists madmen, but thought that the measures of government—measures which in good part had been framed by a cabinet in which he himself held a place—had *driven them* into excesses which he could not quite justify: he no longer asked what demon blew the coals; and, in a brief process of time, this demon of discord changed form and colour, and was converted in his tropes and impersonations into an angel of light and liberty. In his present speech he owned

GEORGE III.

George III., eldest son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, was born in London on 4th June, 1738, and became king of Great Britain at the death of his grandfather in 1760. In his early years Prince George had been trained by his mother, and had little companionship but that of waiting-women and grooms of the household. He was educated in the belief that a king is the father of his people, that he knows what is best for their good, and that he is entitled to compel them to do what is right. When he ascended the throne, therefore, George III. proceeded to put this belief in practice, with a conscientiousness which was only matched by his obstinacy; so that the evils of this large claim for personal power were soon made manifest in political turmoil at home, and war abroad. During this reign, and largely as the result of the king's obstinate prejudices, the nation lost her American colonies, struggled through the long wars with France, and was confronted by a rebellion in Ireland. Yet, when he is compared with the other kings of this dynasty, "Farmer George", as he was called familiarly, becomes almost noble by reason of his honesty, and the purity of his private life. It must also be remembered in mitigation of his blunders that his mind was darkened by recurring attacks of madness, while from the year 1810 to his death in 1820 he was hopelessly insane.



THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND OF IRELAND

he had a natural partiality for America, and was inclined to make allowance for her excesses. He confessed, at the same time, that he was *entirely ignorant* of the present state of America; but then he said that he feared a noble duke was as ignorant as himself, and had been taking dangerous steps in the dark, without stopping to inquire his way; and one false step would lead him to another, till he would be lost in an inextricable labyrinth. He objected to the word *unwarrantable*, as applied, in the proposed address, to the proceedings of the colonists. Unwarrantable, he said, must mean illegal; and how could their lordships decide that proceedings which had not yet been stated to them in any shape were contrary to law? He proposed substituting the word *dangerous*. He told them they must look for other remedies; that the discontent of 2,000,000 of people could only be removed by removing the causes of it. After reminding the house that their privileges, however transcendent, however appropriated to them, stood, in fact, upon the broad bottom of the people, and after reading them a lesson or a warning from the fate of the grandees of Castile out of Robertson's *History of Charles V.*, he proclaimed that the liberty of the subject had been invaded not only in our provinces, but here at home. Hence, he said, had arisen universal complaints and demands of redress. "I have," said he, "considered the matter with the most serious attention; and, as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think we ought in our address, to state that matter to the king." He concluded by submitting an amendment. He was followed by the lord-chancellor, Camden, who, upon his patron's resignation of the privy seal, had declared that Lord Chatham should still be his polar star—that he reluctantly consented to retain the great seal, and "to hold on a while longer with this crippled administration." Since then, Camden and Chatham had been in amicable communication, and Calcraft had been employed in coming and going between them. The chancellor now startled the uninitiated with a speech as strong as that just delivered by Chatham. It was strange language from one holding the great seal. On the other side Lord Mansfield, in opposing the amendment, said, that he would never deliver an opinion as to the legality of the proceedings in the House of Commons in the Middlesex election. He had his opinions, but was determined to keep them secret, and wished to avoid speaking on the subject. He acknowledged that the nation was in a distracted state, but was happy to affirm that this was not owing to him. Chatham rejoined at great length;

but his amendment was negatived, and the original address was carried. Lord Pomfret then moved an adjournment for some days. This called up Lord Temple, who said, "that the house well knew for what purpose the ministry wanted an adjournment: it was to settle the disordered state of the administration, which was now shattered in a most miserable manner, and in all likelihood would soon fall to pieces: and particularly to dismiss the virtuous and independent lord who sat on the woolsack, and to supply his place with some obsequious lawyer who would do as he was commanded." Lord Shelburne said nearly the same thing, and added, "that after the dismissal of the present worthy chancellor the seals would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept of them on the conditions on which they must be offered."

In the House of Commons the address was moved by Sir George Osborne. At first it had been resolved by the opposition not to meddle with the address in that house; but Lord Chatham expressed very strongly to Lord Temple that this plan, if followed, would have every possible ill consequence. Temple was convinced of this, and hastened from Hayes to London, and carried the same conviction to his brother, George Grenville, who thereupon changed his tactics, and sent word to the Thatched-house, where there was a meeting of opposition, "to try to muster spirits to come down to parliament, where words of amendment were to be moved." Accordingly Mr. Dowdeswell moved for the insertion into the address of words intimating the necessity of immediately inquiring into the causes of the unhappy discontents which prevailed in every part of his majesty's dominions. The debate which ensued lasted twelve hours, and was attended with great violence, and other circumstances more extraordinary. The Marquis of Granby powerfully expressed his regret for having in the preceding session voted with ministers on the question of the disqualification of Mr. Wilkes. "That vote," said he, "I shall always lament as the greatest misfortune of my life. I see that I was in error, and I am not ashamed to make this public declaration of it, and give my vote for the amendment." It was expected that General Conway, who had gone out of the house to avoid voting on the Wilkes question, would have followed the example of Granby; but Conway stood up to oppose the amendment, and spoke with great warmth in defence of ministers, and in approbation of the disqualifying vote. Lord North declared he would never consent to annul that vote; Sir Fletcher Norton said that

¹ Letters from Chatham to Calcraft, and from Calcraft to Chatham.

they could not alter that resolution, but by an act of the whole legislature; and Charles James Fox (the second son of Lord Holland), who was destined subsequently to enchant the house or the nation with his brilliant opposition to everything that was arbitrary, to everything that was illiberal in politics, lent his immature abilities to the ministry, in a short speech, being the first of his parliamentary displays of which we have any report, although it appears that he had spoken once before. Young Fox was already involved in great pecuniary difficulties, and was looking forward to a place, which he soon obtained. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 254 to 138.

After the course pursued by Lord-chancellor Camden, it was not to be expected that the seals would be left in his possession. He was dismissed, and Lord Shelburne's prediction was literally verified: the great seal really went a-begging. It was, indeed, in the first instance, at the pressing invitation of the king, most reluctantly accepted by the Honourable Charles Yorke, second son of the former Lord-chancellor Hardwicke, who had been attorney-general during the short administration of Lord Bute, and subsequently during the shorter one of the Marquis of Rockingham. But Mr. Yorke, who received the great seal on the 18th of January, committed suicide on the 20th, before his patent of peerage could be completed. The seal was then offered to Sir Eardley Wilmot, who refused; and then to Lord Mansfield, who would not accept. Nothing therefore remained but to put the great seal in commission, and to appoint an interim speaker to occupy the woolsack in the House of Lords. Lord Mansfield agreed to fill the latter temporary office: the commissioners, who were not appointed till some time after, were Sir Sidney Strafford Smythe, one of the barons of the exchequer; the Honourable Henry Bathurst, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; and Sir Richard Aston, one of the justices of the King's Bench.

While business was suspended in the House of Lords by the want of a chancellor, it was also suspended in the commons by the illness—real, not feigned—of the speaker, Sir John Cust. The removal of Lord Camden was immediately followed by the resignations of his friend Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, and of Mr. James Grenville, who held the office of one of the vice-treasurers for Ireland. The Marquis of Granby, who had been assured by his father, the Duke of Rutland, that he had his fullest approbation, and that his spirited conduct had endeared him more than ever, tendered his resignation as master-general of the ordnance and commander-in-chief of the forces as early as the 15th of January. On the night of that stormy day Lord Temple

writes to Chatham: "I am this instant returned from Calcraft's. Granby is there. The king, it seems, and the Duke of Grafton are upon their knees to Lord Granby not to resign. He remained to the Duke of Grafton inflexible as to that, but has yielded for twenty-four hours. Calcraft does most earnestly wish, and so do I, that you may take the trouble of writing, either to Lord Granby himself or to Calcraft, your opinion and warm desire that his lordship may to-morrow morning go to the queen's house, desire to see the king, and carry into execution what had been so much better done yesterday. . . . The ministry live upon moments. Can you yourself come to town to-morrow, to see and fix the Duke of Newcastle? Heaven and earth are in motion." To this passionately written appeal, Chatham replied at a late hour the same night, in a tone still more passionate. "Not a moment must be allowed to king or ministers. My most respectful and warmly affectionate advice therefore is," said Chatham, "that Lord Granby should demand an audience at the queen's house to-morrow, and then and there absolutely and finally resign the ordnance and the command of the army." On the following day (January the 16th) Temple announced that his friend, the Earl of Coventry, had done his part, and quitted the post of lord of the bedchamber; that the Duke of Beaufort had resigned that of master of the horse to the queen; that Lord Shelburne continued to give perfect satisfaction; that things had passed very amicably between Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond; and that they (the opposition) had had "a most glorious day." On the same day or night the ever-busy Calcraft¹ reported to Chatham that he had communicated his manly sentiments to Granby, who was exceedingly affected by them, and, though his lordship could not prevail on himself to press for an audience that day, he promised that he would be firm in the closet to-morrow, and that no persuasion should make him depart from the execution of his purpose and promise. Thus spirited on, Granby, on the morning of the 17th, waited upon his majesty, and, in spite of all entreaties, resigned everything except his regiment, the Blues. The ordnance was then offered to General Conway, who refused it, saying, he would take none of Lord Granby's spoils. Other resignations took place in the royal household, the Earl of Huntingdon, groom of the stole, and the Duke of Manchester, another of the lords of the bedchamber, quitting the court abruptly. Sir Francis Brett and Sir George Yonge, junior lords of the admiralty,

¹ Formerly Mr. Calcraft had been an equally active agent for Chatham's rival, Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland. He was one of the many little men hanging on the many great men, as described by General Conway. But he was also a man of indisputable ability.

also threw up their places, by letter to the Duke of York, after telling Sir Edward Hawke, the first lord, that they thought it for the *honour of Lord Chatham and their country's quiet*.¹

On the 22d of January the Marquis of Rockingham moved in the House of Lords, that the house should, on Thursday, the 24th, take into consideration the lamentable state of the nation. The Duke of Grafton rose and said, that he did not intend to oppose this inquiry, and that he was ready to go into the question whenever the house should think proper. The Earl of Chatham then rose and delivered one of the most remarkable of his speeches. He said that he should not speak methodically, and he kept his word, "The constitution," he exclaimed, "has been grossly violated; the constitution at this moment stands violated! Until that wound be healed, until the grievances be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament; in vain to promote concord among the people. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, *MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER!* If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on according to the forms and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and, rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old as I am, *I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government.*" He repeated that some kind of parliamentary reform was absolutely necessary and inevitable, and stated that he had hoped his majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse without paying some attention to that great object. He proceeded to offer to the consideration of the house his own thoughts and sentiments, which he said were not crude and undigested, but ripe and well considered, as the subject had long occupied his thoughts. This matured scheme of parliamentary reform was, not that the rotten boroughs should be disfranchised—not that the unrepresented great towns should be allowed members—though he admitted that in them great part of the strength and vigour of the constitution resided—but that every county should be permitted to elect *three* members instead of *two*—the knights of the shires approaching the nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, *because they represent the soil*. Thus, in Chatham's vaunted scheme no allowance was to be made for the growing importance of the commercial and manu-

facturing interests; but the landed interest, the country gentlemen who had not hitherto been the most liberal part of the legislature, were to crowd the House of Commons, to the danger and risk of all other interests whatsoever. Not many months after delivering this speech, the great orator himself doubted the efficacy of this plan of reform, and admitted that the knights of the shires, or representatives of counties, "were not the most enlightened or spirited part of the house."² At the close of his long speech he proclaimed in sonorous language his coalition with the Marquis of Rockingham, whom, at no very distant date, he had overthrown as an incapable and not trustworthy statesman.

But in the interval between the 22d and the 24th, Chatham announced that he was too ill to attend. Rockingham, whose health was frail, and whose sensibilities were acute, was agitated and distressed by the melancholy suicide of Charles Yorke, who had formerly been his colleague, and who had never ceased to be his friend. The marquis, therefore, moved the adjournment of the great question, on the state of the nation, from Thursday, the 24th of January, till Friday, the 2d of February, stating as his grounds for asking this delay, his own feelings and the absence of the Earl of Chatham.

On the 28th, Lord North, already chancellor of the exchequer, became first lord of the treasury; for the Duke of Grafton, to the astonishment of the opposition, resigned the premiership. It was said that the sharp scourge of Junius had driven him from his post; but it is evident that there were a hundred other strong concurrent motives to induce him to retreat. Calcraft was the first to assure Chatham that Grafton had certainly resigned, and that the present plan of the court appeared to be merely a trial with Lord North. North was to remain with all of the cabinet Grafton had left, and with power or limited instructions to fill up the vacancies; and Chatham and his friends were to remain, unconsulted and defied, on the hard and barren benches of opposition! The great seal was left in commission, with the commissioners already named. Granby's places of the ordnance and the command-in-chief were left vacant for the present; the post of groom of the stole, resigned by the Earl of Huntingdon, was given to the Earl of Bristol, who again was succeeded in his office of lord privy-seal by the Earl of Halifax; the Earl of Coventry was succeeded as a lord of the bedchamber by the Earl of Pembroke, and the Duke of Manchester's bedchambership was left vacant; the Earl of Waldegrave (brother to the honest nobleman who had been governor to his majesty when a minor and Prince of Wales) succeeded the Duke of Beaufort

¹ Calcraft to Chatham. In this letter, dated the 20th of January, Calcraft says, "*Don't be surprised to find the Duke of Grafton's ground at court but tender.*"

² Chatham to the Earl of Shelburne, *Chatham Correspondence*.

as master of the horse to the queen; Sir Gilbert Elliot succeeded Lord Howe in the treasurership of the navy; Mr. CHARLES JAMES FOX became one of the junior lords of the admiralty in the place of Sir Percy Brett, and Admiral Holburne another, in the place of Sir George Yonge; the other junior lords (including Viscount Palmerston, who had not resigned) continuing as before. Mr. Welbore Ellis became one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, in lieu of Mr. James Grenville; and Mr. Edward Thurlow, a rising lawyer, recommended to notice not less by his daring dash-through spirit than by his abilities, was called up to be solicitor-general instead of Mr. Dunning. There were a few minor substitutions and interchanges of offices, but these were the principal; and they left Lord North's ministry a *continuation*, for the greater part, of that of the Duke of Grafton. The only really *new* name in it was that of Halifax.

The new Palinurus, who thus boldly took the helm, Frederick, Lord North—in private life one

which subsisted between Frederick, the king's father, and the Countess of Guildford, found no difficulty in accounting for the similarity. North, as chancellor of the exchequer, had borne the principal weight of the administration before Grafton's secession, and his promptness in complying with the king's wishes at that trying moment was not soon forgotten.

The opposition soon began to make Lord North feel that he had not taken possession of a bed of roses. Mr. Dowdeswell moved another resolution—"That by the law of the land, and the law and usage of parliament, no person eligible of common right can be incapacitated by a resolution of the house, but by an express act of parliament only." In the course of this debate Colonel Barré compared the state to a vessel in a storm, which had parted with her mainmast (the Duke of Grafton), and was trying to scud under a jury-mast (Lord North). North acknowledged that the storm was great; but he told the opposition that the ship was not yet compelled to hang out distressed lights for pilots—that her own crew were quite capable of conducting her into port. Dowdeswell's motion was negatived by a majority of 226 to 181.

On the 2d of February, pursuant to Lord Rockingham's adjournment, the debate on the state of the nation came on in the House of Lords, where Rockingham moved, "That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicative in matters of elections, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof." Lord Sandwich, who remained in office as joint postmaster-general, reprobated the whole inquiry, and, in a particular manner, any attempt of that house to interfere in a question of privilege which regarded the commons alone. He denied that the nation was in that extremity of discontent and alarm which had been described by Rockingham and his friends. Here the Earl of Chatham rose—for he was well enough not only to attend, but to make a very long and very violent speech. The house was excited, but the daring orator made few or no converts, and Rockingham's motion was negatived by more than two to one. The Earl of Marchmont then moved, on the ministerial side (the burden of Chatham's speech having been Wilkes, Wilkes!)"—"That any resolution of the lords directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to general confusion." In the course of his speech the Scottish lord lost his temper



FREDERICK, LORD NORTH.—From an engraving after Dance.

of the most amiable and worthy of men—was eldest son to the Earl of Guildford, about thirty-seven years old, married, the father of a family, and poor. In manners, person, and countenance he bore a most striking resemblance to the royal family, or all that part of it which descended from Frederick, Prince of Wales, the father of George III. Like them, he had a fair complexion, bushy eyebrows, and gray eyes rather prominent in the head. His face, it was said, might be esteemed a caricature of the king's; and those who maliciously remembered the great intimacy

and his discretion, and had the madness to talk of the necessity of calling in *foreign assistance* if the opposition went one step farther. The Duke of Richmond called to order, and asked him what he meant by the words *foreign assistance*. Marchmont stammered and shuffled; and Lord Mansfield rose to relieve him, declaring, as a lawyer and statesman, that their lordships had no right to interfere in any determination of the commons. He was succeeded by the Earl of Egmont, who said that the late petitions were highly censurable, if they were not *treasonable*. Upon this Chatham rose again, and after sarcastically thanking Lord Egmont for his lenity in allowing the petitioners to wear their heads, and then solemnly affirming that the petitions were laudable and constitutional, he fell upon Mansfield, praising his abilities at the expense of his honour, honesty, and patriotism. He next complained of Lord Marchmont's motion, and of the late hour (midnight) at which it had been made. "If," he exclaimed, "the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey." His proposed adjournment for only two days was nevertheless rejected, and at half-past one in the morning Marchmont's motion was carried. During this rough debate Sandwich accused the ex-Chancellor Camden of double-dealing, and of having permitted, while in office, the proceedings against Wilkes to take place without remonstrance and without any opinion given by him as to their illegality. The opposition peers entered a strong protest against the decision which had been come to upon Lord Marchmont's motion. On the 5th of February there was another debate in the commons, where the opposition urged that the expulsion of Wilkes had been determined by ministers in council, and where the majority voted the expulsion good, &c.

On the 2d of March, while the city of London was busy in getting up memorials and remonstrances, Lord Craven, acting with the opposition, moved an address to the throne, beseeching his majesty forthwith to take proper steps for such an increase of seamen in the royal navy as should effectually preserve the honour and security of his majesty's kingdoms and colonies. As previously arranged, this motion was to lead to severe censures on the dismissal of able officers for their votes in parliament, and on the whole management of the navy. The Earl of Chatham supported the motion, and condemned the conduct of the ministry in every particular in regard to that important branch of the national service. He then took up his war-cry against favourites, and the secret influence which had pervaded the councils of the present reign. This influence—

dangerous, base, unconstitutional, and wicked—had, he said, begun from the first moment of his majesty's accession, had subsisted ever since, and had undermined and overturned every administration, however constituted or supported. He spoke of an invisible, irresponsible influence—of the pernicious counsel of a favourite (Bute), who had occasioned all the unhappiness of the nation, and whose agents had extended his destructive politics and principles to the government of the colonies. The late peace, Chatham said, was the favourite's measure, and a proof of his influence; others participated in the guilt, but he was the principal. Then, raising his voice, he exclaimed, "This country was sold at the late peace!" Continuing his harangue, he almost directly accused the king of insincerity and treachery to himself personally during the time he was minister. He said he had been duped when he least suspected treachery; that the king, after giving his approbation to plans and measures one week, would let them vanish into thin air the next; that, in accepting office, he had received promises and assurances, which were all broken by the same secret, invisible influence which had displaced all ministers as soon as they declined to act under it. Here the Duke of Grafton rose, and hinted, as Lord Chesterfield had done before, that Chatham's intellect had been affected. "I rise," said his grace, "to defend the king; though, if I understand the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a *distempered mind, brooding over its discontent*." But this defence of the king only elicited a stronger repetition of the accusation. We have now certainly got beyond the limits within which there could be any doubt as to the king's total estrangement from Bute; but Chatham's charges made all the impression they were intended to make: the popular credulity on this head had known no abatement, and there were plenty of persons to declare that they knew who were the secret agents that went between the absent lord, the princess-dowager, and the king.

Four days after this debate in the lords, in which, as usual, the opposition had been outvoted, the common hall of the city took into consideration a memorial complaining that no answer had ever been returned to the city petition presented to his majesty. The lord-mayor, Beckford, delivered a long and exciting harangue, and a prepared remonstrance to the throne was presented and adopted by acclamation and with three rounds of applause. It appears that, at first, the king refused to receive this harsh lecture, and that, at last, he consented with extreme reluctance. The paper, entitled "An Address, Remonstrance, and Petition," was carried up to St. James's on the 14th of March by the lord-mayor, and about 220 common councilmen, liverymen,

and city-officers, and was there read to his majesty sitting on the throne. The royal ear has not often been vexed by such sharp and dissonant periods. The paper told him that secret and evil counsellors and a corrupt majority of the House of Commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights, had done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I. or the dispensing power assumed by James II.—a deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of the present parliament. It told him that the House of Commons did not now represent the people, &c. In conclusion it prayed that the king would instantly dissolve parliament, and remove for ever all evil ministers and advisers. In reply the king told them it gave him great concern to find that they should have been so far misled as to offer him an address and remonstrance, the contents of which he could not but consider as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. He said that he had ever made the law of the land the rule for his conduct, esteeming it his chief glory to reign over a free people, and that he had a right to expect from the people a steady and affectionate support. His countenance was clouded, and some of his courtiers showed their resentment in gestures and broken sentences as the city deputation withdrew from the royal presence. The court instantly determined to bring the petition and remonstrance before parliament.

On the 15th of March, the day after the visit of the lord-mayor to St. James's, Sir Thomas Clavering moved that a copy of the city address to the king should be produced. Although the original intention had been given up of charging Mr. Lovell, Beckford (the lord-mayor), Townshend and Sawbridge (the two sheriffs), and Alderman Trecothick acted precisely as it had been calculated they would act if Lovell had been charged: they all rose in their places, avowed the active part they had taken in the whole transaction, and said that they were ready to answer for it. The Marquis of Granby, George Grenville, Burke, Wedderburn, and others opposed the motion as unusual and inexpedient; but it was nevertheless carried by a majority of 271 to 108, and the petition, together with his majesty's answer to it, was laid upon the table. But the fright at court continued, and they were not only puzzled but undetermined what to do with the petition and remonstrance now they had got it before parliament. The only resolution taken was, to be more temperate, and to avoid any expulsion or commitment to the Tower, seeing that that was the very thing which the lord-mayor and the sheriffs courted. The consternation was the greater as it was known that other petitions

and remonstrances, much in the same tone, were preparing for Westminster and for the county of Middlesex. Chatham, it appears, had said he would go down to the hall to support the Westminster remonstrance. When the morrow came (the 19th of March) all that was moved for in the commons was a vote of disapprobation in regard to part of the city address, or, as it was worded by the mover, Sir Thomas Clavering, "That to deny the legality of the present parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable, and has a manifest tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom, by withdrawing his majesty's subjects from their obedience to the laws of the realm." Nor was even this carried without violent opposition. The debate was prolonged till three o'clock in the morning, when, upon a division, the opposition counted 127 to 284. The whole of the next day was spent in fighting about an address to the king in condemnation of the city remonstrance. This was finally agreed to by 248 against 94; a large majority, which was attributed to the squeamish moderation, or some less honourable motive, of the Rockingham party. The address thus voted was sent up to the lords for their concurrence, and was then presented to the king, who received it most graciously. On the other hand, the city and the people of Middlesex were highly offended by the conduct of the opposition, and the smallness of the minority that voted against the address. They called this a half support given to the city remonstrance, and they passed certain resolutions expressive of their discontent. They laid the whole blame on the Rockingham party; and the Rev. Mr. Horne—better known by his later designation of Mr. Horne Tooke—who had already begun to rule the fierce democracy by caustic wit and stirring harangues at Mile-end and Brentford meetings, announced his intention of exposing the whole Rockingham faction. This would have been very fatal to the opposition, and every effort was made by Chatham, through Calcraft, to prevent it. On the 28th, the electors of Westminster agreed upon a petition and remonstrance of their own to the king. But it appears that there was a poor attendance on this occasion. Alderman Sawbridge, the Rev. Mr. Horne, and Calcraft had a private meeting at the alderman's house, where they agreed that it would be cruel not to stand by the people after the struggle they had made against this arbitrary and weak administration; and that it would be madness to sow dissension among the opposition at a moment when the court was making use of all its endeavours to win over the Rockingham party. The reverend orator agreed to drop his intention of denouncing the Rockinghams at the Mile-end meeting, and also

to get up at that meeting another strong petition and remonstrance to the king from the freeholders of Middlesex. On the 30th, Horne redeemed his promises: he haranged the Mile-end meeting for two hours, gave a very clear account of what ministers had been doing, and got the remonstrance carried as spicy and hot as Chatham himself could have desired. It was presented on the following day. On that very night Calcraft received the great orator's thanks for his able management.

On the 2d of April, Mr. George Grenville's celebrated bill for regulating the trial of controverted elections was passed in the House of Commons, the court having given up their design of opposing it on the third reading.¹ The bill was undoubtedly an immense improvement upon the loose, unfair practice which had hitherto prevailed; it went a great way to rescue the trial of contested elections from being a mere open struggle of parties, and, by shortening such cases, saved the time of parliament for the despatch of business. Ever since the famous Aylesbury case in 1704, the House of Commons had been admitted, without dispute, sole judge of the qualifications of electors, and of all other matters regarding the election of their own members. Controverted elections were tried before a committee of the whole house, the members not being bound to impartiality by any oath, promise, or pledge. The present bill simply provided that the judicature, in all cases of controverted elections, should be transferred from the house to a *sworn* committee of fifteen members, whereof thirteen were to be chosen by the contesting claimants for the seat, out of a list of forty-five, chosen by *ballot* by the whole house, and two were to be named by the contesting parties themselves, one by each. The committee, whose decision was made final, were to have full power to send for and examine witnesses, papers, and records, and their oath bound them to a strict impartiality.

On the 5th of April the bill was carried up to the lords by Mr. Grenville, attended by 100 members. Chatham was present to give it his support and to eulogize the framer. He took the opportunity of stating that, as he had begun life out of a court, he hoped he should end it out of a court; that he had no views of personal interest; that all he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of the constitution. He then desired that there might be a call of the house immediately after the Easter holidays, as he intended to bring in a bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election. But a more important debate, or one attended with more immediate consequences, which took place before the Easter recess, was upon a ministerial bill for repealing

all the American taxes and duties, except the duty upon tea. A petition had been presented by the English merchants trading with America, representing that, in consequence of the duties and taxes, the discontents of the Americans, and their combinations to prevent the importation of goods from England, their trade had gone to ruin, and that, in the year 1769, their exports had fallen short of what they had been to the value of £740,000. It was also shown that, since the year 1767, the revenue actually received by government from duties paid in America had decreased from £110,000 to £30,000. On the 5th of March, Lord North himself moved for leave to bring in the repealing bill. Mr. Grenville, the parent of the unlucky stamp act, argued, as he had done before, that he at least had acted systematically; that, in imposing the stamp duties, he had reason to think that they would be paid; that the succeeding ministry in repealing that act had re-affirmed the right of parliament to tax the colonies; that Mr. Charles Townshend, under the next ministry, had laid his duties upon unwise and anti-commercial principles, and that these duties had turned out far more odious to the colonies than his stamp act; that now a partial repeal would not do; that ministers must give up the whole, the duty upon tea as well as the rest, or stand by the whole. He declined giving any vote. Governor Pownall proposed as an amendment that the repeal should be extended to all articles, as the only way of quieting the colonies. General Conway, Colonel Barré, and Sir William Meredith supported this amendment. Lord Barrington and some others opposed alike the original motion and the amendment, declaring their conviction that even a total repeal would fail in satisfying the Americans, and that they would never again be obedient to English laws until reduced by English arms. In the end, Pownall's amendment was rejected by 204 against 142, and leave was given to bring in North's bill. A subsequent motion to repeal the duty on tea was also lost. It was urged by, and for Lord North, that the duty on tea was preserved merely for the purpose of saving the national honour, and maintaining the authority of parliament (*the very question at issue!*); and that this tea duty was so insignificant that it could not be felt financially, and would not be noticed by the colonists unless they were predetermined, at all events, to seek a quarrel with the mother country. It was even shown afterwards that the Americans would drink their tea at a cheaper rate than ever; for, while the duty was only threepence in the pound, one shilling per pound was to be taken off all teas to be exported to the colonies.²

To increase the embarrassments of the premier,

¹ Earl Temple to Chatham.

² Cavendish's *Debates*; Chatham Correspondence; Ann. Register.

whom Chatham now styled *Lord-deputy North*, very alarming news arrived from America; and John Wilkes was once more at large, haranguing everywhere on his sufferings, and declaring to the freeholders of Middlesex that he was ready to die in the cause of liberty. The time of his imprisonment had expired, his fines had been paid out of the public subscription money, and men of character and substance had given security for his future good behaviour. Lord Temple paid every possible attention to the enlarged patriot, and Chatham, after arranging his plan of attack with Temple, Rockingham, Shelburne, and others, stood up in the House of Lords on the 1st of May, when the holidays were over, and presented a bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq., had been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex had been deprived of one of their legal representatives. The bill itself was couched in the strongest language, and concluded with declaring all the resolutions of the commons in Wilkes' case to be arbitrary and illegal. Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and the Duke of Richmond strongly supported the motion for the second reading, which was as violently opposed by Lord Denbigh, who called the mover and his supporters a faction. Chatham retorted and treated Denbigh with sovereign contempt, saying that his lordship was very angry, but angry in such a sort that none could be angry with *him*. He then proceeded to treat of the Middlesex election and of the new state-arithmetic by which Colonel Luttrell's 296 had been held a greater number than Wilkes' 1143. He said this was flying in the face of all law and freedom—a robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of the birthrights of Englishmen. Lord Mansfield contended that the house had no right to interfere with the decisions of the commons, and that those decisions were strictly legal. He said that in consequence of previous votes and sentences Wilkes was nobody in the eye of the law, and that, though the freeholders gave their votes, it was for the House of Commons to judge as to the point of qualification. Lord Camden declared that Lord Mansfield was delivering most unconstitutional doctrines; and that Wilkes had been expelled in an arbitrary manner in consequence of a secret influence which had said the word, "Mr. Wilkes shall not sit." He persisted that the judgment of the commons on the Middlesex election was a worse wound on the constitution than any of those inflicted during the twelve years when Charles I. was governing without parliaments; and he expressed his hope that, if this reversing bill should be rejected, the

good sense and spirit of the people would make them persevere, session after session, till they compelled parliament to pass it. The bill was rejected by eighty-nine against forty-three. Thirty-three peers signed a protest; and Lord Chatham demanded that the house should be summoned for the 4th, as he had a motion to make of great importance relative to the king. When that early day arrived, he moved a resolution sharply censuring, as "of a most dangerous tendency," the advice which had induced his majesty to give the answer he had given to the late address, remonstrance, and petition of the lord-mayor, &c. The motion, as had been fully foreseen, was negatived.

In the meanwhile the opposition in the House of Commons had, on the 1st of May, called for the correspondence with the American colonies; and on the 9th Mr. Burke moved eight resolutions relating to those troubles, and censuring the plan, or rather the no-plan, ministers were pursuing. The previous question was carried against the first of these resolutions; it became necessary to alter the second; then the second, third, and fourth were negatived; and the previous question was carried against all the rest.¹ Subsequently similar resolutions were moved in the House of Lords, so altered as to prevent the previous question, and drive the ministry either to an affirmative or a negative.² They were moved by the Duke of Richmond, and negatived by a majority of sixty or seventy.

On the 14th of May, Chatham rose again. Ministers knew what was coming, and determined to keep it, as much as possible, from the ear of the public. On the motion of Lord Denbigh, written orders were issued to the door-keepers of the house to admit, on no account whatever, any person but peers' sons and members of the House of Commons. This stopping of reporting, this jealousy, was not new but very old; yet the carrying of it to its utmost limits in both houses during nearly the whole of this unpopular parliament did not augur well of the spirit and intentions with which the thing was done. The pretext was, that it was dangerous to increase the popular excitement by the disclosure of their measures and debates, and the stirring harangues of the opposition; but the people were more excited by this forced and arbitrary silence, and this attempt at mystery and concealment. Chatham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his majesty that in the dangerous state wherein his kingdoms are involved, from the high dissatisfactions generally prevailing at home, and from the most alarming disorders which have unhappily manifested themselves in

¹ Dowdeswell to Chatham, *Chatham Correspondence*.

² *Ibid.*

his American dominions, his majesty will, in his great wisdom and necessary care to prevent more fatal mischiefs, be graciously pleased to take the recent and genuine sense of his people, by dissolving this present parliament, and calling, with all convenient despatch, a new parliament." In his speech he again declared that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons; and he again hinted at his plan for reforming parliament by adding to the representation of the counties. Little else is known of the debate, except that the motion was negatived by a majority of seventy-two to twenty-three. On the same day the common council of London carried a vote of thanks to the orator for the zeal he had shown in support of their most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition; as also for his wishes and declaration that he would hereafter use his best endeavours to restore parliaments to their purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation. On the 19th the king put an end to the session by prorogation.

On the 23d, the lord-mayor, Beckford, and some aldermen in their formalities, and with a very numerous train, went up once more to St. James's with another petition, complaining of his majesty's former answer from the throne. His majesty replied that he should have failed in his duty if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at their last address; that his sentiments on that subject continued the same. Upon this, Beckford adopted the unprecedented course of asking leave to add a few words from himself; and, his request having been assented to in the confusion of the moment, the bold citizen proceeded to harangue and lecture his majesty. "What I spoke in the king's presence," said Beckford, reporting the business to Chatham, "was uttered in the language of truth, and with that humility and submission which becomes a subject speaking to his lawful king: at least, I endeavoured to behave properly and decently; but I am inclined to believe I was mistaken, for the language of the court is, that my deportment was impudent, insolent, and unprecedented. God forgive them all!"¹ We believe, however, that the lord-mayor was too warm to be very polite, and that his tone was much louder than the etiquette of the place allowed. His majesty showed his anger by issuing, through the medium of the lord-chamberlain, a positive order that lord-mayors should in future confine themselves to delivering their papers, and not presume to deliver speeches. Chatham, on the other side, hastened to applaud Beckford for asserting the rights of the city with weight and spirit. Wilkes, who had contrived to get himself made an alderman even while he was

a prisoner in the Bench, and who was now wearing the civic gown, notwithstanding the charges of sedition, impiety, and blasphemy, did what he could to keep up the storm in the city.

On the 1st of June, three days after presenting the compliments on the birth of a princess, Beckford, with a numerous deputation of the corporation, went down to Hayes and presented the vote of thanks to his friend Chatham. This was the great lord-mayor's last public performance. On the 15th Calcraft announced that he was in a very alarming state; and on the 21st Beckford died. His loss was a serious blow to the cause of opposition; for, though the election for a new mayor fell upon Alderman Trecothick, a steady Whig and an excellent debater, there was no one to furnish the weight of Beckford's wealth and munificence, or to supply his ardour and fearlessness. The city voted that the deceased magistrate should be honoured with a statue in Guildhall, and that the speech he had delivered to the king should be engraved on the pedestal. Chatham was deeply moved by his death, and continued his affection for his son and heir, then a boy full of promise and of fire, and afterwards distinguished by his splendid living, taste, and literary productions.

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, committees had been appointed by the people in nearly all the principal seaports of the colonies to examine cargoes arriving from Great Britain, and to report to their constituents how far the act of association was carried into effect, and in what instances it was infringed. At Boston, meetings of the associators were regularly held at Faneuil Hall; and there, strong votes of censure were passed upon such as dared introduce or sell any of the prohibited goods. Still further to increase the odium and the danger of such departures from the popular will, the names of offenders were published in the newspapers, with comments representing them as selfish slaves and traitors. It appears, however, that there was gross partiality exercised in this particular; and that, while many shopkeepers were ruined in their trade and beaten in their persons, a chosen few were permitted to make a fine market by selling the prohibited articles, which could be obtained only from them. This fact is admitted even by writers who are enthusiastic in the cause of American liberty. Incensed at the distinction, Mr. Theophilus Lillie, a tradesman of Boston, resolved to sell what was sold by others. The mob, to point him out as one whose shop was to be shunned, placed a rude figure, a kind of Guy Fawkes, opposite to his door. A Mr. Richardson, Lillie's friend or servant, attempted to remove the nuisance, but was driven into the house by a number of boys, who continued to pelt him with

¹ *Chatham Correspondence.*

stones through the window. Richardson, in his wrath, took up a loaded gun and fired upon his assailants. The shot killed one Christopher Snider, a dirty little boy, who was forthwith recorded in the newspapers as the first martyr to the glorious cause of liberty. This was indeed the first life that was sacrificed; but the blow was dealt by an American, not by an English hand, and the condition of the victim and the circumstances attending his death seemed to throw an air of ridicule over Snider's canonization. Nevertheless, the boy was buried with great pomp, and the funeral procession was said to be a quarter of a mile long. Other boys became candidates for a place in the new hagiology; but they were encouraged and paid *by men*, the New Englanders having resolved to put striplings and negroes in the vanguard of their holy war. The death of Christopher Snider took place in February. In March the new lieutenant-governor attempted to set on foot an association in opposition to the non-importationists; but the merchants to whom he applied declared that, until parliament should make provision for the punishment of the confederates, all would be ineffectual, and the associators would be exposed to popular rage. The merchants, generally, wished to see the trade free from restraint; but having, in the height of their zeal called in the populace, as their servants, to intimidate those who refused to join in the combination, they were now forced to submit to them as their masters.¹ The populace, of course, had few immediate sacrifices to make on their part: they preferred grog to tea, and were not much given to decorating their abodes with painters' colours. Their boldness seems to have increased after the catastrophe of Snider.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Boston and the soldiers quartered there were quarrelling incessantly. No man in a red coat could go through the streets without being insulted, and no discipline could prevent the soldiers from retorting. People, above the mob, held that, as the troops had not been called in by the civil magistrates of the place, their presence was illegal, and that every means that might be employed to hasten their departure or make their stay uncomfortable was both lawful and laudable. In this state of things it is not possible to see how desperate contentions could be avoided.

The Boston newspapers gave insertion to a fictitious narrative of a defeat which the people of New York had given to a body of soldiers, and to a series of fictions representing the king's troops as a set of poltroons, who could never stand before the sons of liberty. On the 2d of March, while these galling reflections were fresh in the minds of the soldiers, a private of the 29th

regiment got into a quarrel while passing by Mr. John Gray's rope-walk, and was beaten by several men. Resenting this unfair play, a dozen of his comrades returned with him to the spot, and then the soldiers beat the rope-makers and pursued them through the streets. The townspeople took fire, armed themselves with clubs, and were with difficulty stopped from renewing the action. Meetings were held by the mob, who determined upon fighting it out with the soldiers; but, as the next day was pay-day, and the day after that the Lord's-day, they put off the combat till Monday, the 5th of March. Between seven and eight o'clock on the evening of that day, an unusual crowd with sticks and clubs met at the south end of the town; and about 200 men armed in the same manner collected at the north end of the town, shouting, "Let us go to the red coats and drive them out of Boston, where they have no business to be." Presently fresh parties with sticks and clubs came running in, in all directions, and an attack was made in Dock Square upon some soldiers. An officer ran up and ordered the men to barracks. It was difficult to get the soldiers thither, and still more difficult to keep them in, for the mob followed them to the gate and dared them to come out, using the most provoking language. At the same time fellows ran through the streets shouting "Town-born, turn out!" others cried "Fire! fire!" and soon, as had been preconcerted, the bells were rung as in times of dangerous conflagrations. About nine o'clock the mob began to tear up the stalls of the market-place in Dock Square, swearing that they would go and attack the main guard. Some peaceable citizens interfered, and were persuading some of the mob to go home and to bed; but at this moment a new demon of discord appeared in the person of a tall, large man in a red cloak and white wig. He harangued the rioters for three or four minutes, and his discourse was followed by loud huzzas, and shouts of "To the main guard! To the main guard! We will do for the soldiers!" They then separated into three divisions, and took different roads. As one of the divisions were passing the custom-house, a boy came up, and, pointing to the sentry upon duty there, said, in coarser language than we can repeat, that that was the fellow who had knocked him down. Instantly some twenty sturdy youths cried out "Let us knock him down! Kill him! kill him! kill him!" The sentry loaded his gun: they then began to pelt him with snow-balls, pieces of ice, and anything that came to hand, hallooing "Fire, and be d—d!" Seeing that the man had no inclination to fire, they closed upon him and obliged him to retreat up some steps to the door of the custom-house: there he knocked and begged for admittance, but those

¹ Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*.

within were afraid of opening the door; and then the sentry shouted out for assistance to the main guard, which was within hearing. Captain Preston, the officer of the day, sent off a corporal and six privates to rescue the sentry and protect the king's chest in the custom-house. The men marched off with their pieces unloaded, and the captain followed at a short distance. As they approached the custom-house they found the mob increasing, and they were pelted worse than the sentry had been with lumps of ice, pieces of wood, and other materials, the chief combatants being a certain mulatto named Crispus Attucks, and a party of sailors, or of strapping fellows disguised like sailors, who kept crying out, "Let us strike at the root! Let us fall upon the nest—the main guard! the main guard!" At the same time the soldiers were assailed with oaths and execrations; called rascals, lobster scoundrels, bloody-backs, cowards, for bringing arms against unarmed men; and were told that they knew that they dared not fire without the order of a civil magistrate. Meanwhile, however, the soldiers had loaded, and fixed their bayonets on their guns. But the mob continued to increase, and to press in upon them until the boldest or foremost were close upon the points of the bayonets. The conduct of the soldiers did honour to their discipline; they maintained their presence of mind; they stirred not a step from the place where they were posted, and merely used their weapons to keep off the mob. But presently Crispus Attucks, the mulatto, and the fellows dressed as sailors gave three cheers, hemmed in the soldiers, struck at their bayonets and muskets with clubs, and cried out to the rest, "Come on; don't be afraid of them; they dare not fire; knock them over; kill them." Attucks aimed a blow at Captain Preston, who was behaving in a most humane and officer-like manner, begging the rioters to desist, and keeping his men steady and quiet; the mulatto not only hit the captain on the arm, but also struck down one of the men's muskets and seized the bayonet. At that moment there was a confused cry, proceeding in part from some persons who were behind Captain Preston, "Why don't you fire? Why don't you fire?" Montgomery, the private, whose bayonet had been grasped by Attucks, and who had been thrown down in the struggle, recovered his legs and the command of his piece, and then fired into the mulatto, who fell dead or mortally wounded. After six or eight seconds another soldier fired, and then, at short intervals, to allow time for reloading, other five men fired, one by one. The rioters ran off; but three persons were killed, five very dangerously wounded, and a few more slightly wounded. The mob, however, soon collected again

in an adjoining street with dreadful yells; the alarm bells were rung more violently than before; and the cries were redoubled of "Town-born, turn out! turn out with your guns!" The drums beat to arms—a call gladly obeyed by the infuriated soldiery; and it seemed as if a nocturnal combat of the fiercest kind was about to take place. But Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, repaired to the spot, and asked Captain Preston how he had dared to fire at the people without the orders of a civil magistrate; and certain persons who had been gliding among the mob, and who, having obtained what they wanted, did not wish the riot to go farther, used their influence with the people, and induced them to retire. The rest of that cold, frosty, clear moonlight night was silent and tranquil; but at an early hour of the next morning the sons of liberty began to collect again in vast bodies: the lieutenant-governor summoned a council, and the magistrates and chief citizens met in full assembly and chose a committee. This committee soon waited upon the governor and council to declare that nothing could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town, and prevent blood and carnage, but the immediate removal of the troops from Boston. Colonel Dalrymple proposed a half measure, saying that he would consent to remove the 29th regiment, whose men had been engaged in the riot, out of the town to Castle-William. He was told by the citizens that, if he could take upon himself to remove the 29th, he could remove the 14th also; and that, if he did not send every soldier out of Boston, the consequences would be terrible, and might be fatal to himself. In the afternoon another deputation, who said they spoke in the name of 3000 of their fellow-citizens, told the lieutenant-governor that nothing but a total and immediate removal of the troops would tranquillize the town. Mr. Royal Tyler assured the governor that he must not think the demands were urged merely by a set of vagabonds and rioters; that people of the best character, men of estate, men of religion, had made up their hearts and minds, and had formed their plan for removing the troops out of town by force if they would not go voluntarily. "The people," said he, "will come in to us from all the neighbouring towns; we shall have 10,000 men at our backs: and your troops will probably be destroyed by the people, be it called rebellion or what it may." The governor said, at first, that nothing should ever induce him to order the troops out of the town. He then wavered, and seemed willing to have the troops removed if Colonel Dalrymple and the members of the council would take the responsibility upon themselves. But Dalrymple said he would and could do nothing unless

the governor himself gave orders. At last the governor, the colonel, and the council agreed to divide the responsibility; and on the Monday following the troops were all removed to Castle-William. Thus a scheme which had been rashly begun seemed to be given up—and given up to threats and intimidation! After such proceedings nothing was to be hoped for from the New Englanders but scorn, contempt, and a bold advance of claims and pretensions.

When news arrived of the repeal recommended by Lord North, and passed by the British parliament, the Bostonians were far from being thankful for the act, proclaiming that the retention of the duty upon tea did away with all its merits, and proved the unalterable resolution of asserting the disputed right. After the disaffection of New York, however, they could not hope to keep up the whole of the non-importation agreement; and in the month of October it was resolved in a meeting of the Boston merchants to follow the example of the New Yorkers, and import everything but tea. The Philadelphians joined in this resolve, intimating that those who could not live without tea must smuggle it. Even those who cannot condemn the aspirations of the American patriots, may reasonably complain of their want of frankness and sincerity; for, while they were aiming at much higher objects, they kept constantly declaring that all they now wanted, or should hereafter want, was the repeal of the tea duty. The warmest of the zealots were in New England and in Virginia. In the great southern provinces they were headed by Patrick Henry, the wonderful self-taught orator, fondly called the Chatham of the Demosthenes of America, and by Thomas Jefferson, then a young lawyer, who was about equally dissatisfied with the aristocratic constitution of the colony and with the dependence on England.

During a good part of the summer and autumn of this present year (1770) the attention of government at home was absorbed by a very different subject. This was the affair of the Falkland Islands, which at one moment seemed to threaten a new war with Spain and France. This group of islands, situated in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, off the extremity of the South American continent and the eastern entrance to the Magalhaens Straits, consists of two larger islands called East and West Falkland, and a number of isles and islets, which are said to amount in all to ninety. By right of priority of discovery they certainly belonged to England. In 1764 the French, under Bougainville, formed a settlement at Berkeley Sound, an excellent harbour on West Falkland; and in the following year (1765), the English made a counter-settlement at Port Egmont, on East Falkland. The Spaniards, who

had utterly neglected the islands and their resources, now took the alarm, exaggerated their importance, and demanded, both from France and England, the immediate evacuation of them, as territories belonging to their crown by right of Papal bulls and degrees of latitude and longitude. The French yielded the point at once, having no right to plead, and gave up Berkeley Sound and West Falkland; but the English, who had more use for their settlement, and who could stand upon the right of discovery, refused to abandon Port Egmont and East Falkland. Encouraged by the discontents prevailing in the British colonies, and by assertions too frequently made by our opposition at home, that the British government was in no condition to go to war, and that Lord North and his colleagues might be insulted with impunity, Don Francisco Bucarelli, governor of Buenos Ayres, fitted out an armament of 1600 men with artillery and stores; and in the month of June, 1769, this imposing force appeared off Port Egmont. Some of the ships got into the port, pretending that they only wanted to take in fresh water: they found that the whole force of the settlement consisted of a handful of soldiers with four small pieces of artillery, and two armed sloops under the command of Captain Malthy; and with this comfortable assurance the Spanish general came in and landed his troops. A few shots were fired merely for the honour of arms, and then the English surrendered the island by capitulation. It does not appear that Lord North showed any want of spirit on this occasion. He consented, indeed, to negotiate, but his tone was high and positive, and it was no fault of his if the negotiations were long and lingering, inasmuch as negotiations with Spain had never been otherwise. But the subject recommended itself in many ways to the attention of the opposition, who represented the nation as dishonoured, the ministry as crouching to Spain to avoid a war which they could not manage, and which was nevertheless inevitable. In the month of October of the present year, when the negotiations were nearly a year old, Calcraft announced to the Earl of Chatham that war, inevitable war, was the cry in London, and that Lord Weymouth, as secretary of state, was degrading his office and his country by running to the door of the Spanish ambassador to learn whether his despatches were not more favourable. But by this time Lord North had certainly made preparations for the worst: he had put ships in commission, and he had instructed Mr. Harris (afterwards Earl of Malmesbury), who, though only in his twenty-fourth year, was acting as resident minister at Madrid, to demand that the Spanish government should forthwith disavow the conduct of the governor of

Buenos Ayres, and restore Port Egmont. During the recess, on the 19th of October, the Marquis of Granby, after a short illness, died at Scarborough, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Chatham, who had made such exertions to keep him steady in opposition, and who really admired and loved the marquis, apart from political considerations, was deeply affected; and on the 13th of November he had to mourn the death of Mr. George Grenville, whose loss was grievously felt in the House of Commons by a large section of the opposition.

On the 13th of November, the day on which Grenville died, the king opened parliament in person. The prominent part of the speech from the throne related to the Falkland Islands; his majesty informing his lords and commons that, *by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres*, in seizing by force one of his possessions, the honour of the crown and security of the people's rights had been affected; and then calling upon parliament for their advice and assistance. The address in the lords was carried without much debate; for Chatham, Lord Temple, and others, were absent on account of the death of their relative. On Tuesday, November the 20th, the House of Lords was summoned for Thursday, the 22d, on notice given by the Duke of Richmond that a motion would be made. On the appointed day, Chatham being in his place, Richmond moved for an address praying the king that all papers received by the ministry between the 12th of September, 1769, and the 12th of September, 1770, touching hostilities commenced, or designed to be commenced by the crown of Spain, or any of its officers, should be laid before parliament. Two of the secretaries of state, Lords Weymouth and Hillsborough, contended that the production of the papers called for by his grace would embarrass a negotiation which was now in good train. Chatham supported the Duke of Richmond's motion, and delivered one of the most admired of all his orations. He predicted that, if ministers patched up an accommodation for the present, they would still have a Spanish war in six months; he declared that their incapacity and gross mismanagement made war as much to be apprehended as a dishonourable peace. "I charge them," he exclaimed, "with the greatest crimes that men in their station can be guilty of: I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; and with having delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy." And in concluding his long speech he said, "Let me warn them of their danger. If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads; if, by an ignominious compromise they should stain the honour of the

crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the consequences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety!" The Duke of Manchester, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, and Lord Lyttleton spoke on the same side; but the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected by a majority of sixty-five to twenty-one. On the same day a similar motion was made in the commons, and negatived by a majority of 225 to 101. Chatham moved an address to his majesty, praying that the house might be acquainted at what time the first demand was made for reparation from Spain; and this was negatived by fifty-four against twenty. The great orator was vexed by Lord Temple having declined attending, and by Lord Camden keeping away from the debate. "Matters," said he, "are hastening to some crisis in the interior of the thing called opposition.

. . . The times are pollution, in the very quintessence; and the little manœuvres in opposition behind the scenes are deplorable." He even threatened he would separate from "so unorthodox a congregation." Before this time the government, urged on, as we believe, by the king, had involved itself in new troubles, and exposed itself to sharper attacks than ever, by prosecuting the printers and publishers of *Junius's Letters*.

Meanwhile the opposition continued to press ministers about the lingering negotiations with Spain and the bad state of their preparations for hostilities. During the fierce debates that ensued upon this charge, Lord Weymouth, who had for some time been complaining of the want of decision in his colleagues on matters of foreign policy, resigned the seals of secretary of state, which, on the 19th of December, were given to Lord Sandwich, who was succeeded as one of the post-masters-general by the Honourable H. F. Thynne, Lord Weymouth's brother. Chatham thought this a very unexpected and very significant resignation, which would probably lead to greater changes; but at the same time he was grieved at learning that Wedderburn and other conspicuous members of the opposition were treating with Lord North.

On the 21st of December a messenger was despatched to Spain to recall our minister, Mr. Harris, and to intimate to the English merchants and commanders of ships that it might be expedient for them to leave the Spanish ports immediately. This conduct, but certainly still more the great political changes which took place in France during the month of December, where the Duke de Choiseul, through the influence of Madame du Barry, the king's last mistress, was disgraced and exiled, and succeeded by a more pacific prime minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon, had the effect of bringing the long negotiations to a close.

Louis XV. wrote to Charles III. with his own hand—"My minister would have war, but I will not." The apprehensions of war were therefore at an end for the present; but we shall presently see that the convention with Spain, though that power restored Port Egmont, was far from giving universal satisfaction.

During the Christmas recess ministers employed themselves in gaining over willing converts and in making arrangements to complete and strengthen their administration. Wedderburn, who had been petted by Chatham and the city, and who had been prized for his ability and boldness as a debater, abandoned his old friends to become solicitor-general; Thurlow became

attorney-general in the place of Mr. de Grey, who was made Chief-justice of the Common Pleas; and at last a lord-chancellor was found in the person of the Honourable Henry Bathurst, who took the title of Baron Apsley. Lord Sandwich, who had declared all along that he should prefer the admiralty, was put at the head of that board instead of Sir Edward Hawke; Lord Halifax succeeded Sandwich as secretary of state, giving up the privy seal, which he held, to the Earl of Suffolk. "I make no remarks upon all this," said Camden; "I am not surprised, but grieved." Chatham was grieved too, and thought Wedderburn's conduct most deplorable, and Lord Suffolk's pitiable; but there was no help for it.¹

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1771—1772.

GEORGE III.

Quarrel about the Falkland Islands debated in parliament—Unpopularity of the convention to settle it—Account of these islands—War of parliament against printers and publishers—State of parliamentary reporting at the period—Resolutions of the house on the subject—Complaints of the misreporting of speeches—Violent prosecution of the printers—Interposal of Wilkes and the civic magistrates in their behalf—The quarrel it occasions between the House of Commons and the city council—Wilkes summoned to the bar of the house—He refuses to attend except as member for Middlesex—An alderman committed by parliament to the Tower—The lord-mayor also sent to the Tower—Riots of the mob in consequence—Honours paid to the prisoners—The contest closed by the prorogation of parliament—The full right of publishing parliamentary debates in journals established—Questions discussed in parliament—The privy seal given to the Duke of Grafton—Wilkes promoted to the office of sheriff—Demand in parliament for an increase in the navy—Causes assigned for the demand—The motion carried—Proposal for an amendment in the law about royal marriages—Irregular marriages of the king's two brothers—Royal and ancestral pride of the king and queen—Bill passed for the regulation of marriages in the royal family—Charles Fox passes over to the Whigs—Death of the Princess-dowager of Wales—Tragic history of Catherine Matilda, Queen of Denmark—Conspiracy against her—Her arrest and imprisonment—Execution of her adherents Struensee and Brandt—Sentence of divorce pronounced against her—Her subsequent brief and mournful career—Revolution in Sweden—Condition of Russia under the Empress Catherine—Unsettled state of Poland—Evils of its elective sovereignty—Origin of the conspiracy for the dismemberment of Poland—Feuds and factions, religious and political, of the Poles—Stanislaus Augustus placed on the throne of Poland by Russian armies—His difficulties between his patrons and his subjects—Commencement of the partition of Poland—Hopeless resistance of the Poles—The country assailed on every side by Russians, Prussians, and Austrians—Poland's utter want of allies—Progress of its dismemberment—The shares of the three partitioning parties—Subjugation of the Polish senate—Helplessness and bondage of its king—Dispersion of the Polish patriots—War between Russia and Turkey—Extravagant demands of Russia—War continued—Alternate successes and defeats of the two parties—Final prevalence of the Russians—The Turks sign a humiliating treaty—Apathy of the British parliament at the partition of Poland.



IMMEDIATELY after the holidays Lord Rochford in the upper house, and Lord North in the commons, announced the happy termination of the dispute with Spain, and the intention of government to lay before parliament the convention which had just been signed.

Chatham, meanwhile, called a meeting of the opposition leaders to consider and regulate the best modes of attacking the convention; and the powerful and mysterious author of *Junius* endeavoured to drive or to shame both houses into a

suspension of the orders they had recently enforced, in a violent, passionate manner, for excluding strangers and debating with closed doors. His ingenious attack, however, failed completely; neither lords nor commons were to be shamed; and when Tuesday arrived—the great field-day in the lords—all strangers were rigidly excluded. Chatham, after criticizing the convention, which did not admit the sovereignty of his Britannic majesty over Falkland Island, but, in granting re-possession, left the right or claim of his Spanish

¹ Chatham Correspondence.

majesty as it stood before the seizure and restitution, moved that the following two questions should be referred to the judges :—1. Whether, in law, the imperial crown of the realm can hold any territories or possessions otherwise than in sovereignty? 2. Whether the declaration or instrument for the restitution of Port Egmont, to be made by the Catholic king to his majesty under a reservation of a disputed right of sovereignty expressed in the very declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution without derogating from the maxim of law touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain? All that we know of the debate which followed is, that twenty-two peers divided with Chatham, and sixty-nine against him. On the 14th of February the Duke of Newcastle moved for an address to the king in approbation of the convention, and of the wise and moderate measures which had been employed to procure it. Another vehement and unreported debate followed, and the minority entered a protest in eleven articles. The opposition was equally warm and equally ineffectual in the House of Commons; and, as far as parliament was concerned, the matter of Falkland Island was set at rest. But out of doors it long continued to be a vexed question; one party maintaining that the honour of the country had been meanly sacrificed, and that, in the convention, there was a secret article implying that, after all, we were to give up Port Egmont. Upon this side it was attempted to be proved by the powerful, caustic Junius, and by other writers, that the possession of Port Egmont was of the utmost importance to us, both in a commercial and in a military sense, and that the Falkland group was highly favoured by the hand of nature, and would be invaluable in the hands of any great power. To combat these opinions Dr. Johnson took up the pen political, and in a pamphlet entitled *Thoughts concerning the Falkland Islands*, written with more vigour of style than geographical knowledge, he laboured to demonstrate that the whole group was worth little or nothing, and that it would have been monstrously absurd to go to war about them. Johnson was at least as far from the truth as Junius. Those islands contain numerous and excellent harbours; and Port Egmont in East Falkland, and Berkeley Sound in West Falkland, are two safe and spacious bays, with depth of water sufficient for the largest men-of-war, and excellent anchoring ground. The climate, though changeable, is healthy, bearing a pretty close resemblance to that of England. Antiscorbutic plants, of such inestimable value to mariners, grow there in abundance. All vegetation is rapid; the soil in the plains is very good. The islands

swarm with rabbits, which are unusually large, and have a fine fur; the penguins which visit the shores are valuable on account of their eggs; seals are very numerous; and the sea abounds with good fish. Other comestible resources exist in wild ducks and other game, in herds of wild horned cattle and wild hogs; and there is a breed of horses, small in size, but very hardy.¹

But, even if the Falkland Islands had been as barren and as valueless as Dr. Johnson chose to represent them, it behoved England to resent the conduct of the Spaniards in falling upon her little colony at Port Egmont in a time of peace. Any mean submission to a small injury or affront inevitably leads to a greater; and until states, and governments, and individuals be better than they are—until some notable improvement takes place in human nature—the best way to preserve peace is always to be ready for a war.

The House of Commons engaged in another long and troublesome quarrel with printers and publishers. Hitherto, the mutilated, and occasionally *invented* speeches of honourable members and noble lords had only appeared under fictitious names in monthly magazines and other periodical works, published at considerable intervals. By this system the public were partially informed of what their representatives had done; but they did not get this information till after discussion was completely over, and the matter in debate settled. Thus, all power of interfering with or influencing the discussion, either by petitions, or by the exposure of misstatements or false reasoning, or by any other demonstration of opinion, might be said to be taken away from the people. Wilkes, the *Letters of Junius*, the interest felt about the Falkland Island question, the growing enlightenment and curiosity of the people, with the efforts made by the legislature to repress it—all contributed to make the public long for a full reporting newspaper, and encouraged the printers to venture upon giving the proceedings of parliament (in as far as they could procure the information) from week to week, or from day to day, as they occurred, instead of giving them, as formerly, as mere matters of history or chronicle at the end of the month. The parliament sitting in the year 1771, had been labouring with all their might to shut their doors, and to keep them shut, in the face of the nation, to choke all attempts at publicity, and to seclude themselves as rigorously as a retired jury, or as a secret irresponsible tribunal. The newspaper people, who must have foreseen, and who, no doubt, provided for what followed, began to give accounts of debates as they occurred about January. On the 5th of February Colonel George Onslow, now one of the lords of the treasury,

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer; London Geogr. Jour.*, parts iii. and vi.

rose in the House of Commons to denounce the insolence and wickedness of these proceedings; and to move the reading of the resolutions of the 26th of February, 1728. The resolutions were read accordingly, being to this effect:—"That it is an indignity to, and a breach of privilege of this house for any person to presume to give in written or printed newspapers any account or minutes of debate, or other proceedings of this house, or any part thereof; and that, upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers of any such written or printed newspaper, this house will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." It was then ordered that there should be a call of the house on the 8th of February. Upon that day Onslow renewed his complaints, and said that the newspaper people had been calling him names. "They call me," said he, "little Cocking George! but I am a cock they will not easily beat. I never will give up this point!" Alderman Trecotthick said, "I wish every man in England might hear what passes in this house. I doubt whether this house has a right to punish publications respecting public proceedings, if they are given correctly." Burke delivered a good speech, in the course of which he said, "As long as there is an interest out of doors to examine the proceedings of parliament, so long will you find men that will do what these printers have done." Onslow's stern award was, however, carried by a majority of ninety against fifty-five, and two of the printers, Thompson and Wheble, were called to the bar of the house, to answer the charge of infringing the standing order, &c.¹ The printers took no notice of the order; and towards the end of the month the serjeant-at-arms was directed to take them into custody. That functionary could not find them, and was taunted and laughed at while prosecuting his search. On the 1st of March there was another debate upon printers; and it was moved by ministers that Evans should attend at the bar. Mr. Whitworth moved to add, "and with all his compositors, pressmen, type, and devils." Mr. James Townshend begged that "the devils," at least, might be left out; but Burke said, "The devil is the most material person in all this business—the most material evidence for discovery!" Sir Cecil Wray, who did not like these facetiæ, complained that on both sides gentlemen were behaving in a gross and ludicrous manner. In the end, a motion for adjournment being lost, Evans, the printer, was ordered to attend.² Evans treated the order with contempt. On the 4th of March, Colonel Onslow moved for an address to the king to issue a proclamation, offering a reward of £50 for the apprehension of either of the contumacious printers. This

was agreed to, and the royal proclamation was issued accordingly. On the 12th of March, the gallant colonel enlarged the campaign by denouncing six more printers as guilty of the same enormities. The minority, though weak in numbers, had made a strong opposition at every stage of these harsh proceedings: they now kept up the debate till four o'clock in the morning, and divided the house no fewer than four and twenty times! The battle was renewed on the 14th, when twelve more divisions took place, but it was in the end carried by an immense majority that all the printers accused should be brought to the bar of the house. On the next day (the 15th of March) Wheble was carried before Alderman Wilkes by another printer, or printer's man, named Twyne Carpenter. Wilkes instantly discharged Wheble from custody, and made him enter into his own recognisance to prosecute Carpenter at the next Old Bailey sessions for false imprisonment or an illegal arrest. Then Wheble went at large and Carpenter claimed the £50 reward, as having done his part in apprehending one of the printers and carrying him before a magistrate. The secretary of state refused to pay the money, as government suspected his intention in carrying his prisoner before Wilkes. Wilkes wrote to the secretary of state to justify his own conduct, and to declare that the proclamation did not charge Wheble with any crime, and that the taking him into custody had been a gross violation of the liberty of the subject, and of the chartered privileges of the city. On the same day Thompson, another printer named in the proclamation, was carried before Alderman Oliver, who followed Wilkes' example, and discharged him. Of the six other printers charged by Colonel Onslow, four presented themselves; a fifth (W. Woodfall) could not attend, being already in custody in Newgate by order of the House of Lords; and the sixth (Millar) refused to obey the summons of the commons. Colonel Onslow obtained another order to the serjeant-at-arms. The serjeant sent into the city Whitham, one of the messengers, who, instead of taking Millar, was taken prisoner himself by John Town, a city constable, who carried him off to Guildhall. Wilkes, the sitting alderman, said he had finished the business of the day and would not enter upon the case. The messenger was then conveyed by Millar and the constable to the Mansion-house. The lord-mayor, Brass Crosby, being, or pretending to be indisposed, the messenger was kept there for three hours. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening the lord-mayor, attended by Wilkes and Oliver, admitted the parties, among whom was now included the deputy serjeant-at-arms. The printer having stated his complaint, the mayor asked

¹ Cavendish's *Debates*.² *Ibid.*, from the Egerton MSS.

the messenger by what authority he had presumed to commit the assault? The messenger pleaded the order of the speaker of the commons, and produced his warrant; and then the deputy-serjeant announced in a technical and solemn manner, that he was there by the speaker's command to carry off not only the messenger but also his prisoner Millar. The bold triumvirate who sat in judgment represented that by the city charters no caption could be made east of Temple Bar without the authority of the lord-mayor; and that the arrest of any citizen by one who was neither peace-officer nor constable was an offence not to be overlooked. They discharged Millar out of the custody of the messenger, and then allowed the printer and his witnesses to prove the assault which had been committed upon him, and which consisted in the messenger's having taken hold of him by the arm. By direction of the serjeant-at-arms, the messenger refused to give bail; and thereupon the Lord-mayor Crosby and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver signed a warrant committing him to the Compter. The officers came in to carry off the messenger, but bail was then offered and accepted; and the deputy-serjeant and the messenger took their departure for the more courtly end of the town. Crosby was a stanch lord-mayor, and Oliver an intrepid alderman, but in all these transactions people perceived the daring genius of John Wilkes. Alderman Sawbridge and Mr. Sheriff Townshend took no sort of part in the proceedings, and differed in opinion from those who did; and even Chatham thought that the lord-mayor and his two allies had gone rather too far in committing the messenger of the house and holding him to bail.¹ The deputy serjeant-at-arms, on the 18th of March, reported what had passed to the commons; and the commons, in a fury of indignation, issued orders for the lord-mayor to attend in his place, and to the lord-mayor's clerk to bring up the Mansion-house minute-book, in which the proceedings had been entered. The lord-mayor went down to the house, followed by an immense mob and loud huzzas, on the afternoon of the 19th. He alleged that he was ill, and that he was bound by his oaths of office to guard the city franchises, and to act as he had done. Mr. Charles Fox, who had been hissed and hooted by the people, was exceedingly irate. He said that there were two other criminals, aldermen both, and he moved to proceed against Oliver, adding, that delays were dangerous; that no business ought to go on till this was settled; that the question was whether the privileges of the house should die or live; he also spoke of assassins, but even in the height

of his wrath he abstained from pronouncing the name of Wilkes. Colonel Barré told Fox that the worst kind of assassin was he who stabs a man behind his back. As none of his enemies ventured to name Wilkes, his friend Sir Joseph Mawbey stood up, and, with a very obvious motive, begged to move the attendance of John Wilkes, Esq., &c., saying that, as they had attacked the lord-mayor and Oliver, it would be exceedingly strange if they passed over Wilkes, who had taken so capital a part in the city proceedings. The house was thus obliged to meddle again with this dangerous adversary, and to command his attendance at the bar. Wilkes set them at defiance, refusing to attend unless in his seat, as member for Middlesex! The summons was repeated three several times, but without producing any effect. "I observe," said Wilkes, in a letter to the speaker, "that no notice is taken of me in your order as a member of the house, and that I am not required to attend in my place: both these circumstances ought to have been mentioned in my case, and I hold them absolutely indispensable. In the name of the freeholders of Middlesex I again demand my seat, having the honour of being freely chosen, by a very great majority, one of the representatives for the said county." Nothing remained but compulsion, and this ministers were afraid of using. His majesty had said, "*I will have nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes.*"² And so he was left to do as he pleased. This avowed weakness with regard to one who was considered as being the very head and front of the offence, brought the whole cabinet into contempt. The lord-mayor's clerk appeared with the minute-book, and, submitting to the house, erased the commitment of the messenger and the whole of that record; for which conduct a severe reprimand was passed upon him by a general court of aldermen.³ The town-clerk was amusing himself at Bath, so that the charters of the city could not be had for reference; and, on this account, and because of the mayor's indisposition, some delay was allowed. But on the 25th of March, the lord-mayor and Alderman Oliver were both in the house. His lordship refused the assistance of counsel under limitations proposed, which were, that they should not be allowed to dispute the privileges of the commons; and spoke at large in his own defence, reading, among other things, the oaths of office and city charter. Mr. Welbore

² Letter to Chatham.

³ We have examined the minute-book at the Mansion-house. The erasure—in all about ten lines—seems to have been done by a very angry or determined pen. It is so broad and black that it is not easy to read the words beneath. It appears that Millar was accompanied by Henry Page, of Newgate Street, printer, and by John Topping, of Little Old Bailey, printer; and that Millar was regularly bound over to prosecute the messenger.

¹ Colonel Barré to Chatham, and Chatham to Barré, in *Chatham Correspondence*.

Ellis moved the ministerial resolutions—"That, to release a person taken by virtue of the speaker's warrant, to apprehend a messenger of the house for executing his warrant, and to hold the messenger to bail for such pretended assault, were all breaches of privilege;" and, upon a division, at midnight, this was agreed to by a majority of 272 against 90. After this division, Sir George Saville, Lord George Cavendish, Mr. Dowdeswell, and other members of opposition, seceded, and the lord-mayor, on account of his health, was allowed to withdraw. The mob waiting outside the house received the mayor with loud huzzas, took the horses from his carriage, and dragged him home in triumph. All the avenues to the house were crowded, many members were insulted, and the magistrates of Westminster were called in to keep the peace and disperse the mob. Late as it was, ministers proposed to proceed against the alderman. The opposition moved an adjournment; but this was negatived by 214 against 97. When the alderman was called upon for his defence, he said, he owned and gloried in the fact laid to his charge; and, as he expected little from their justice, he defied their power. This provoked Lord North, who had not meant to go so far, to prompt Welbore Ellis to move the alderman's commitment to the Tower. Alderman Oliver asked leave to call at his own house before going to prison, which was granted; the house then, at four in the morning, adjourned, and, at seven o'clock, the alderman was carried quietly to the Tower.

In the course of the long and outrageous debate, Alderman Townshend had declaimed against wanton abuse of privilege by both houses, and their foul attempt to keep the people ignorant of what they were doing; he had spoken of the general discontent prevailing out of doors, and had told them that the real great cause of that discontent was the king's mother. On the 27th, the house called up the lord-mayor. All the avenues were again beset by an immense mob, who insulted several of the ministerial members, and treated Lord North and Mr. Fox still more roughly. The motion first proposed was, that the lord-mayor, on account of his delicate health, should not be sent to the Tower, but only be committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. But Crosby disdained this indulgence, defied the treasury bench, and desired that he might be sent to join his honourable and noble-minded friend in the Tower. Mr. Welbore Ellis therefore moved an amendment to that effect; and this was carried by a majority of 202 against 39. The report had spread that Lord North would assuredly resign. His lordship now declared that, though he wished much for ease and retirement, he had no thought of going out; that nothing but the king or the

mob, who were near destroying him that day, could remove him; and that he was determined to weather out the storm. He was affected to tears while he spoke, and then so far forgot his habitual good nature and discretion, as to accuse the minority of having hired the mob to destroy him.¹ The tumult out of doors continued to be so violent, that the house was obliged to stop business for some hours; the justices of Westminster came to the bar to declare that they could not read the riot act, and that the constables were overpowered; and upon this the sheriffs were called upon, who went out of the house with many of the popular members, who spoke to the people and succeeded in restoring tranquillity. About ten o'clock at night the lord-mayor left the house in custody of the deputy serjeant-at-arms, and was conveyed, with the homage of a civic ovation, to the Tower. The trick of adjournment was resorted to, in order to save the dignity of the house with regard to the non-appearance of Wilkes. They had appointed the 8th of April for his compulsory appearance at the bar, and they adjourned till the 9th. In the meantime all honour was paid to the captives in the Tower: they were visited by the Dukes of Manchester and Portland, Earls Fitzwilliam and Tankerville, Lord King, Admiral Keppel, Sir Charles Saunders, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Burke, and many others; the two sheriffs waited upon them to express their entire disapprobation of all the proceedings against them; and at a meeting of the common council, the day after their commitment, the thanks of the city were unanimously voted to such members of the House of Commons as had supported the lord-mayor and his colleagues, and maintained the rights and privileges of the city. On Friday, the 5th of March, the two captives were brought by *habeas corpus* from the Tower to Lord Chief-justice de Grey's chambers, attended by a host of friends. After hearing Serjeant Glynn and Mr. Lee, the lord chief-justice said that he could neither bail nor discharge them. They were then taken to Lord Mansfield's chambers. "This," said Mansfield, "is no new case. I am obliged to go by law and precedent. I can neither bail nor discharge you while the parliament is sitting;" and so they were carried back to the Tower, where they remained till the 8th of May, when parliament was prorogued. In the grand *mêlée* of lord-mayor and aldermen, the printers and the newspapers were allowed to escape unnoticed and un-

¹ The mob had seized Lord North, had got him amongst them, and, but for the interference of Sir William Meredith, one of the chiefs of the opposition, it was thought they would have demolished him. On the next day Mr. Charles Fox complained to the house that he too had been grossly insulted by the mob in Palace-yard, who had broken the glasses of his carriage and pelted him with oranges and stones.

scathed. They had, in fact, obtained advantages equal to a victory, and had little more to fear from publishing speeches and debates. Eventually nothing was done, or even attempted against them; and thus was established the practice of publishing the debates in newspapers—a practice now justly considered to be essential to the effective working of the representative system.¹ But for John Wilkes, the right might not have been established for years.

To eke out the ways and means, Lord North thought himself obliged to resort to a lottery, which has been properly described as one of the worst ways of raising money. On the 30th of April the question of the Middlesex election was again brought before the lords by the Duke of Richmond, who moved for expunging the resolution adopted on that subject. Chatham delivered a long harangue—apparently without being interrupted—and the speech was reported at full length in the *Public Advertiser*. The great orator had been consulting with his friends whether it would not be proper to get up a question about shortening the duration of parliaments and increasing the number of county members; but he collected little encouragement, and therefore contented himself with moving, on the 1st of May, for an address to the king to dissolve the present parliament at the end of the session, and to call a new one with all convenient despatch. The exciting speech he delivered on this occasion was also published forthwith in the *Public Advertiser*. It drew a sad contrast between the state of the country now and the condition it was in only a few years before. The treaty of Fontainebleau, the late convention with Spain concerning the Falkland Islands, were again stigmatized as mean and dishonourable; the occurrences in St. George's Fields were again held up to detestation; the proceedings against Wilkes were once more recapitulated; and America, where the storm was lulled, not past, was described as being injured, insulted by an inept ministry and corrupt parliament. He did not lower the popular tone in speaking of the occurrences in St. George's Fields: he called them "*murders*."

On the 8th of May an end was put to this long and stormy session.

The death of the Earl of Halifax on the 8th of June, gave occasion to much speculation as to the person likely to succeed him as one of the secretaries of state. At first it was said that Lord Weymouth would have the place; and then it was reported that Weymouth was to be privy seal, and the Earl of Suffolk secretary of state. Suffolk, in fact, got Halifax's place, but the privy

seal was given to the *Duke of Grafton*, who at first declined it, and then changed his mind. It is said that his grace made it the condition of his taking the privy seal that he should not attend the cabinet. The Duke of Bedford, or his party, abused Grafton for taking it on any condition. The conduct of Chatham while holding the privy seal, might have served as a precedent for Grafton's holding office without performing any of its duties. The Earl of Suffolk, the new secretary of state, insisted that his friend Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, should be chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, left vacant by the death of Lord Strange; and Lord Hyde begged that the salary attached to that office should be augmented. The colour of the cabinet was scarcely altered by these changes, for, though Halifax had once passed for a Whig, it seems to have been more from his name and descent, than from any active principles of his own. The restoration of Grafton, however, caused a great stir; and moved, more thoroughly than anything else had done, the atrabilious rancour of Junius, who had prided himself on having driven his grace into retirement. On the 22d of June he addressed his grace through the columns of the *Public Advertiser* in a tremendous letter, written with unusual care and with a concentration of spite. The king was no more spared than the Duke of Grafton.

Wilkes, not satisfied with his alderman's gown, was now aspiring to be sheriff, and his pretensions were supported by the great ward of Farringdon, and by other parts of the city. The court took alarm, and made use of all its influence to prevent his election. Yet Wilkes was ultimately elected, in conjunction with his friend, Alderman Bull.

A.D. 1772.

Contrary to usual custom, parliament did not meet till after the Christmas holidays. On the 21st of January the king opened it with a speech which said nothing. The addresses were passed in both houses without a division. On the 29th of January, in a committee of supply, Mr. Buller informed the house that his majesty expected they would vote a considerable augmentation to our naval force, as additional ships were required in the Levant, where Russia was carrying on a maritime war with Turkey; in the East Indies, where France seemed to be collecting a force; and in Jamaica and the West India seas. He said that the whole force need not exceed 25,000 men, including 6664 marines. Colonel Barré condemned the whole conduct of ministers as dark, mysterious, and inexplicable; and said that they were especially blameable for not telling the house honestly the grounds upon which they called for 25,000 men. He treated the boasts of wisdom and moderation in managing the Falkland Island quarrel

¹ Changes of Administration and History of Parties, in Comp. to Newspaper; *Parl. Hist.*: Letters from Calcraft and Colonel Barré to Chatham, in *Chatham Correspondence*.

with contempt, and denied that ministers had prevented war. "You know well," said he, "to whom you owe this uncertain peace—you owe it to a woman!"¹ He then alluded to the triumph of the czarina over the sultan in the Archipelago, and to the authority and insolence which the Russians had shown for the first time in the Mediterranean Sea—subjects which were all exceedingly irritating to the sailors, and to a very considerable portion of the people of England. "We have done, sir," said he, "something of very great moment. There is an event which has astonished the world! We have seen the frigates of Russia in the centre of the Archipelago! The assistance of England, the supplies of our dockyards, helped to carry them thither, and to effect their mighty purpose. Have you well weighed the nature of this good office? Have you considered it to the bottom? . . . I suppose you have endeavoured to avail yourselves of the service which you have done to a great power; but if you have gained the friendship of the czarina, you have also gained the eternal hatred of the Ottoman Porte!" He then spoke of our former ally, Frederick, as if he had some foreknowledge of the schemes against Poland entertained by that great soldier, but selfish despot and remorseless politician. "Have you considered," said he, "what the King of Prussia is doing? His conduct is threatening, dark, and mysterious. . . . I suspect there is something concealed that requires this great armament." Mr. Buller's motion, however, was carried without a division.²

As early as the 20th of February a message was delivered to parliament from the king, stating that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family had ever belonged to the kings of this realm as matter of prerogative, but recommending both houses to take into serious consideration whether it might not be wise and expedient to supply the defect of the laws, and, by some new provision, more effectually to guard the descendants of George II. from marrying without the consent of the king, his heirs, and successors. The causes which led to this message are soon told. The Duke of Cumberland, the second of the king's surviving brothers, after seducing the young and handsome wife of Earl Grosvenor, and figuring in a *criminal* trial on that account, in the year 1770, contracted, in November, 1771, a private marriage with Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq., of Cotton Hall, in the county of Derby, a daughter of Lord Irnham and sister of that Colonel Luttrell who had, in more senses than one, been keeping Wilkes' seat warm in the

House of Commons. Junius had told the people that this high marriage of his sister was one of the rewards which the colonel received for his services to ministers and his offences against the constitution. But as soon as the king heard of the mis-alliance, he sternly forbade his brother the court. In the following spring his majesty's other brother, the Duke of Gloucester, ventured, nevertheless, to make public his marriage with the charming widow of the late Earl of Waldegrave, to whom he had been privately united some five or six years. There were, perhaps, good and solid grounds of a political nature for objecting to this kind of union between members of the royal family and subjects; but it is understood that George III., and still more Queen Charlotte, who was absolutely fanatic on these subjects, based their objections and their resentments on feelings much more personal. Both entertained extreme notions as to the dignity conferred by birth and remote descent; both believed as firmly as if it were an article of religious faith, that the blood of princes was contaminated by any admixture with less precious blood. They prided themselves on the antiquity of the house of Brunswick, on the family of Guelph, and the "antique brood" of Este, from which they were equally descended, and the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of the ninth century. According to the embarrassing scheme of her countrymen the Germans, and according to Queen Charlotte's own belief, there was not in all England a single family that could substantiate its claim to pure unmixed descent, or to real nobility; but the families out of which the two royal dukes had chosen their wives were deficient in aristocratic pretensions, even in the less severe construction of the English heralds. The Luttrells were an undistinguished stock of Irish Protestants. The beautiful Countess-dowager Waldegrave was the *natural* daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, brother to the great minister, whose father was a plain country gentleman, a Norfolk squire of the second or third magnitude. The Duke of Gloucester was forbidden the court like Cumberland; and so lasting was the royal resentment, that for ten years neither of these brothers was received by king or queen. In ready compliance with his majesty's message, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by which it was declared that none of the royal family, being under the age of twenty-five years, should marry without the king's consent; after attaining that age they were at liberty, in case of the king's refusal, to apply to the privy council, by announcing the name of the person they were desirous to espouse, and if, within a year, neither House of Parliament should address the king against it, the marriage might be legally solemnized; but all persons assisting

¹ Louis XV.'s mistress, Madame du Barry.

² Cavendish's *Debates*.

in, or knowing of an intention in any of the royal family to marry without fulfilling these ceremonies, and not disclosing it, incurred the penalties of a premunire. In the House of Lords the bill was vehemently opposed in all its stages, and the house divided on the second reading, on the preamble, and on every one of its clauses. The Marquis of Rockingham distinguished himself in this opposition; he said that the royal family might in time become so extensive as to include thousands of individuals, and that it would be barbarous to pretend to enforce, and impossible to execute the provisions of the act upon so many persons. But every amendment was rejected, and the bill, as originally framed by the crown lawyers, was passed by a majority of ninety against twenty-six. Two strong protests were entered upon the journals, and the bill was sent down to the commons. There it was opposed with still more violence. Upon the final division, which carried the bill, the ministerial majority was less overwhelming than usual, being only 168 against 115. During the debate none but members of the house were allowed to be present, though many of the peers made application for admittance. "Nothing," writes Shelburne, "but the manner of carrying through that registered edict could have excited any feeling on that subject."¹

In closing the present session on the 10th of June, the king expressed his great satisfaction at the temper and moderation displayed by parliament on this important marriage question. Lord North, who, in spite of his somnolency, had improved himself as a man of business, seemed now firmly seated, and this appearance or conviction augmented his real strength, and brought over the waverers and time-servers to his side. But in the course of the session which had just ended, North saw clearly that he was about to lose the support of one of the best of his debaters, and the most promising of all his orators in the House of Commons. This was Fox, whose conversion to Whig principles was somewhat sudden. Towards the end of February Gibbon had written to his friend—"Charles Fox is commenced patriot, and is already attempting to pronounce the words *country, liberty, corruption, &c.*; with what success, time will discover. Yesterday he resigned the admiralty. The story is that he could not prevail on ministers to join with him in his intended repeal of the marriage act (a favourite measure of his father, who opposed it from its origin), and that Charles very judiciously thought Lord Holland's friendship imported him more

than Lord North's." But ministers felt the value of the services they had thus lost; and Charles Fox, in the most humiliating pecuniary difficulties, probably felt the want of ministerial pay: we shall soon find him returning to office under Lord North, and to a better place than the one he had quitted.

But if the royal mind was tranquillized by increasing assurances of the stability of administration and the weakness of opposition, it was harassed during this year by various domestic afflictions and anxieties. The Princess-dowager of Wales died suddenly on the 6th of February, in the fifty-fourth year of her age; and before her death, her daughter, Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, was hurled from a throne, and cast into a prison, with the darkest imputations on her character. This unfortunate princess, the youngest of the king's surviving sisters, and said to have been the dearest, was married, as already related, in 1766, to Christian VII., King of Denmark, whose mean appearance and physical defects were not relieved by any high moral or intellectual qualities. Yet such as he was, Christian was a most absolute sovereign. He had for his chief favourite, and then for his prime minister, Count Struensee, who had studied medicine and law, and had renounced both professions for the more profitable life of a courtier. Struensee possessed considerable abilities, a handsome person, and manners much more dignified and winning than those of his master, the royal Dane.² It was soon observed that the young queen was as fond of his society as was her husband; and that the favourite conversed with her in very familiar terms. The queen, gay, light-hearted, and thoughtless, appears never to have had an idea that she was watched by unfriendly eyes. From her first arrival in Denmark, Juliana Maria, the queen-dowager, had taken a strong dislike to her; and this aversion was increased when it was seen that Matilda and Struensee, with the assistance of Brandt, a young nobleman, exercised complete authority over the indolent and imbecile king, and directed the government as they chose, to the exclusion of the dowager and her party, who had hitherto ruled the state at will. Juliana Maria's friends were numerous and powerful, including most of the nobility, who were incensed at seeing a man of no hereditary rank put at the head of the government.

On the morning of the 16th of January, 1772,

¹ Letter to Chatham, in *Chatham Correspondence*. While it was depending in parliament, some person said that the bill should be entitled, "An act to encourage fornication and adultery in the descendants of George II."

² King Christian's neglect of his young wife began soon after his marriage. In 1768, when he set out upon a tour, during which he passed several months in England, made a long stay in Paris, and visited nearly every court in Europe, he left his wife behind him in Denmark to be harassed and tormented by his step-mother, Juliana Maria. It was in the course of these travels that he became acquainted with Struensee, who was then practising physic at Altona.

at an early hour, and not long after the young queen had retired to rest from a masked ball, her apartment was suddenly entered by a female attendant, who presented to her a written order from the king, to remove instantly from Copenhagen. It is said that this order had been procured, a few minutes before, by the queen-dowager, her son Frederick (Christian's half-brother), and two nobles, who terrified the king into the belief that his wife and Struensee were actually conspiring to depose him. As soon as Matilda had read the order, she sprang out of her bed and ran towards her husband's apartment, but, seeing Count Rantzau, the minister for foreign affairs, in the ante-chamber, she went back to her room to attend to her dress. When she again attempted to seek the king, she was seized by Rantzau, who owed his elevation to Struensee, but who had deserted his friend, and by three officers with drawn swords, who hurried her away, half dressed as she was, and forced her, shrieking and resisting, into a carriage, which was driven with headlong speed to the castle of Cronborg, about twenty-four miles from the capital. She was immured in that fortress with an English lady of her suite, and her infant daughter, the Princess Louisa, whom she was suckling at the time. In the meanwhile Struensee and Brandt were seized by Colonel Koller Banner, conveyed to the citadel of Copenhagen, cast into dungeons, and loaded with irons. That night there was a general illumination in Copenhagen; and by the next morning the queen-dowager and her party had taken entire possession of the government, and displaced every one that adhered either to Struensee or to the young queen. The treatment of the fallen minister and his colleague, Brandt, was barbarous in the extreme. Struensee was chained so closely to the wall of his cold damp dungeon as scarcely to be able to turn himself; he was frequently deprived of the common necessities of life, and was occasionally threatened with the torture to make him confess all that his enemies dictated. He and his companion in misfortune were soon put upon their trial before a special commission, composed entirely of those who had headed the palace revolution, or who had profited by it. The proceedings were secret, and conducted with indecent haste. Struensee was declared to be guilty of adulterous connection with the young queen, and of other high crimes; and both he and Brandt were condemned to die the death of traitors, a punishment which, in Denmark, consisted in having the right hand cut off first, and then the head.

A suit of divorce was then instituted against the young queen, on the ground of a criminal intimacy with Struensee; and several of her own

attendants, who are said, however, to have been placed over her as spies by the dowager, deposed against her, and swore to a number of criminalizing or suspicious facts. Matilda, with no one to defend her, without the power of procuring witnesses, with horrible threats ringing in her ears, and with none but revengeful enemies before her eyes, admitted that she had been guilty of many follies and indiscretions, but denied that she had ever sinned against the seventh commandment; and this denial, it is said, she repeated in her dying moments. Nevertheless, the secret commission found her guilty, and pronounced sentence of divorce. It was even proposed to try her on a capital charge, with a view to set aside her son and daughter, and to open the way to the throne for Prince Frederick, the son of Juliana Maria, a plan which that dowager had been pursuing all along. If the unfortunate Matilda had been a daughter of one of those little princes in Germany, from whose families the Protestant dynasties generally chose their wives, there is every probability that she would have died on a scaffold like Struensee, or have been immured for life in some dreadful state prison; but she was the sister of one of the greatest sovereigns in Europe, whose hostility was to be dreaded; and George III., by means of his ambassador, Sir Robert Murray, remonstrated and menaced, and finally induced the Danish court to agree that she should quit the kingdom and live under the protection of her brother. An English squadron proceeded to Cronborg to receive the dethroned and dishonoured queen. Her infant daughter, still at her breast, was torn from her, and she embarked in an agony of grief, apparently insensible to everything but the feelings of a mother—feelings rendered the more acute as the child was at that moment sick and in danger from the measles. Matilda remained upon deck with her eyes immoveably fixed on the walls of Cronborg Castle, till darkness intercepted the view. The night was calm or the wind contrary, for on the following morning the tall tapering towers of the castle were still to be seen, and the bereaved mother could not be induced to return to the cabin until the last visible point of the towers had sunk below the horizon. She was landed at the Hanoverian seaport of Stade, and was thence conveyed to the castle of Zell, in Hanover, which, for a short period, had, under very similar circumstances, been the abode of her great-grandmother, Sophia Dorothea, the wretched wife of George I., and which was now selected by her brother for her future residence. Here a cheap little court was formed for her, and her expenses were supplied out of the Hanoverian revenue, or, which is more probable, out of the English privy purse. Her chief amuse-

ment was music—an art a taste for which was hereditary in her family, and in which she is said to have excelled. She procured portraits of her infant son and daughter, whom she was never to see again, and was frequently heard talking to them as if those shadows had sense and life. She did not long survive her misfortunes, dying on the 10th of May, 1775, in the twenty-fourth year of her age, expressing, it is said, the most perfect forgiveness of all her enemies. There were many and respectable exceptions, but, generally, writers and people on the Continent were disposed to believe that she was guilty with Struensee. In England the contrary belief existed and has maintained its ground; and when, sixteen years after the grave had closed over her, and in a very different quarrel, the English fleet, under Nelson and Parker, forced the passage of the Sound, gliding by her former prison, Cronborg Castle, which thundered at them with a hundred guns, and appeared before Copenhagen to annihilate the navy of Denmark, it was supposed that many a British sailor fought the more fiercely from his recollections of the wrongs or woes of the English princess. But even here the poetical justice—if such it were to be considered—was not complete; for “the prince of all the land,” who “led on” the Danes on that dismal day, and fought the English ships like a hero, was the crown prince, the son of Caroline Matilda!¹

In the beginning of this same year (1772) a sudden revolution took place at Stockholm. About half a century before, the nobility of Sweden had limited the prerogative of the crown, and had erected themselves into an absolute oppressive oligarchy. Since the establishment of this aristocratical government, the country had been split into two factions, which were denominated the Hats and the Caps. Encouraged by this division, and by the notoriety of the fact that the aristocratical senate was as venal as it was proud, and that the leaders, who called themselves patriots, were in the pay of Russia, the reigning sovereign, Gustavus III., resolved to overthrow the senate and re-erect the old monarchical despotism. He proceeded to mature his measures with extreme secrecy and precaution. He gradually gained over the mass of the army; he secured the affections of the brave people of Dalecarlia, who had established the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa; he captivated the citizens, who were sufficiently tired of the arrogance, oppression, and corruption of the nobles; and he secured the services of the burgher-guard of the capital. Without the shedding of a single drop of blood, the revolution was achieved. The fallen oligarchy left few causes of regret; but the Swedes committed precisely the

same mistake as the Danes had done 112 years before, in establishing the absolute despotism of the crown.

The Czarina Catherine professed great abhorrence at this subversion of national institutions,



CATHERINE II. OF RUSSIA.

From a fine print by Caroline Watson, after Rosselin.

and talked of taking up arms for the defence of Swedish liberty, which the Swedes themselves were weary of. It was strange to see this autocratix putting herself forward as the champion of freedom; but everybody understood her real motive, which was only to re-establish the power of the nobles, that she might bribe them and buy them as before, and through their means keep Sweden neutral or subservient, as it had hitherto been. But Prussia and Austria could not agree with her in her Swedish schemes; and her war with the Turks and the crisis of Poland called off her arms and even her attention from Gustavus III. Russia, since the accession of this Semiramis, or Messalina, of the North, had been the scene of another royal or imperial murder, as also of another Perkin-Warbeck-like insurrection. The murder was that of the legitimate Czar Ivan, who had been dethroned in his infancy in 1741, and kept in a state prison ever since. The insurrection, which was not put down without torrents of blood, was that of Ymelka Pugatchef, a Don Cossack, who pretended to be Catherine's husband, Peter III., who had been murdered long ago. But these state storms and crimes, and a life more profligate than that of any reigning sovereign, did not prevent Catherine from obtaining a wonderful reputation among nations: her ambition and her abilities

¹ A curious sequel to the story of Matilda is, that her son Frederick treated his wife as she had been treated by his father.

were equally indisputable; the power of Russia continued to rise under her sway; and her alliance, as that of the great power of the North, was courted by all the potentates of Europe. At the same time the authors and wits of Europe, who, generally speaking, were well paid for their praise—the Voltaires, the D'Alemberts, the Diderots, the Mullers, the Algarottis—eulogized in verse, and in much better prose, the energy of her character and government, and the wisdom of her internal reforms. And it must be candidly admitted that, in these reforms, there was much that could fairly challenge a spontaneous admiration. It was their boast, and it was considered by the nation as one of the brightest achievements of the truly humane and liberal Rockingham administration, that they had concluded (in the year 1766) a commercial treaty with the Empress of Russia.

But the year 1772 was more memorable to the Poles than to any other people, for it witnessed the first partition of their distracted country. Catherine, who had nominated to the throne at the last farce of a free election by the Polish magnates, would probably have been contented for some time longer with the complete influence and ascendancy she had over Poland; but circumstances and the impatient greed of Prussia and Austria forced her into other schemes, and hurried on the catastrophe. If the partition of Poland is to be ascribed to any one single head, it is rather to Frederick the Great than to Catherine, or Maria Theresa, or the Emperor Joseph, although the Prussian despot got the smallest number of square miles by the division. This vast state, which at one time extended from the shores of the Black Sea to the Baltic, and was long considered as the bulwark of Christendom against the encroachments of the Turks, preserved, with fatal tenacity, an antiquated form of government, whilst all the countries of Europe (except Russia, which could scarcely be called a European power until its acquisitions in Poland) gradually adapted their systems to the change and progress of society. If some countries were later than others—if the degrees of freedom varied as the *people* of different states were more or less advanced in civilization and political rights, still, throughout Europe there was a people—a *bourgeoisie*—a “*tiers état*,” but Poland, even in the eighteenth century, was utterly devoid of that essential component of a nation. The Polish nobles were the proprietors of all the land; the agricultural labourers were serfs, “*adscripti glebæ*,” as in Russia; there were no manufactures, and the commerce of the country was entirely in the hands of the Jews. In Poland, then, there continued to be, even to our own times, no other distinction among men than that of masters and

slaves. All power was in possession of the nobles, who each asserted for himself the most absolute equality. This aristocratic republic was headed by a phantom of a king: the crown was elective, and every *noble* could aspire to it. The intrigues, the dissensions, the bloodshed that resulted from such a system may be easily imagined, and, indeed, the crown was rarely transferred, without the horrors of a civil war. Their singular constitution was, moreover, admirably adapted to produce as much confusion and anarchy during the reigns of their titular kings as ensued in the interregnums. One of its first articles insisted on the “*liberum veto*,” and the unanimity of consent or decision. A majority in the national diet, however great, went for nothing—the opposition of a single member present, or of a flying recusant, was sufficient to obstruct any given measure. In the *dietines*, or provincial assemblies, the same absurd regulations obtained; and in them a somewhat startling mode of disposing of a minority was frequently resorted to—that is, *they were massacred by the majority to produce an unanimity*, the sabre being a more effective instrument than oratory or argument.

The constantly recurring horrors of civil war, the devastation of the country, and the experience of ages, were all inadequate to make the nobles forego this constitution, which contained many other clauses almost equally dangerous, and which seemed to have been framed by the very demon of anarchy. A scrupulous adherence to its letter occasionally elicited scenes puerile and ridiculous; but neither absurdity nor horror had any effect upon the Polish nobles, who clung to the worst constitution in the world, because it gave every one of them a chance of a crown which was not worth having. In Poland every great state officer was *de facto* independent of the crown. The king was a mere cipher, and whenever he made an attempt to assert his prerogative, he was sure to be opposed by a league of the great men in office. Although the dismembering and breaking up of an European nation seemed, when it happened (in 1772), a tremendous and almost unnatural event, filling men's minds with consternation, yet such a measure, suggested by the divided, helpless condition to which the country was reduced by its insane institutions, had been *twice* seriously contemplated long before. The first proposal of the kind was made, very secretly, in 1658, by Count Stippenback, the ambassador of Sweden, during the wars of Gustavus Adolphus. The Duke of Prussia—better known at that period by the title of Elector of Brandenburg—the Austrians, who were at the moment in possession of the ancient capital of the Polish kingdom, and the Swedes, were to be the co-partitioners. The second time the ques-

tion of dismemberment was agitated was after the defeat of Charles XII. of Sweden at Poltawa, when the Czar Peter the Great became the arbiter of Poland. Charles had of his own free will dethroned one King of Poland—who, be it said, had originally owed the *elective* crown to the force of foreign arms—and placed another king in his stead: during Charles's misfortunes, his rival, Peter, exercising the same authority, reinstated Augustus on the throne which that prince had taken a solemn oath never more to pretend to. Augustus could scarcely have offered the shadow of resistance: he was nothing more than a creature of Russia, to whom he was indebted for a dishonoured crown; he was an object of suspicion to his own subjects; and there is ground for believing that he would gladly have concurred in the partition, provided the czar had composed for him out of the fragments of the unhappy country an absolute and hereditary kingdom. But the final hour had not yet come; and owing to many circumstances, which the Poles themselves neither made nor controlled, the country remained in its old condition. But by their new conquests the Russians now pressed on the whole line of the Polish frontier from north to east, and the armies of the czar inundated her provinces whenever he chose. From this period the proud rights of election and the liberty of the Polish aristocracy became empty words and a mockery: their kings were raised to the throne by foreign armies. It could not but happen that the neighbouring powers, who chose to be "king-makers" for the Poles, should, with reference to what they considered their own interests, take especial care never to select a prince who, by character, energies, and the possession of alliances and other means, might be capable of re-elevating a falling state. It was always a feeble prince, with no other army at his orders than the ancient forces of the republic, without discipline, without pay and the means of recruiting, that they sent to wear the semblance of a kingly crown. The national character was rapidly degraded (of course we speak of the nobles—the only class among the Poles who could ever pretend to a national character); it became meanly obsequious, artful, and reserved. As if the elements of discord were not already sufficiently numerous, there were added those of violent religious dissensions, which contributed their share in bringing about the dissolution of Poland. The mass of the country adhered to the tenets of the Church of Rome, and the Catholic clergy were numerous and wealthy. But, scattered over the country, there were many followers of the Greek church; nor had the energetic opposition of the Papists prevented the doctrines of the Reformation from gaining ground—there were many Lutherans and

Calvinists, besides Arians. These were known under the general denomination of *dissidents*.¹ The order of Jesuits, who cannot generally be reproached with having exhibited the fierce spirit of persecution, stirred up the flames of intolerance in Poland. Henceforth the native land of St. Stanislaus, St. Casimir, of the blessed Hedwiga, and of innumerable saints and confessors, became an intolerant and priest-ridden country. It was chiefly from the reign of Stephen Bathory that the Jesuits assumed an overbearing influence in the affairs of the state. Not satisfied with their triumphs in Poland, the zealous apostles of Catholicism strove to impose their creed upon their neighbours the Russians; and, to accomplish so holy an end, they favoured rebellion and usurpation in Russia. Wars of religion were carried on with more than the usual ferocity of such conflicts; and *toleration* was set down as a damnable heresy. Even in the pacificatory diet held in 1736, the *Pacta Conventa*, by which Protestants were admitted to equal rights with the Catholic community, was annulled; for it was passed into a law (what, indeed, had long been matter of practice) that every dissident noble should be for ever excluded from the government, and reduced to the condition of a simple subject. The inquisitorial law *de hæretico relapso*, that tyrannical shield of proselytism, had been enacted with all its confiscations and penalties; and the dissidents were forbidden to build any new places of worship. All this fanaticism was opposed to the present interest of the country, and contrasted in a singular manner with the ancient tolerance to which the republic had owed many of its acquisitions. Red Russia, particularly, became a province of Poland only under the express condition that she should preserve her Christian creed as she had received it from the Greeks; and Leopel, the capital of that province, was the tranquil seat of three bishops of the Greek, the Armenian, and the Latin churches. Indeed, at other times, the Poles had seen, without horror, not only the schismatic church and chapel, but the synagogue and the mosque rise amidst their own temples. Against this impolitic and cruel intolerance the Russians, as members of the Greek church, considered themselves in a special manner bound to protest; and, besides, the courts of Prussia, England, and Denmark remonstrated at different times, but ineffectually. It will always be found that patriotism can maintain but an unequal struggle with men's feelings for their religion, when under persecution; and,

¹ For some very interesting information on this head, see "Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the Influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral, and Political Respects." By Count Valerian Krasinski. London, 1838.

moreover, the Poles of all factions had been so long accustomed to invite foreigners to interfere in their internal dissensions, that nothing could be expected but that the dissidents should do the same. They did; and the matter was finally brought to an issue by the confederacy of Thorn, in 1767, supported by Russian bayonets. Poland might have been the great power of the North, but through her evil institutions her chance had been thrown away, and Russia had risen to that pre-eminence. The king now on the Polish throne was nothing more than the nominee of the Czarina Catherine, whose lover he had been, and who had put the crown on his head in 1764 by force of arms. Stanislaus Poniatowski, who took the name of Stanislaus Augustus, ascended the throne under the most perplexing and unfortunate circumstances: he was bound by gratitude to Catherine, whose intentions against the independence or separate existence of his country were suspected; and he was opposed, thwarted, humiliated, menaced, from first to last, by all the magnates and all the factions that had endeavoured to procure the election of his rivals. Whenever he attempted to rely upon the nobility and their resources, he felt his throne totter under him; whenever he claimed the assistance of Russia, he was denounced by a large portion of the magnates as a traitor and enemy to his country: and, on the other side, whenever he displayed any Polish feeling or any desire of acting independently, he was menaced by the court of St. Petersburg. After the defeat of the confederates at Barr he was little better than a prisoner in his own capital, under the lock and key of the Russians, who called themselves his deliverers; yet, if he had escaped out of their hands, there was scarcely a spot in Poland where he could have found security, not merely for his throne, but for his life and the lives of his family. It was impossible that Prussia and Austria, whose dominions touched upon the Polish frontiers, should be indifferent spectators of these last struggles, the forerunners of dissolution. When Catherine decreed that Poniatowski should be king, she had concerted her measures with the great Frederick, who marched 40,000 Prussians to the Polish frontier to promote the election and coronation; and from that moment the great general of his day, tired of reposing upon his laurels, occupied his mind with dreams and plans of territorial aggrandisement to be made at the expense of that weak and distracted neighbour. As early as 1768 it was whispered at Vienna that Catherine and Frederick were in a secret understanding, and that the Prussian monarchy, which had been made up, in a comparatively short space of time, by conquests, occupations, and encroachments of all kinds, was to be ex-

tended and rounded by a portion cut out of Poland. Yet Austria, and not Prussia, was the first power that stretched out her hand to go shares with Russia, or that actually occupied Polish territory; and one of the last acts of the old empress-queen, Maria Theresa, was a proof and a pledge that she would agree with the czarina in a total dismemberment. But everything was now tending to that melancholy catastrophe, Poland being reduced to so deplorable a state that she could not help herself—a state in which nothing is to be hoped for from the generosity and moderation of powerful neighbours. While the great Russian army was employed on the side of Serbia and Turkey, the Polish confederates, with some slight encouragement from France, took the field once more at the beginning of 1770, and formally proclaimed the throne vacant, summoning Poniatowski to appear before their council. Rushing down from the Carpathian Mountains, they cut several Russian detachments to pieces and took a few insignificant fortresses. But the troops were undisciplined and without any consistency or order; the soldiers were without pay, almost naked, badly fed, badly armed, and still worse trained; a portion of the people who adhered to the king considered them as rebels and traitors; and a still larger portion, including nearly the whole body of the serfs, saw little difference between being harassed and pillaged by Poles and being pillaged and harassed by Russians. They had grown indifferent under a prolonged anarchy, and cared not who reigned in Poland, provided it could be in peace. The mass of the population of this *free* country were, like the Russians, and to the same degree, *slaves*! The Polish serfs had never been sufficiently elevated in the scale of humanity and civilization to understand what was going on, or to be warmed by the sacred and enduring flame of patriotism. It is also important to observe that, sprung from the same Slavonic stock, their language, manners, and customs differed but little from those of the Russians. France, possibly, might have taken a more active part in the contest, but the disgrace of the Duke de Choiseul, which had saved England from a war with France and Spain, deprived the Poles of any support from the cabinet of Versailles, and left them to run the chances of the contest with the Turks for their only ally.¹ Maria Theresa's son, the Emperor Joseph II., had two interviews with Frederick of Prussia, and shortly after the latter meeting an Austrian detachment took possession of the little province

¹ The schemes and policy of the court of Versailles shifted and changed many times; but, at last, Louis XV. assured the court of Vienna that he should look on the affairs of Poland with perfect indifference!—*Dépêches et Manifestes de M. le Comte de Broglie; Ségur l'Aîné, Politique de tous les Cabinets, pendant les Règnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI.*

or starosty of Zips, situated among the Carpathian Mountains, and formerly belonging to Hungary, who had mortgaged it in 1387 to Poland. Stanislaus Augustus remonstrated with the court of Vienna, but, instead of being withdrawn from Zips, the Austrians there were reinforced, and a right was advanced to the possession of that canton. The Prussians were not long behind the Austrians; from that valuable conquest, Silesia, Frederick threw forward a veteran corps, which advanced with scarcely the shadow of opposition, as far as Posen and Thorn; and 4000 Prussian cavalry took up their quarters on the banks of the Dniester. At the same time the sultan, sinking under the war, applied to Prussia and Austria to mediate for him with the victorious and imperious Catherine; and Frederick, putting himself forward as a generous negotiator, sent his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, to St. Petersburg. By this time the czarina had become convinced that she could neither rule Poland through her viceroy Stanislaus Augustus, nor appropriate a part of it without allowing considerations to Prussia and Austria. She listened to the suggestions and arguments with which Prince Henry was supplied by his brother; she was alarmed by the proceedings of Austria, who seemed to be helping herself without asking her consent or caring for the rights of the Polish crown; and before Henry returned to Berlin, she certainly agreed in a scheme of dismemberment, which, as we have said, was much rather the project of Frederick the Great than her own. Prussian emissaries were also busy among the dissidents, assuring the Polish Protestants more particularly that Frederick was the champion of the Reformed religion, and determined to secure to them liberty of conscience and equality of rights. At the opening of the memorable year 1772, the last year of the independence or integrity of the Polish kingdom, the confederates assembled about 6000 men in Great Poland under Zaremba, a Pole; and Viomenil and Choisi, two distinguished French officers, made themselves masters of the ancient city and castle of Cracow. Frederick presently ordered his Prussians to advance into Great Poland. Zaremba, unable to face them with his wretched little army, abandoned position after position, and finally threw up his command, and applied, not to his king, but to the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, for pardon and protection. The French officers in Cracow made a gallant defence; but they were compelled to surrender on the 22d of April. Nearly at the same time news arrived from Vienna that a treaty was certainly signed between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and fresh columns of Austrians, moving from Hungary, were crossing the Carpathian Moun-

tains to advance into the interior of the devoted country. Upon this the council of the confederacy was broken up, its members fled, and an end was put to all resistance. The Turks, their only allies, so far from being able to assist the Poles, were not able to defend themselves. Their janissaries and their loose hordes of cavalry had everywhere been defeated by the disciplined troops and the artillery of the Russians:¹ they had lost town after town, and fortress after fortress; making, however, an heroic defence in some of them, as at Ismail; they had been driven back to the Danube and beyond the Danube. Some of their most fertile provinces were occupied by the armies of Catherine; and their fleet had been annihilated in the Mediterranean. Ever since the time of Peter the Great, when Russia first aspired to take rank as a civilized and maritime power, her statesmen had been anticipating the advantages of carrying her flag into the Mediterranean Sea; and the czarina, having no naval squadron in the Black Sea at all equal to the forcing of the narrow channels of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and foreseeing that their co-religionists, the Greeks, would rise against the Turks at the approach of the Russians, and the distribution of her manifestoes, determined to send all the ships she could equip and spare out of the Baltic, to sail round the continent of Europe, and enter the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar. If England had been the ally of the Poles—if she had given the widest interpretation to her treaties with the Turks—or if she had resented the encroaching spirit of the Russians—she might have prevented the battle of Tchesmé, with the consequences that followed it; for one well-appointed squadron would have swept the fleet of Catherine from the ocean, and not have permitted a single sail to pass the straits. But the British government of the day was disposed to assist rather than impede the Russians, and British officers supplied to Catherine the deficiencies of her own subjects as seamen. Admiral Elphinstone, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Commodore Greig led the Russian ships to victory. The triumphs obtained by British skill—which never ought to have been so employed—were disgraced by Muscovite cruelty and barbarity. The Russian fleet remained in the Archipelago a good part of the year 1770, the whole of

¹ The Russian discipline, artillery, and tactics were then only good as compared with those of the Turks. The battles in these campaigns were fought at a frightful cost of human life on both sides, without generalship, without science, with little or no intelligence. "The generals of Catherine," says Frederick the Great "were ignorant of castrametation and tactics; but those of the sultan had still less knowledge; so that, to have a just idea of this contest, we must figure to ourselves a party of one-eyed people thoroughly beating a party of blind men."—*Mémoires, depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775.*

the year 1771, and part of 1772. The commerce of England, of France, of Holland, of all states trading with the Levant, was interrupted, and, for the time, ruined. France was inclined at first to prevent, and afterwards to resent these injuries; and by giving the Russians and their rotten ships a deep grave in the Archipelago, which she might easily have done with one-half of her Toulon fleet, she might have somewhat revived the spirits of the Turks, and perhaps delayed for a short time the fate of their allies the Poles; but France was deterred by her alliance with Austria, an alliance made closer than ever in the year 1770 by the marriage of the dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) with the Austrian Archduchess Maria Antoinette, by her fear of provoking England (who would have considered any demonstration at that time as an avowed intention of taking part in the Falkland Island quarrel and backing Spain), by the wretched state of her finances, and by the desire of Louis XV. to close his reign in peace. Meanwhile the successes of the Russians by land had continued uninterrupted; and when the Poles were at their last agony, the sultan was soliciting the mediation of Frederick of Prussia, one of the co-partitioners, to obtain a peace from Catherine. The three powers therefore proceeded to the work of dismemberment, with no other check or impediment than such as arose out of their own clashing pretensions, or the eagerness of each to get as much of the spoil as he could. The court of Vienna seemed to be the least impatient for the breaking up of an ancient kingdom, but this was probably nothing more than the effect of the proverbial slowness of that cabinet. Frederick and Catherine certainly concluded their bargain first. His Prussian majesty was exceedingly anxious to get included in his share the rich, commercial, and in every sense important, city of Dantzic. To this the czarina would not agree, and Frederick, after many struggles, gave up the point, comforting himself with the conviction that, as he was to be the possessor of the course of the river Vistula, of its embouchure on the Baltic, and of the port of Dantzic, he must eventually obtain possession of the town also; and thus, thinking that it was not worth while to delay so important a negotiation for the sake of an advantage which was only deferred,¹ he, by means of Van Swieten, the Austrian envoy at Berlin, hastened the march of Austrian diplomacy, and the treaty of partition between the three powers was signed at St. Petersburg on the 2d of August, 1772. It was followed in the month of September by declarations, manifestoes, and specifications of the territories which each of the

powers was to appropriate. Prussia and Austria boldly pretended that their obsolete claim gave them a right to what they took; but Russia adopted in her manifesto a totally different tone, representing that the expenses she had incurred to keep Poland in order could only be discharged by a cession of territory. All three agreed in stating to the world that the anarchy and frequent troubles in Poland had reduced the country to its present deplorable condition, and threatened the total dissolution of the state, an event which would probably destroy the harmony and friendship at present subsisting between the great powers the neighbours of Poland. These considerations, they said, put them under a necessity of taking a decisive part at such a critical juncture, and compelled them with one accord to adopt such effectual measures as would re-establish tranquillity and good order. The whole of the territory taken and divided among these generous and conscientious pacificators was almost the third part of Poland, and comprised some of the richest provinces of that kingdom.² Prussia got the whole of Pomerelia, part of Great Poland, the bishopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Culm, with the complete command of the lower part of the Vistula. Russia took for her share the greater part of Lithuania, with all the wide country between the rivers Dwina and Dniester. Austria took the country along the left bank of the Vistula, from Vieliczka down to the confluence of the Vistula and the river Viroz, the whole of the country called Red Russia (now Gallicia), the palatinate of Belz, and a portion of the province of Volhynia. In square miles Russia got the largest portion, and Prussia the smallest, the acquisition of the latter power being only about 800 square miles; but the importance to Frederick of the country he acquired was immense, for it united the kingdom of Prussia with Pomerania and the marches of Brandenburg, which before it had separated in a most awkward manner, so that Voltaire was accustomed to compare Frederick's dominions to a pair of long gaiters. "It is extremely worthy of remark," says an English traveller who was in the country soon after this first dismemberment, "that, of the three partitioning powers, Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to Poland; Russia once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarcely a century before, was indebted to a sovereign of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence."³ The helpless King of Poland could scarcely credit that the

² The territory of Poland, before the partition, was estimated at 13,500 square miles (fifteen to a degree)—the partitioners, in all, took from it very nearly 4000 square miles!

³ Coxe. The saviour of Vienna was John Sobieski.

¹ Frederick's own *Works*; *Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775*.

three powers intended this perpetual dismemberment; and when he saw the fact and recovered from his astonishment, he could do nothing but address useless protests and prayers to France, Spain, England, and all the other powers of Europe. That lively sympathy which some of these states affected a few years later for the cause of our American colonists was shown by none of them for the Poles. In the month of April, 1773, after the Polish senate had been dispersed by the united troops of the three partitioning powers, a sort of diet assembled at Warsaw to ratify all that had been done. It was surrounded during its deliberations by Russian troops, and it was dictated to by Stakelberg, Benoit, and Rewiski, the ministers of the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, who told its members plainly that any man who opposed their wishes would be considered as the enemy of his country and of the three powers; and that, if the diet or the country attempted any resistance, the armies of the three powers would at once take possession of the *whole* kingdom. As a reward for submission the promises of the manifestoes were repeated, and the diet was assured that their imperial majesties and the King of Prussia would guarantee the remainder of the kingdom. The president or marshal of the diet, Poninski, had sold himself to the allied powers, and many of the members were equally venal, or convinced of the indisputable fact that resistance would be useless. But still there remained a small enthusiastic band, chiefly from Lithuania, the country of Kosciusko, who ventured to raise their voices against the dismemberment and the outrages offered to the honour and independence of the nation. Reyten, the leader of this weak band of patriots, was by the orders of Count Stakelberg, arrested and sent out of the country, to wander through Europe an exile and a maniac; and on the 17th of May the diet agreed to appoint a commission to act in conjunction with the ambassadors of the three powers, in regulating the new frontier lines and settling the changes to be introduced into the Polish system of government. Poniatowski remained without the shadow of authority—a mere king by name—the ambassadors of the three powers continuing to dictate to the permanent council as they had done to the diet. Many members of the confederates of Barr besides the unfortunate Reyten, became wanderers and outcasts, with no fortune but their swords, for the property of the exiles was in nearly every case confiscated. We shall find some of the bravest of these Poles fighting under George Washington in America, when the English colonies there raised the standard of independence.

That we may not have to return for some time

to these continental affairs, we may briefly mention here the conclusion of Catherine's war with the Turks. Through the representations of Prussia and Austria she consented to negotiate with the sultan; and, after some direct intercourse on the banks of the Danube between General Romanzoff and the grand vizier, a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, an armistice was signed at Giurgevo on the 30th of May, 1772, and a congress was arranged to be held in the month of July at Boczani, in Wallachia, a few miles north of Bucharest, the capital of that province. Catherine's plenipotentiary was Count Gregory Orloff, who appeared at the congress with a pomp and magnificence that quite dazzled the Turks. He was all over a blaze of jewels; every part of his dress was studded with diamonds; and he wore upon his breast, in the midst of an infinitude of orders, the diamond-circled portrait of Catherine, his *mistress* in a double sense. One hundred and sixty domestics in splendid liveries followed this northern modern Leicester, and he was preceded by troops of hussars in gorgeous uniforms. His demands were suitable to his proud bearing: he asked for the whole of the Crimea and all that vast tract of country on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, between the Danube and the Don; for an unlimited freedom of navigation on the Black Sea, and through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; for nearly all the fortresses that had been taken from the Turks; and for an indemnity, in money or in additional territory, for the expenses the czarina had incurred in the war. The sultan was also called upon to acquiesce in the dismemberment of Poland, and to engage on no account whatsoever to assist the Polish exiles, of whom not a few had fled to Constantinople. Humbled as they were, the Turks would not consent to these hard terms: the congress of Boczani broke up in July; and Count Gregory hastened back to St. Petersburg, to find that during his absence Catherine had supplied his place with another lover—the still more splendid Potemkin. Negotiations were, however, soon renewed between Romanzoff and the grand vizier; a new congress was appointed to meet at Bucharest, and the armistice was extended to the month of March, 1773. In the meantime Russia had concluded a separate treaty with the Tartars of the Crimea, which gave her the absolute command of that long-coveted country. The negotiations at Bucharest ran out to a great length and ended in nothing. The Turkish commissioners proposed a prolongation of them and of the armistice; but the Russians refused, and took the field in the month of March, 1773. The Danube, the centre of the operations, was again tinged with blood, and choked with the bodies of the dead; but for-

tune was not invariably on the side of the czarina. Prince Repnin, with a considerable corps, was taken prisoner, and led in triumph to Constantinople; Romanzoff, in crossing the Danube about the middle of June, lost an immense number of men, and had the mortification of seeing the Russian horse completely defeated by the irregular Turkish cavalry. As he advanced towards Silistria, Shumla, and the Balkan Mountains, as if in the intention of forcing that famous passage, the natural difficulties of which have at all times been grossly exaggerated, he was constantly assailed in front, flank, or rear by flying troops of spahis, who allowed him so little rest that his men could seldom take the bit out of the horses' mouths. When his van arrived at Silistria they found the approaches to that place guarded by three immense divisions or armies, under three pachas. The Russians drove these Turks from their entrenched camps into the town; but in so doing they sustained another prodigious loss, and must have been utterly defeated but for a rash, impatient movement of the Mussulmans. Instead of taking Silistria, and forcing the defiles of Mount Hæmus, Romanzoff, after fresh losses occasioned by sorties and surprises, found himself compelled to decamp silently in the night, and to begin a most disastrous retreat to the Danube and beyond it. Although the Russian army was speedily reinforced, other disasters followed. Romanzoff was again compelled to raise the siege of Silistria by the grand vizier, who issued from his fortified camp at Shumla; and Suwaroff and Prince Dolgarucki were repulsed at Varna after a long and bloody engagement, and then routed and driven from their entrenchment by the Bostangi Bashî from Adrianople. At the beginning of December they recrossed the Danube; but this time their retreat was a disorderly flight, and they left all their stores and a good part of their artillery behind them.

The insurrection of the Cossacks under Pugatchef, the rising of some of the Tartar tribes, the ravages of the plague, the apprehension of war with Sweden, and other causes, paralyzed the operations of Catherine's armies on the Danube until the month of June, 1774, when General Soltikoff fought a drawn battle with the Pacha of Rutschuk, and Kamenski and Suwaroff defeated the Reis Effendi, and took all his train of artillery, which had just been cast at Constantinople under the direction of the famous Baron de Tott. After this Romanzoff succeeded in investing the

grand vizier in his fortified camp at Shumla. Upon these reverses the sultan again sued for peace; and on the 21st of July the grand vizier and Prince Repnin signed the treaty of Kainarji, which was ruinous and most humiliating to the Ottomans, though certainly less so than the terms would have been which Orloff had proposed at Boczani. By this treaty the Crimea was dismembered from Turkey, under the decent pretext of its remaining an independent power under its khans; Russia obtained the absolute cession of Kinburn, Kertch, and Jenickala, and of all the district between the Bug and the Dnieper; the navigation of the Turkish seas for her merchant vessels, including the passage through the Dardanelles; with all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the most favoured nations. She restored to Turkey everything she had taken in Wallachia and Moldavia, but she kept Azof and Taganrog, the two most important ports on the Black Sea; and, beyond the wide margin of the treaty, she kept up a party among the Greeks of Bucharest and Jassy, which would at any time lay Wallachia and Moldavia open to her ambition.

The British parliament re-assembled on the 26th of November, 1772, when the partition of Poland was known to all the world. Yet the king's speech did not contain a single allusion to that startling innovation. As if approving all that had been done, his majesty expressed his satisfaction at seeing there was reason to hope that the war which had so long unhappily prevailed in one part of Europe was now drawing to a conclusion. The addresses of both houses did little more than echo the speech. There was not in either of them a single word about the dismemberment and political annihilation of Poland; not a word about the monstrous excesses in the Archipelago, not a syllable upon the dangerous encroachments and mighty pretensions of the czarina. The commons only thought it necessary to express their satisfaction at his majesty's having been enabled, during the course of the year, to reduce his naval establishment. The *Chatham Correspondence* at the time is equally silent on the subject; and neither in the letters of the great orator nor in those of Lord Shelburne and his other friends do we find a word about that great political iniquity, the partition of Poland. Mr. Burke appears to have been almost the only public man that felt very warmly; and even he reserved his eloquence upon the subject to a later period.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1773—1774.

GEORGE III.

Difficulties of the East India Company—Summary of the session—American discontent continues—Committee of correspondence established to promote it—Its powerful agency—Insurrectionary manifesto of the people of Boston—The resistance increased by Franklin's communications from London—The colonists demand the removal of the governor of Massachusetts—A British schooner boarded and destroyed by the people of Rhode Island—Arrival of two British ships at Boston with cargoes of tea—Determination of the Bostonians that the cargoes should not be landed—Popular meetings and insurrectionary resolutions—Rising of the mob—They board the ships and destroy the tea—Effect of the tidings on the British parliament—Its examination of the American revolutionary papers—Debate on the measures necessary to be adopted—Resolution passed to retain the colonies in obedience to Britain—Franklin's conduct in London as agent of the Americans—He is brought before the privy council—His determination in favour of American independence confirmed—His character, and that of his political proceedings—He is dismissed from his office of postmaster-general for America—Bill passed to remove the colonial government from Boston to New Salem—Another bill passed depriving Massachusetts of its popular elections—Opposition in parliament to the two bills—Chatham's ineffectual appeal in behalf of the Americans—Bill to provide for the government of Quebec—It passes through the lords—Contention produced by it in the House of Commons—It receives the royal assent—The people of Boston and Massachusetts continue their hostile proceedings—They are headed by Mr. Samuel Adams—Account of him—General Gage, the new governor, arrives in Boston—Resolution of Boston to suspend all traffic with Britain—Democratic spirit of the Virginians—Their assembly appoints a public fast—The governor dissolves the assembly—Its members adjourn, and continue their resolutions—The fast held—The assembly of Boston ordered to remove to Salem—Its leaders hold a secret meeting—Its proceedings and resolutions—Rapid and wide diffusion of revolutionary principles—Gage summons the military into Boston—Indignation excited by their arrival—Preparations of the Americans for a military resistance—Impediments opposed to the royal troops—Insurrectionary resolutions passed at a meeting of the popular delegates—Jefferson's "Summary View of the Rights of British America"—It is superseded by a more moderate manifesto—Elections for a general congress—It meets at Philadelphia—Its proceedings.



THE East India Company, which, ever since the year 1767, had been paying government £400,000 per annum, in consideration of the extensive privileges granted by the charter, had fallen into pecuniary difficulties. The company reduced their dividend to six per cent, and applied to parliament for the loan of £1,500,000 to relieve them from their present necessities. It was impossible to refuse the loan without risking great distress and great discontent at home, and absolute ruin in India. On the 9th of March, Lord North moved a series of resolutions, asserting the necessity of parliamentary assistance, and the propriety of a loan. He fixed the sum at £1,400,000, and suggested a number of regulations as proper to prevent the recurrence of similar embarrassments, and to reform all abuses in the government of India. Little foreseeing what it would lead to, he afterwards moved that the Company should be permitted to export tea to America without paying any export duty; and the Company took this as an important boon, as they had at the moment upwards of 17,000,000 lbs. of tea in their warehouses in England. The attacks upon Lord Clive, the real founder of our Empire in the East, and other matters connected with India debated

during the session, we reserve for our continuous view of East India affairs.

Mr. Charles Fox, who had returned to office in the preceding month of December, was again warmly supporting all Lord North's measures. The Earl of Chatham continued to prompt and animate Colonel Barré and the other hot leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons.

In putting an end to the session, his majesty expressed his great satisfaction at the zeal, assiduity, and perseverance which had been displayed: he regretted the continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte; but made not the most distant allusion to the fate of Poland: he declared he had a close friendship both with the czarina and the sultan, but no engagements with either: he applauded the effectual relief and support which had been offered to the East India Company; and stated that some progress had been made in reducing the national debt.

Ireland continued in an uneasy state, although the Marquis of Townshend had been succeeded as lord-lieutenant by a much more popular nobleman, Lord Harcourt. But the storm raised by the Whiteboys and Hearts of Steel was not to be compared to the tempest, further west, conjured up by the sons of liberty upon the apparition of Lord North's tea, and upon his attempt

at taking the payment of the colonial judges and governors out of the hands of the houses of assembly. While the British government argued that the salaries of the judges were inadequate to the dignity of their stations—that both judges and governors were too dependent upon the people to be able to execute justice impartially, or in any way do their duty—the Americans declared that the design of the British government was to impose its own arbitrary instruments upon them; to destroy the very essence of their charters and liberties, by making the judges and governors wholly independent of the people, and wholly dependent upon the crown. A series of protests, begun at Boston, where the assembly of Massachusetts had returned to sit, soon ran through all the colonies; and a general corresponding committee was established, with branches and ramifications reaching to nearly every town and village in the colonies. This committee of correspondence proved the great lever of revolution. The invention of it had been attributed to Franklin; but the thing itself, the uses to which it might be applied, and its absolute necessity in a country where the population was scattered over such immense tracts of land, with mighty rivers and forests, mountains and deserts, intervening, were all so obvious that they must have struck the dullest apprehension, and the idea no doubt sprang up spontaneously in thousands of minds at once. The effect was quickly seen in a general combination of measures, an unanimity of language, and a general avoidance or persecution of all who presumed to side with the British government. The words and deeds of an individual at Boston were made known everywhere, and the Tories, as they were called, could not travel or show their faces anywhere without being reviled and threatened as enemies to their country. Liberty has its arbitrary devices as well as despotism. Descriptions of persons, like the *signalements* on a French passport, were scattered far and wide, so that the travelling Tories found themselves recognized even where they least expected to be known.

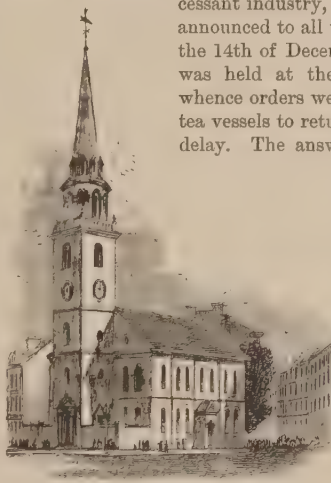
The committee of correspondence had not long been at work when the people of Boston got up a declaration or manifesto, which treated the authority of the British parliament with very little respect. They denied the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies in any matters whatsoever; they denounced the famous declaratory act recommended by Chatham, and passed in 1766, as an arbitrary, unjust assumption of a legislative power without their consent; they charged the British ministry with designing to complete a system of slavery begun in the House of Commons, &c. Six hundred copies of this paper were printed and dispersed through the

province of Massachusetts, accompanied with an address to the people, urging them “not to doze any longer, or sit supinely in indifference, whilst the iron hand of oppression was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty.” The Virginians—the most active of all in giving efficacy to the corresponding committee—did not immediately follow the example of the Bostonians in this manifesto; and as the Bostonians themselves became convinced that they had gone too far, they subsequently apologized to the British government, declaring that they had been provoked by the intemperate proceedings of their new governor, Mr. Hutchinson, but that they were in their hearts true and faithful subjects of his majesty, and thought themselves happy in their connection with Great Britain. But just at this critical moment, when men’s minds seemed wavering even in New England, and when the southern and middle colonies were comparatively peaceable, communications were produced from Benjamin Franklin, their agent in England, conveying alarming intelligence as to the real disposition of the king, ministry, parliament, and the British nation at large, and inclosing letters addressed by Hutchinson and Oliver, the governor and deputy-governor of Massachusetts, to the home government. These letters, which were strictly private and confidential, conveyed to the secretary of state for the colonies some unfavourable pictures of the leaders of the movement, and seemed to recommend coercive measures. As to the intention of Franklin in transmitting these letters, there can be no doubt. Nor was he disappointed as to the effect they produced upon the cooling spirits of the New Englanders. The perusal of them operated like a match thrown upon a train of gunpowder. All who saw them or heard of them felt convinced that they were to be proceeded against with fire and sword, and that their governor and lieutenant-governor were in league with the most violent part of the British cabinet, and were amusing them with gentle words and fair promises, while they were actually preparing their destruction. A committee was appointed to wait upon Governor Hutchinson, and to demand whether he acknowledged his signature, taking care the while not to trust the letters out of their own hands. Hutchinson would not be guilty of a useless falsehood; and he acknowledged his handwriting, with which every person present was well acquainted; and hereupon the house of assembly drew up a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging the governor with betraying his trust and slandering the people under his government, by giving private, partial, false, and malicious information; declaring him an enemy to the colony, and praying for his instant removal, together with that of Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant-

governor. Copies of this petition and remonstrance, and of the letters which Franklin had sent them, were soon scattered all over the continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi—from the shores of the Atlantic to the regions in the far west. The leaders and movers found in them a text to justify extreme measures; and men who had been cool and cautious before—half longing for they knew not what, and half relying on the old connection and the friendship and the traditions of England—now became impatient, intolerant, suspicious, hot, and altogether unruly. Long before matters had got to this height, and during the preceding year, 1772, the people of the Rhode Island had not only offered the greatest insult to the British flag, but had also *boarded, captured, and burned a British ship of war*. This was the *Gaspee* schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston, who had been exceedingly active in enforcing the laws against smuggling—a business to which the Rhode Islanders were much addicted. The sloop was boarded by a band of men in the middle of the night as she lay aground on a sandy bottom waiting for the return of the tide. Lieutenant Dudingston was wounded in attempting to defend his quarter-deck, and the crew overpowered and carried ashore. It is not easy to conceive a more irritating case than this. And now, when the spirit of discontent was at its height—when the letters transmitted by Franklin had conjured up all kinds of dark visions and ungentle spirits—two ships arrived at Boston with the cargoes of tea which Lord North had allowed the East India Company to export from England duty free. Previously to their arrival meetings had been held, and mobs had been raised, to terrify the consignees into an engagement not to receive the tea.¹ Another meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and of all the neighbouring towns was now called, and it led to the instant and unanimous declaration that a resolution previously passed at Philadelphia, asserting, among other things, that the tea ships were sent out for the

purpose of enslaving and *poisoning* all freeborn Americans, should be adopted; and that the tea which came charged with a duty to be paid in America, should not be landed, but be sent back in the same bottoms. At the same time they held out terrible threats to the captains of the tea ships, and to all who should dare to give them any encouragement or assistance. This was on the 30th of November of the present year, 1773. The consignees, by letter, offered to store the teas till they could receive further instructions; but this moderate proposal was rejected with anger and disdain; and a strong guard of Bostonians was sent down to Griffin's Wharf to watch the ships, and prevent a single leaf of tea from being landed. The men appointed to this duty were armed with muskets, rifles, swords, and cutlasses, and they were regularly relieved day and night. The committee of correspondence plied the pen with incessant industry, and bolder doctrines were now announced to all the towns and settlements. On the 14th of December another crowded meeting was held at the Old South Meeting-house, whence orders were sent to the captains of the tea vessels to return to England without further delay. The answer received was, that the collector could not give any clearance until the vessels had discharged their cargoes. As for the captains of the tea ships, they could do nothing, for the governor had ordered that they should not be allowed to pass the forts without a permit signed by himself, and Admiral Montague had sent down two ships of war to guard all the passages out of the harbour. This conduct has been bitterly reprehended by writers who can discover

nothing right on the side of government; but cooler minds will reflect that to have submitted to the commands of a popular meeting, and to have bowed to its decree that English shipping were not free to stay in an American port, and that the English flag could not cover English property in one of our colonies—a colony, too, which had just assured us that she wished to remain, what she was, a dependence of the British crown—would have been an absolute renunciation of sovereignty. To give a colour of justice or reason to their high pretensions, the Bostonians

THE OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE, BOSTON.²

¹ The houses of the consignees had been surrounded, their windows and doors also had been broken, and they had been obliged to flee for their lives to Castle-William, where the two regiments were still quartered. The governor had in vain attempted to suppress this riot, the sheriff had been grossly insulted for attempting to read a moderate proclamation, and the council had positively refused either advice or assistance.

² The "Old South" was the famous gathering-place of the people during the excitements of 1773. The British troops occupied it as a circus for the drill of cavalry in 1775. It stands on the corner of Washington and Milk Streets, is built of brick, and is still in good preservation. The view is from a drawing by B. J. Lossing.

and those acting with them ought to have spoken more plainly, and not have continued to express in the same breath allegiance and independence. A few of the movers did indeed assume, at this moment, the true tone of revolution. Mr. Joseph Quincey, junior, for example, told the meeting on the 16th that this quarrel about tea must end in a contest carried on by bullets and cannon-balls. About three o'clock in the afternoon the question was put to the meeting whether they would abide by their former resolutions with respect to the tea; and it was carried in the affirmative without one dissenting voice. They then sent to desire the governor to give the ships a permit to depart. The governor replied that he could not, consistently with the laws and his duty to the king, give any pass unless the vessels were properly qualified from the custom-house. The meeting began to discuss this *horrible* answer; but the debate was presently interrupted by a person in the front gallery of the meeting-house, who was disguised as an Indian, and who uttered the war-whoop in a tone so natural that he might have been taken for a real savage. This yell was succeeded by the general cry of "A mob! a mob!" Some cautious Bostonians then moved that the meeting should be dissolved; and it was dissolved accordingly, before any overt act was committed. By this time it was six o'clock at night and quite dark. Many of the people ran at once from the Old Meeting-house to Griffin's Wharf, where the tea ships were lying, and where they were met by a number of armed men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, and by a number of skippers, sailors, boatmen, and men of colour, which latter class had not forgotten the fate of Crispus Attucks. In overwhelming force these rioters and sham Indians boarded the ships, broke bulk, hoisted out the chests, and discharged their contents into the sea with much joy and jubilation. The "sons of liberty" then returned quietly to their homes, having destroyed property to the amount of many thousands of pounds.¹

A.D. 1774. Although the British parliament was assembled much later than usual, it met before this last startling intelligence from Boston was received. The first parliamentary struggle took place on the ministerial motion for 20,000 seamen, as in the preceding year. The opposition said it was absurd to talk of peace and yet keep up such an establishment; and they called upon ministers to answer in what manner they had disposed of the supplies voted for the navy from the year 1763. The motion, however, was carried without a division—"a division," says Burke, "not having been usual

for several years upon a matter of supplies." Alderman Sawbridge made his annual motion for shortening the duration of parliaments; but he did not succeed in getting up a debate, and, the question being called for, the motion was rejected by a majority of 221 against 94. Experience seemed to have proved the excellence of George Grenville's controverted election act; and it was now rendered perpetual. Lord North was soon supported in the house by the usual large majority. This effect was partly produced by the strong national resentment against the Americans for their exploits at Boston and Rhode Island.

Government must have received the information some weeks before; but it was not until the 7th of March that the king sent a message to both houses, acquainting them with all the practices carried on in the colonies, and particularly with the outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston. This message was accompanied with a mass of papers, consisting of letters from Governor Hutchinson, Admiral Montague, the consignees of the tea, despatches from governors and officers in other colonies, and a variety of extracts and other documents, the most numerous and inflammable American manifestoes, handbills, pamphlets, and fugitive pieces. These papers made the House of Commons as hot as Faneuil Hall or the Old Meeting-house at Boston. Yet, if less precipitancy would have become them more, it is quite certain, from the present temper of the Americans, that moderation would have been interpreted into a confession of weakness and fear. A motion was made for an address to the throne, "to return thanks for the message, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects so important to the general welfare as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This motion produced a warm debate. The opposition, however, admitted that the conduct of the Bostonians and Rhode Islanders was exasperating in an extreme degree, and disclaimed all intention of impeding the measures of government in a matter of such high importance. Ministers urged that it was worse than useless to rake up the past; and that now the great points of the question might be fairly canvassed. They asked whether America was or was not to be any longer dependent on this country?—how far?—in what degree?—in what manner? *It might be a question whether the colonies should not be given up;* but, if this question should be decided in the negative, then it would be necessary to examine in what manner their subordination

¹ Dr. Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*; Stedman, *History of the American War*; Documents in Almon's *Remembrancer*; *Annual Register*; *Gentleman's Magazine*.

should be preserved, and the authority of the king and parliament of Great Britain enforced. The immense majority of the house agreed in condemning all retrospect, and the address was carried without a division. Before these proceedings, and even before the arrival of the intelligence of the tea riot, Doctor Franklin, the agent for the colony or house of representatives of Massachusetts, had met with a severe castigation from the sharp tongue of a crown lawyer, for his conduct in the affair of the letters. That affair, moreover, had led to bloodshed in England, for a duel had been fought in Hyde Park, between Mr. Whately, banker in Lombard Street, and brother to Mr. Thomas Whately, late secretary to the treasury, and member for Castle-Rising, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Temple, lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire; and the unfortunate banker had been dangerously wounded. Upon this event, which caused considerable excitement, Franklin wrote and published a letter, declaring that neither Mr. Whately nor the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire had anything to do with the mischievous letters, and that both of them were totally ignorant and innocent of that transaction. "I think it incumbent on me," wrote Franklin, "to declare, for the prevention of further mischief, that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. Whately could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and for the same reason, they could not have been taken from him by Mr. Temple. They were not of the nature of *private letters between friends*; they were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were, therefore, handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures: their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach, which they effected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well-founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents."¹ On Saturday, the 29th of January, Franklin, with Mr. Dunning as counsel to speak to the Bostonian petition for the removal of the governor and

lieutenant-governor,² appeared before the privy council, where thirty-five lords were assembled, besides those in office. Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, attended as counsel for the governor. Mr. Dunning having asked on the part of his clients, the reason of being ordered to attend, and having spoken shortly on the general object of the petition, was replied to by Wedderburn, whose naturally sharp tongue was made sharper on this occasion by his friendship and sympathy for Mr. Whately, the banker, who was at that moment lying between life and death.³ After entering largely into the constitution and temper of the province of Massachusetts, he concluded with a violent invective against the double-dealing and malice of Franklin. It concluded with this indignant burst of feeling:—"Amidst tranquil events, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's *Revenge*—

— "Know, then, 't was I.

I forged the letter—I dispos'd the picture—

I hated—I despis'd—and I destroy!"

"I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?" Whatever may have been the effect upon the members of the council, the invective sank deep into the soul of Franklin. It is said that he controlled his feelings in that presence, standing in a corner of the room without the least apparent emotion; but it is added, that when he got back to his lodgings, he took off the suit of clothes he had worn, and vowed he would never wear it again until he should sign the degradation of England and the independence of America. Our highest estimation of the philosopher's genius and address is by no means incompatible with the belief, that he was in more respect than one a *cunning man*, and a total stranger to some of those high and delicate notions which we, improperly, call *chivalrous*. We believe that by nature, by habit, by the whole course of his life, Franklin was disposed to be a democratic republican; and that from the very beginning of the troubles, he aimed at nothing short of revolution, independence, and the establishment of a commonwealth in his native country. These aspirations in themselves might be honest, laudable, noble; but they cannot justify the employment of base means, or excuse the duplicity, the mental

¹ This letter was signed "B. Franklin, agent for the house of representatives of Massachusetts Bay," and was dated Craven Street, December 25th, 1773. As a matter of course, it left in mystery the means by which the philosopher had got possession of the letters. But the secret has since transpired. "It is only within these seven years," says the writer of the *History of the American Revolution*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in 1830, "that it has been ascertained that Governor Hutchinson's letters were put into Franklin's

hands by a Dr. Williamson, who, without any suggestion on his part, had procured them by stratagem from the office where they had been deposited. This curious fact is stated, with many particulars, in a *Memoir of Dr. Williamson*, by Dr. Hosack, of New York."

² The petition got up in consequence of the letters he had transmitted.

³ Letter of the Earl of Shelburne to Chatham, in *Chatham Correspondence*.

reservation, and the cajolery (practised chiefly to keep the opposition party on their side) which Franklin and his countrymen persisted in so long.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.¹

It is said that that Whig, the Earl of Shelburne, saw through Franklin's mask as early as the year 1766, when the British government was adopting measures of conciliation, and abolishing the stamp act; and that his lordship told the philosopher, that what he and the Americans wanted was a total independence; to which Franklin replied, that his lordship was much mistaken—that all they wanted was a total exemption from taxation by the British parliament.² Yet, according to Adam Smith, Franklin said, in the presence of a particular friend of his, and with much triumph, "that, whatever measures Great Britain might choose to pursue with regard to her colonies, whether mild or vigorous, they would equally tend to bring about that great and desirable event, the entire independence of America."³ Franklin, it is added, never made any secret of this wish and intention when among private friends; and the letters which he addressed from London to private friends and to public bodies in America were generally charged with matter to awaken suspicion, to wound pride, and to excite a determined spirit of resistance. And while he was writing these letters he was telling his best advocates, the leaders of the opposition in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, that the wish nearest to his heart, and to the hearts of all honest Americans, was a continuance of the connection with the dear old mother country.

Hitherto Franklin had been allowed to retain his profitable place of postmaster-general for America; but three days after Wedderburn's chastisement in the council he was dismissed by letter from that office. Though far too wise to be a miser or a niggard, we know that the philosopher was not indifferent to money; indeed, setting aside his discoveries in natural science, the best or most prominent part of his philosophy is the art of making money or thriving in the world; his morality is essentially a calculation—a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence—a dry and hard utilitarianism, which, assisted no doubt by many local, natural, and inevitable circumstances, is supposed by some to have left too deep an imprint on the minds of his countrymen, who have grown up under lessons of his teaching and institutions of his forming. Therefore we think we do not err in surmising that, if Wedderburn's invective was a capful of wind, the deprivation of this profitable place was a steady breeze to fill his sail and propel him on his bold and most hazardous voyage; the result of which, after all, must have been far different, at least at the time, from what it was, if it had not been for a most marvellous and incredible combination of accident, craft, imbecility, and madness.

Following up the warm and almost unopposed address on American affairs, Lord North, on Monday, the 14th of March, moved for leave to bring in a bill to remove the customs, courts of justice, and all government offices, from Boston to New Salem—"a step," says Gibbon, "so detrimental to the former town as must soon reduce it to our own terms, and yet of so mild an appearance that it was agreed to without a division, and almost without a debate."⁴ It encountered, indeed, scarcely more opposition than the address had done: on its first introduction it was received with very general applause, and it was pushed on with such vigour that it did not remain long in that house, and on the 28th of March was passed by the lords, who had some lively conversation upon it, but no debate.⁵ The Boston port bill, as it was called, was generally considered not only just but lenient. On the 31st of March the bill received the royal assent, and the trade of Boston was annihilated. Lord North's tone was moderate. Chatham spoke favourably of it, and of the candid and right principles of Lord Dartmouth, the present secretary for American affairs.⁶ Afterwards, on the 19th of April, Mr. Rose Fuller, in the commons, moved that

¹ From an excellent medallion likeness, made in the red clay of Passy, in 1777, when Dr. Franklin resided there. The original is about twice the size.

² Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*.

³ Letter from Dr. Adam Smith, author of the *Wealth of Nations*, &c., to Dr. Roebuck of Birmingham: printed in the second number of the *Verulam*, London, 1827.

⁴ Letter to Lord Sheffield.

⁵ Such is the account given by Burke in the *Annual Register*.

⁶ In the latter part of the year 1772, some important changes had been made in the ministry. The Earl of Hillsborough resigned his post of head of the board of trade, and secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded, in both his places, by the Earl of Dartmouth, who was generally understood to be

the house should that day se'nnight resolve itself into a committee, for taking into consideration the question of a total repeal of the unfortunate tea duty. Ministers, however, maintained that this was not the proper time for such a measure, arguing that repeal at this moment would show such a degree of wavering and inconsistency as would defeat the good effects of the vigorous plan which had been at length adopted; and the motion was negatived. Ministers remembered, and it was difficult for any one else to forget, that concession on this side of the water had not in one single instance been met with a return of kindness and good-will on the other. Moreover, whatever might be thought of internal taxation for America, the great body of parliament and of the nation, including the most enlightened, the most liberal, the best men then living in England, certainly entertained the opinion that Great Britain had the right to tax those colonies externally, in the way of duties on merchandise, port duties, &c. And this had been asserted and maintained by successive ministers—by Charles Townshend, by George Grenville, by the Marquis of Rockingham, and by none more imperiously than by Chatham himself. Writers of the most opposite views and character, men who differed on nearly every other subject—Gibbon, Burke, Hume, Doctor Johnson, Adam Smith, and Soame Jenyns—had all agreed on this one point.

On the 28th of March, while the Boston port bill was before the lords, Lord North, in a committee of the whole house, brought in a bill, "For the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay." The purport of this bill was to alter the constitution of that province, as it stood upon the charter of William III.; to do away with some of those popular elections which decided everything in that colony; to take the executive power out of the hands of the democratic party, and to vest the nomination of the members of the council, of the judges, and of magistrates of all kinds, including the sheriffs, in the crown, and in some cases in the king's governor. In support of the bill, Lord North said, that the province of Massachusetts Bay had been turbulent beyond bearing, and had set an ill example to all the colonies; that an executive power was wholly wanting in that province, where the force of the civil power consisted solely in the *posse comitatus*, that is to say, in more moderate, or more favourable to the Americans. Franklin considered it a victory to have got rid of Hillsborough, and hoped, from the regard Lord Dartmouth had always expressed for him, to be able to obtain more favour for the colonies. At the same time Viscount Townshend was recalled from Ireland, and made master-general of the ordnance; and Earl Harcourt was sent over as lord-lieutenant. Sir Jeffery Amherst was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance in lieu of General Conway, who was made governor of Jersey.

the very people who committed the riots. He asked, if the democratic party showed a contempt of the laws, how any governor was to enforce them? He urged that it was in vain making laws and regulations here in England, when there were none found to execute them in America: but he hoped that the present bill would create an executive power, and give strength and spirit to the civil magistracy. He professed himself open to discussion, and to a change of opinion and of the provisions of the bill whenever it might be proved erroneous. A much warmer debate ensued, and the opposition was much more active and united than upon the Boston port bill. Lord North was true to his promise, and the bill was considerably altered. As it stood when presented anew after the Easter holidays, the council of Massachusetts Bay was put on the same footing as the councils of the other colonies; the nomination was vested in the crown, and they were to have no negative voice, and were not to appoint, as hitherto, the judicial officers of the province. The mode of choosing juries was also altered, and the continual assemblies and town meetings held in Boston were no longer to be convened without the consent of the governor, unless for the annual election of certain officers. The opposition condemned the whole bill as arbitrary and tyrannical, and lauded to the skies the democratic institutions of the province. They showed that the Bostonians and their neighbours had flourished for nearly fourscore years under that democratic charter; but what they neither showed nor attempted to show was, how those institutions could possibly harmonize with the different system of the mother country. The charter might suit the colony if it ceased to be a colony and became an independent state; but neither Dowdeswell nor Sir George Saville, who were warmest in defence of the charter, approved of or contemplated independence and disseverance. There was, we repeat, an utter incompatibility between the old charter and a dependence on a constitutional monarchy—between the spirit of New England liberty and the spirit of liberty as trained and moderated in old England. In the course of the debates upon the bill much eloquence was displayed, and many predictions were uttered, and by being uttered in that place and in that manner, these predictions tended to their own fulfilment. General Conway could see nothing but increased exasperation, misfortune, and ruin, from the adoption of these measures; and he and others asked for more time to consider what was best to be done, and what crimes and errors the New Englanders had really been guilty of. Replying to this delaying proposition, Lord North said, with more heat than was usual with him, "I will tell you what the Americans have

done; they have tarred and feathered the officers and subjects of Great Britain; they have plundered our merchants, burned our ships, denied all obedience to our laws and authority! Our conduct has been clement and long-forbearing, but now it is incumbent to take a different course. Whatever may be the consequence, we must risk something, or all is over." Sir Richard Sutton concluded the present debate, which was on the second reading of the bill, by stating broadly and truly that the Americans, though they did not confess it, were aiming at total independence, and would never again submit quietly to English laws and regulations of trade. "If," said he, "you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you he has none, nor any governor but Jesus Christ." And such, at least, was the language of the New Englanders. On the third reading, which took place on the 2d of May, Sir William Meredith, who had carried Whig principles as far as any man,¹ insisted that the parliament of Great Britain had an indisputable right to lay duties upon the Americans, and to tax them externally. Thurlow, the attorney-general, maintained that, while the sovereignty over the colonies remained in this country, the right of taxing was not, and never could be surrendered. Lord North denied that his bill would destroy any civil rights, or establish anything like a military government—nothing was altered, he said, except the civil government. Mr. Burke spoke with his usual warmth and eloquence against the bill; and now he was joined, as by a personal friend and pupil, by Mr. Charles Fox, who had again disagreed with his superiors in the cabinet, and was dismissed by them just as his abilities were ripening and becoming of value. He had spoken and voted against the Boston port act, and he now spoke and voted against this bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. Ministers seem scarcely to have been aware of his power and eloquence until they had lost him past recovery.² The bill was, however, passed by the overwhelming majority of 239 against 64. In the upper house it was criticized and opposed, and vehemently denounced by a few lords; but there too it was carried by a great majority.

The absence of the orator was sensibly felt on this occasion; but Chatham, complaining of his gout, kept away at Burton Pynsent, writing to his friend Shelburne that England was hurrying

on to perdition, and that he knew not how to prevent it. But efforts were repeated to draw him from his present retreat; and even ministers were said to be anxious to have his opinion on American affairs. The debate on a bill for the quartering and better regulating the troops in the colonies, as a compliment to Lord Chatham, was put off till the 25th, and then further postponed till the 27th, in order that, if he chose to deliver his opinion, he might have the opportunity of so doing. On the latter evening the great orator was in his place, and in spite of the gout and the other infirmities he had been complaining of, he made a very long speech. He said that the whole history of the American people, their descent, and the character and disposition they inherited from their English ancestors, all gave ground for believing that they would never submit to slavish and tyrannical principles. As was the mother, such were her children. He assumed, as a positive fact, what was doubted by nearly every man who had thought upon the subject, and what could be positively disproved by American documents, that the colonies thought not of prosecuting the quarrel; that they were in an excess of gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act, and that, but for the tea tax, which he believed had driven them to despair, we should never more have heard of their insubordination and violence. He charged Lord North and his colleagues with having purposely irritated them into their late violent deeds—"purposely to be revenged on them for the victory the Americans had gained by the repeal of the stamp act, a measure in which they seemingly acquiesced, but to which at the bottom they were real enemies." He seemed to forget that his own high declaratory act had inflamed the passions of the colonists after the repeal of the stamp act; and the Americans, too, seem to have been willing to forget that fact in the praises he lavished upon them, and the vast use of which his opposition indisputably was to their cause; though Chatham, as a minister, would never have granted the objects which they, or their leaders at least, now aimed at. The bill which Chatham was opposing was, nevertheless, passed by a majority of fifty-seven against sixteen.

By this time the session was drawing near to the usual period of recess; many members, fatigued with the long discussions on American affairs, had retired into the country, and both houses were thinner than ever. Yet, under these circumstances, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, "For making more effectual provisions for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America." The principal objects of this bill were to ascertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had

¹ It is to be noted, however, that Sir William had just been made comptroller of his majesty's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy council.

² In the preceding month of December, Charles Fox was put somewhat at his ease in money matters, by his father, Lord Holland, paying his debts, which amounted to £140,000!—Gibbon, *Letters to Lord Sheffield*. Two or three weeks before the third reading of the Boston port bill—on which occasion Fox appeared for the first time in decided opposition—he had been turned out of his place in a very unceremonious manner.

been settled as such by the king's proclamation of 1763; to form a legislative council for all the affairs of that province, *except taxation*, which council should be appointed and be removable by the crown, and in which his majesty's Canadian Roman Catholic subjects should be entitled to a place; to establish the old French laws to which the Canadians had been accustomed, including trial without jury, in all civil cases, and the English laws, with trial by jury in all criminal cases; and to secure to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars (or members of the religious orders) the legal enjoyment of their lands and of their tithes in their own communities, or from all who professed the Roman Catholic religion. The bill passed through the lords with little or no observation; but when it came down to the commons it met with a very different reception, and gave rise to debates as passionate as any that had taken place during this session.

Various alterations, which were not all *amendments*, though so called in parliamentary language, were hurriedly made in the bill, which had been framed in a hurry. In drawing the boundary line between Canada and the state of New York, geographical errors were committed which have since given rise to almost interminable disputes between the United States and the government of Great Britain. To settle this boundary for the puzzled and perplexed House of Commons, Burke and three other members ran up-stairs with defective maps and charts, and, in the course of half an hour, drew the line which was ultimately adopted. Yet the Canada bill contained much that was good, wise, and tolerant. It gave to the French-descended Canadians the essential parts of a free constitution, with far more liberty than they had ever enjoyed, or aspired to, under the dominion of France; it made a liberal provision for their Roman Catholic clergy; and the bill certainly had the effect of conciliating the Canadians, who, though of so different a race, and so recently conquered, remained attached to the British crown, when its British-descended colonists rebelled against it. Most of the opposition party spoke vehemently against the concessions to the Roman Catholics, and Charles Fox accused Lord North of designs hostile to the Protestant church. Burke was now, and ever since the year 1771 had been, agent for the state of New York, with emoluments amounting to about £700 per annum. On the 22d of June, the Canada bill received the royal assent, the corporation of London having ineffectually petitioned the king against it. On the same day his majesty prorogued parliament, expressing the confident hope that the bill would produce the happiest effects in Canada. It seemed

to be generally understood that this parliament would not meet again; but its dissolution was not pronounced till more than three months after the prorogation. Even Chatham allowed that Lord North was more firmly fixed in power than ever. The great orator could not forget his old enmity and rivalry to the house of Fox, and was not at all inclined to give Charles Fox any great credit for sincerity or steadiness in politics.

While the British parliament were voting strong bills, the Bostonians and people of Massachusetts Bay were continuing their strong measures and acts of defiance. They insisted upon the right of dismissing every judge that owed his appointment to, or received his salary through the British government. In the month of March—that is to say, *before* the arrival of any of the *coercive bills*—the leaders of the movement party were proclaiming that America must be made wholly independent of Great Britain, and separated from her. At the head of these clamorous men was Mr. Samuel Adams, whose patriotism had not yet been able to efface certain very serious stains from his escutcheon. Adams had been a notorious defaulter as a collector of local taxes. In the mild language of Dr. Gordon, whose sympathies were all with the man or his cause—"At one time his influence was small, owing to *defects in pecuniary matters*, especially as collector of the taxes for Boston, in which office he served for years. He was accountable to the town for between £1000 and £2000; but a great part of it had never been gathered. . . . His necessities, probably (for he appears to be addicted to no extravagances), urged him to supply himself, time after time, from the cash in hand, without attending to the accumulation of the balance against him, till called upon to settle." It is quite clear, from his own limping words, that this dissenting preacher is trying to make the very best of a very bad cause. People who spoke more plainly, and who did not share in his partialities, set down Samuel Adams as a man so discredited by many money transactions, and so involved in debt and lawsuits, as to have no hope for himself except in a revolution. He had said long before, in small confidential companies, what he now repeated more publicly—"This country shall be independent, and we will be satisfied with nothing short of it." The name of Franklin was repeated with more admiration and enthusiasm than ever, and before their dissolution the assembly resolved to continue him their agent in England, while Governor Hutchinson refused to ratify his appointment, or sanction their act for paying Franklin his salary.

On the 13th of May, only a few days after the reception of the Boston port bill, General Gage, the new governor, landed on the Long Wharf,

with part of his family, and staff, but without any troops. He was not, like Hutchinson, a native of the province; but he was married to an American lady, and from long residence had many friends in the colony. He was complimented on his arrival by the council, the magistrates and others, and afterwards entertained at a public dinner. That night Hutchinson was burned in effigy. The next day a numerous town meeting took into consideration the port bill, and resolved, "That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression; we, therefore, leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the world." The obnoxious act was instantly printed and circulated in innumerable copies throughout the colonies. In some provinces the copy of the act was accompanied with comments, and in many places it was printed with a black border, and cried about under the title of "A barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder."¹

But of all the colonists the Virginians were the most ardent and the most active, the democratic party taking the lead and out-voting or out-jockeying the aristocratic party. When the Boston port bill and the letters and comments upon it reached Virginia the assembly was in session; but Mr. Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the two Lees, and three or four other young members, no longer willing to submit the direction of affairs to the old members, but determining on a bolder course, assembled in the council chamber to consult by themselves what ought to be done. These hot spirits hit upon a measure which would better have suited the Presbyterian or Puritanical Bostonians and New Englanders. Proceeding from the New Englanders it might have carried the character at least of sincerity and devoutness; but from the Virginians it looked like the merest state trick. The measure, in which there was no originality, was fished out of that voluminous collection from which we have so often quoted in describing the great Civil war between the English parliament and Charles I.

"With the help of Rushworth," says Jefferson himself, "whom we rummaged for the revolutionary precedents and forms of the Puritans of that day, we cooked up a resolution—somewhat modernizing their phrases—for appointing the 1st day of June, on which the port bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of king and parliament to moderation and justice."² As the students of Rushworth and of revolutionary precedents were neither venerable nor devout, they waited the next morning on Robert Carter Nicholas, with a request that he would make the motion in the assembly, as his age and religious character were considered in keeping with its sentiments, and likely to give it weight. Nicholas

accepted the mission, and proposed the day of fasting and prayer, which passed without opposition. But on the following day, May the 25th, Lord Dunmore, the governor of the province, dissolved the assembly, assigning as a reason the vote which had been entered. The members then repaired to the Raleigh Tavern,



THE RALEIGH TAVERN, as at the period.
From a drawing by B. J. Lossing.

in Williamsburg, the old capital of Virginia, where a similar meeting had been held in 1769, and agreed to articles of association, in which they pronounced the Boston port bill to be the result of a determined system, formed for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery. They declared that tea ought not to be used by any well-wisher to constitutional liberty; that, from the course pursued by the East India Company in favour of arbitrary taxation, the people ought not to purchase any of their commodities, except saltpetre and spices, until their grievances should be redressed; and that an attack on one of their sister colonies was an attack upon all, threatening ruin to all, unless it was resisted by their united councils. They therefore further recommended to the committee of correspondence to communicate with all the other committees "on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, to meet in general congress, at such place annually, as should be thought most convenient, to deliberate on the measures required by their common interests." This was a great step in the revolutionary march, and those who had made it were not

¹ Gordon; Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

² Life of Thomas Jefferson, by Professor Tucker: two vols. 8vo, London, 1837.

likely to halt there. They resolved to proceed forthwith to the formation of a congress, agreeing that the members of assembly who should be elected under the new writs then issuing should meet in convention, at Williamsburg, on the 1st of August following, for the purpose of appointing delegates to sit in congress. They then separated and went to their several homes, to invite the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the 1st of June, and make a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, in spite of the governor. It appears that the majority of the Virginian clergy consented to this course, and made fervid appeals from the pulpit, thus co-operating powerfully in the great work. The effect was irresistible, and was likened by Jefferson to a shock of electricity.¹

In the meanwhile the assembly of Massachusetts Bay had met for the last time at Boston on the 25th of May. General Gage, as the new governor, laid before them some common business of the province, and then announced the painful necessity he lay under of removing them, the courts, and all public offices to Salem, by the 1st of June, in conformity with the recent acts of parliament. They petitioned him to set apart a day for fasting, but he refused, and, to avoid discussion, adjourned them to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. They met on the day and at the place appointed, and named a committee to consider and report the state of the province. Mr. Samuel Adams, seeing that some of the committee were for pursuing mild and conciliatory measures, conferred with Mr. Warren upon the necessity of getting up more spirit. Warren engaged to keep the committee in play, while Adams should go and make a *caucus*—by which, in Bostonian language, was meant a political meeting and consultation carried on in secret. Adams succeeded, in the course of three or four days, in winning over and concerting measures with more than thirty members; the friends of government knowing nothing of the matter. He then announced to his party that they were sure of carrying their scheme by a sufficient majority. This scheme was completed, their resolutions were all drawn up, and, on the 17th, they resolved to proceed to business, hoping to finish before the governor could interfere with a prorogation or a dissolution. On that day they ordered the door-keeper to let no one whatsoever in, and to permit no one to go out. Yet, when they opened the business, a member favourable to government contrived to get out and to give information of what was doing within. A messenger was instantly despatched to General Gage, who sent his secretary to dissolve them. The secretary found the door fastened: he knocked

for entrance, but was told that the house was engaged upon very important business and could not admit him until it was over. The secretary then read the proclamation of dissolution upon the stairs leading to the chamber, in the hearing of several members and others, all shut out of the house. But by this time those within had done all they wanted to do: they had appointed Samuel Adams, John Adams, and three others, as their committee, to meet other provincial committees to be convened on the 1st of September at Philadelphia; they had voted them £500; had chosen a treasurer, and having no money in hand, had recommended the several towns and districts to raise the said sum by equitable proportions according to the last provincial tax—a recommendation which is said to have had, all through the province, the force of a law. They then separated.²

In rapid succession most of the colonies agreed to the expediency of the general congress, and pressed on the operations of the corresponding committees. After some difficulties, occasioned by the numerous friends of government and families of old standing and large property in that province, a meeting of the citizens of New York was called for the purpose of consulting on measures proper to be pursued in this emergency. A committee of fifty was appointed to correspond with the sister colonies "on all matters of moment." John Jay, who is esteemed one of the fathers of the American revolution, was a member of this committee, as also of a sub-committee appointed to prepare answers to whatever letters might be received. Both committees were soon earnestly and constantly at work.³

On the 1st of June, as the clock struck twelve, the custom-house at Boston had been shut up, and all lawful business had ceased in that port and town. But the people of Salem said they disdained to profit by the injury and losses of their Bostonian brethren; and, as early as the 18th of June, before any business could be well begun, the merchants and freeholders of Salem presented an address to Governor Gage, severely censuring the measures which had been adopted, commiserating the people of Boston, and declining to avail themselves of the advantages tendered by the Boston port bill. At every move the Americans read Rushworth. The document subscribed by the men of Salem on the following day, might have been taken for a transcript out of his big book. It declared that the compact had been adopted as the sole means of avoiding the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of civil war; and the parties subscribing,

² Gordon.

³ *The Life of John Jay*, with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers; by his son, William Jay.

¹ Tucker, *Life of Jefferson*.

in the presence of God, solemnly and in good faith covenanted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain till the Boston port bill should be repealed and the charter restored; not to purchase or consume any goods or merchandise from Great Britain after the last day of August; and to have no dealings with persons capable of breaking this sacred agreement, but to publish their names as enemies to their country, and men excommunicated or cut off from all social intercourse.¹ Never did league and covenant spread more rapidly among the fiery and

oppressed Covenanters of Scotland; and it was all in vain that Governor Gage issued a proclamation forbidding such unlawful combinations. Those who were not led by free-will were impelled by their fears; and in most places it seemed more dangerous to oppose the popular will than to risk a struggle in arms with the mother country; or, at the least, that the one danger was far more immediate and more direct in its operation than the other.²

When all was sullen and threatening in Boston, General Gage ordered thither some regiments of



BOSTON, from Dorchester Heights, in 1774.³—From a print of the time.

foot, with a detachment of artillery, who were all encamped on the common, and who were soon reinforced by fresh troops from Great Britain and Ireland. The men had not been there many days ere desertion began to prevail to an alarming extent. The raw recruits, more particularly, were spirited away by gills of ardent spirits in hand, and high promises in the bush. Gage first issued a proclamation offering pardon to such deserters as should return to their duty; and he next placed a strong guard at Boston Neck, a narrow isthmus which connects the town

with the country. The instant this indispensable guard was placed, a cry was raised that Gage intended to cut off all communications; to blockade the town, and to compel the inhabitants by famine to submit to government. Near and far the cry produced its effect, and former animosities between the New Englanders and the men of the more southern provinces were all forgotten in the deep sympathy for the *martyrdom* of the Bostonians, who were encouraged to brave the fictitious doom by assurances that the whole American world had their eyes upon them. All

¹ The invitations to take this league and covenant were generally expressed in pretty strong terms, and with very formidable alternatives. In many places the language was "JOIN OR DIE."

² A few moderate persons were, however, courageous enough to offer some resistance to the headlong will of the people, and some slight encouragement to Gage and government. An address was signed by 120 gentlemen and merchants of Boston, expressive of their regret at the lawless violence of their fellow-townsmen. The justices of the county of Plymouth, assembled in general session, expressed their serious concern at seeing the inhabitants of some towns influenced by certain persons calling themselves committees of correspondence, and encouraged by some whose business was to preach the gospel of Christ, entering into a league calculated to exasperate the parent country, and

interrupt and destroy the harmony of society. Attempts were made by some of the most wealthy people of Boston to raise money to pay the East India Company for the tea which had been destroyed. But all these demonstrations and attempts did far more harm than good, their only effect being to strengthen the cherished conviction of the English court and government that the most respectable people in the colonies were wholly averse to revolution.

³ The principal portion of the town was then upon the eastern slope and flats. There were a few houses upon the higher ground in the vicinity of Beacon Hill, which in the picture is designated by a pole with a barrel at its top. The peninsula originally contained about 700 acres. The hills have been razed, and earth carried into the water, by which means the peninsula is so enlarged that it now comprises about 1400 acres.

justice—or at least all law—was at an end in that province; for the juries would not serve under the new judges, nor the summoning officers call them. Except on the ground covered by the British troops, there was no peace for any man opposed to the popular majority. Few of the people of this part were unarmed, and weapons

had been provided for such as were too poor to purchase them. “Nothing,” says Gordon, “is to be seen or heard of except the purchasing of arms and ammunition, the casting of balls, and the making of all those preparations which testify the most immediate danger and determined resistance.” Under these circumstances Gage began really to



LINES ON BOSTON NECK.—From a print published in 1777.

fortify Boston Neck; and he seized and removed to head-quarters all the gunpowder and other military stores that were deposited at Charlestown, Cambridge, and some other places in the neighbourhood.

The people rose in arms and again threatened to attack the troops. They did not, however, come to blows; but they threw every possible obstruction in the way of the officers who were employed in erecting the works on the Neck, burning the materials by night, sinking boats laden with bricks, and overturning the waggons that were carrying the timber. A meeting of delegates from all the neighbouring towns was called at the beginning of September, and was held in spite of the governor's proclamation. This assemblage resolved:—That no obedience was due to any part of the late acts of parliament, which ought to be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration: that no taxes should be paid to government: that the persons who had accepted seats in the council by virtue of a *mandamus* from the king, had acted in direct violation of the duty they owed to their country; and that all of them who did not resign before the 20th of September should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country: *that the late act, establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec, was dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion, and to the rights and liberties of all America*: that, whereas their enemies had flattered themselves that they should make an easy prey of a numerous, brave people, from the notion that they were unacquainted with military discipline, such persons should be elected in each town as militia officers as were judged to be of good capacity, and inflexible friends to the rights of the people; while the inhabitants of the towns should use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and for that purpose appear under arms at least once every week, &c.¹

Before this time the men of Virginia had been

going so fast as almost to intimate that they intended leaving the men of Massachusetts Bay behind them as sluggards and loiterers on the road of revolution and independence. Jefferson and the other members of the Virginia convention met at Williamsburg, as appointed, on the 1st of August, to agree as to instructions for the delegates to be sent to the general congress. Jefferson had drawn up a terrible paper; but, falling sick, he left it to be presented by Peyton Randolph. This document was thought too bold for the present state of things; but it was nevertheless printed and widely circulated in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of “A Summary View of the Rights of British America.” In some respects it was a production as crude as it was violent; but in other respects it was an ingenious exposition of the evils attending colonial dependence on a country jealous of her manufacturing and commercial supremacy; as when it stated that by several acts of parliament America was prohibited from selling to or buying from any other country than Great Britain, and that, in the same spirit of monopoly, an American was forbidden to make a hat for himself of the fur he had taken perhaps on his own soil, or to manufacture the iron which he himself had made from the ore dug out of American earth. The simple amount of the whole was that the Virginians should claim an absolute independence and sovereignty. But, as Jefferson, the author of the document, himself confessed at a later period, “*the leap he thus proposed was too long, as yet, for the mass of his fellow-citizens.*”² As is avowed by American writers, this reticence proceeded principally, if not entirely, from the fear of alarming and offending the opposition in the British parliament, and those who were called the friends of America in England. Another set of instructions was therefore prepared, far more moderate than those drawn up by Jefferson, yet still strong enough to have convinced even the purblind that the object of its authors

¹ Gordon; Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

² Tucker's Life of Jefferson.

was nothing less than independence. The colony was deeply in debt to the mother country; there was scarcely a planter or slaveholder there, great or small, royalist or revolutionist, but was debtor to his merchants and agents in England for advances made on tobacco and other produce not yet delivered, nor even grown—these Virginia planters having been for the most part men of thoughtless and expensive habits, fond of putting four or six horses to their coaches, in rude imitation of the style of the nobility and monied aristocracy of the mother country; and an earnest desire was now asserted to discharge their debts, and an order was now passed that exportations to Great Britain should not be stopped till the 10th of August in the succeeding year (1775). But in all other respects the Virginians instructed their deputies at congress to co-operate cordially with Massachusetts Bay and the other colonies that should send delegates to the congress. The convention of Virginia further agreed to contribute speedily and liberally to the relief of the people of Boston; to abide by such alterations in their present articles as congress might recommend and the delegates of Virginia assent to; to export no tobacco after the 10th of August, 1775, and, in lieu of its cultivation, to encourage manufactures, &c. They finished by selecting as their delegates to the general congress, Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, and Benjamin Harrison.

To this assembly the eyes of all America were now anxiously turned. It met, as appointed, at Philadelphia, on Monday, the 4th of September, when all the provinces from Massachusetts to South Carolina inclusive, with the single exception of North Carolina, were found to be represented. On the following day they assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in Chestnut Street, chose Peyton Randolph president, and organized themselves into a deliberative assembly. The tardy delegates from North Carolina arrived on the 14th, and took their seats with the rest. The assembly thus completed consisted in all of fifty-five delegates, including nearly all those who were afterwards honoured with the title of *Patres Patriæ*; but the greatest of all—the real father of American independence, the man without whom there would have been no revolution at this time, or a revolution that would have failed—was not there. We need scarcely name *Benjamin Franklin*. They lost no time in proceeding to business. The debate was opened by Patrick Henry, their Chatham or Demosthenes; and, after a few days, they agreed upon a declaration of rights, to which they said they were entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the

principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts. This was followed by a new non-consumption, non-importation, and non-exportation association, to be universally observed, and infringed by no American citizen. And, this done, they set about preparing a series of solemn addresses, one being to King George, to express their loyal affection; one to the people of Great Britain, to show how barbarously they had been treated; and one to the French people of Quebec, inviting them to make common cause with the Anglo-American colonies, and urging them to take up arms against the English, who had conquered Canada only fourteen years before, and join heart and hand with the free



CARPENTER'S HALL, PHILADELPHIA.¹

From a drawing by B. J. Lossing.

American states. Congress also prepared and sent letters to the colonists of Georgia, East and West Florida, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, to induce them to shake off their dependence on the mother country, and join them in their contest. These letters were, for the moment, scarcely more successful than the address to the French of Quebec; but the provocation given to the parliament, and crown, and people of Great Britain, by the writing of them, sank deep, and convinced most men who were not blinded by party, or by palpable ignorance, that the Americans would hesitate at nothing that promised to forward their views. The congress agreed that another general congress should be held on the 10th day of May of the ensuing year (1775), and then, on the 26th of October, they dissolved themselves.

¹ "This building is constructed of small imported bricks, each alternate one glazed and darker than the other, giving it a checkered appearance. Many of the old houses of Philadelphia were built of like materials."—Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1774—1775.

GEORGE III.

Military preparations of the people of Massachusetts—Their attempt to organize an army—Their cause aided by the colonial clergy—Cannons seized and arms manufactured—Franklin's proceedings in their cause at London—General unpopularity of the subject in England—Parliamentary election—Success of the ministers in obtaining assent to their measures for coercing the Americans—Subsequent indolence in acting upon them—The ministry roused by fresh tidings of colonial revolts—Chatham proposes conciliatory proceedings—His discouraging picture of our army in America and the spirit of the colonists—He proposes to recall the army—Chatham's motion lost—Interview between him and Franklin—Incompatibility of their respective aims—Chatham's bill for tranquillizing America and retaining it in obedience—Particulars of the bill—It is negatived—Petitions in behalf of America rejected—Lord North's bill for cutting off the trade and fishery of New England—It is carried—It is succeeded by his hopeless plan of conciliation—Burke's plan of pacification rejected—Commencement of the American revolution—The British troops marched to destroy the military stores at Concord—They are attacked in their retreat by the colonial militia—They are driven into Lexington—Their sufferings and loss before they reach Boston—Boston blockaded by the American troops—Increase of their confidence and military resources—General Howe arrives in Boston with reinforcements to the royal army—Passiveness of the British commanders—Proclamations on either side—The Americans allowed to keep and fortify Breed's Hill—A tardy attempt made to dislodge them—Blunders of the British advance—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Spirited resistance of the Americans—Heavy loss of the British—Operations of the war in Canada—Ethan Allen surprises Ticonderoga—Allen is joined by Benedict Arnold—The Americans send an additional army to Canada—Its commander, Richard Montgomery—Allen's unsuccessful attempt upon Montreal—Fort Chambly taken by the Americans—Montgomery captures Fort St. John—He takes Montreal—Arnold's hazardous expedition into Canada—He reaches Quebec—He is joined by Montgomery—Their unsuccessful attempt to take Quebec—Death of Montgomery—The war in Virginia—Retreat of its governor—He offends the colonists by abolishing negro slavery—Franklin returns to America—American proclamation of independence—Articles of the confederation of the united colonies of North America—George Washington appointed commander-in-chief—Proceedings of the general congress—Alarm of congress from the royalist party in New York—Measures to suppress the New York royalists.



PREVIOUSLY to the dissolution of the congress at Philadelphia, the people of Massachusetts had made another demonstration at Salem; their town of Concord became a depôt of ammunition, and almost a place of arms. Minute-men, as they were called, from the condition of their service, which was to turn out with musket or rifle at a minute's notice, were enlisted, and money was voted to purchase warlike stores. Committees and sub-committees were named for different purposes, as committee of safety, the committee of supplies, and committee of the militia; and, to complete these acts of preparation and defiance, they appointed Jedediah Pribble and Artemas Ward, who had seen some service in the last war with the French and Canadians, to be their generals. And it was presently determined that General Gage's troops should be attacked whenever they marched out with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery; as this would prove they were going to support the acts of the British parliament by force. They resolved that 12,000 men should be got under arms in the province as soon as possible, and that the minute-men should receive regular pay, and be allowed to choose their own officers. They sent emissaries to Rhode Island,

New Hampshire, and Connecticut, to request them to prepare their respective quotas, so as to make up an army of 20,000 men; and they appointed a committee to keep up a correspondence with the Protestants of Canada, and more particularly with the new settlers of the Presbyterian persuasion. They also addressed a circular letter to all the dissenting ministers in New England, expressing great hopes in an order of men who had ever distinguished themselves in the cause of America, and recommending them to assist in averting that dreadful slavery with which the country was now threatened. It is believed that the preachers stood in no need of this incitement, having been very busy both with the tongue in the pulpit and with the pen in the newspapers, in helping on the design, ever since the quarrel began. Early in December the provincial congress of Massachusetts prorogued themselves, that they might be at home in time to keep a day of thanksgiving with their families.

A proclamation had been issued by the king, strictly prohibiting the exportation of warlike stores to America. As soon as copies of this document were received in the colonies, the people of Rhode Island, who had burned the *Gaspée* schooner, seized upon forty pieces of cannon belonging to the crown, which had been mounted

on batteries for the defence of the harbour, and carried them off into the country, to have them in readiness to mow down the king's troops. In New Hampshire, a number of armed men assembled, surprised a small fort called "William and Mary," garrisoned only by an officer and five men, and carried off the ordnance, gunpowder, and other military stores. Mills were erected for making gunpowder, manufactories were set up for making arms, and great encouragement was offered for making saltpetre. New York, however, in spite of the impetuosity of Jay and other young enthusiasts, continued to be rather lukewarm or divided; the government party, the wealthy classes, were still for reconciliation and a peaceful settlement of the quarrel; and they had influence enough in the assembly of the colony to carry a vote refusing to accede to the proceedings and resolutions of the general congress, which had been approved and confirmed by most of the other provinces.

In England, meanwhile, Franklin had not been idle. As instructed by his constituents, he had given all possible publicity to the addresses of the general congress to the king and to the people of Great Britain—the first, to show how loyal were the Americans; the second (Jay's composition), to excite the popular body. Moreover, the philosopher, assisted by numerous agents, and by some of the members of opposition in parliament, had been extremely active in some of the principal manufacturing towns in the north of England, particularly among the dissenters, who were urged to petition the throne in favour of the colonies and of their own trade, which must suffer immensely from the non-importation agreements. To counteract these agencies, to show that Franklin's scheme was in reality nothing less than to dismember the British empire, to check the petitions, or get up counter-petitions, Adam Smith, the author of the *Wealth of Nations*, applied to Dr. Roebuck, the eminent physician of Birmingham, and the intimate friend of Shenstone, the poet, imploring him, without loss of time, to make a journey through the manufacturing districts, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, &c., to see his friends, to communicate with the people, and to explain to them the real motives and objects of the Americans. This was done in concurrence with Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, who at the same time adopted other measures to check or throw discredit on the petitions Franklin was procuring. Soon after Adam Smith's letter was written, an unsuccessful attempt was made to disarm Franklin's hostility, or to ascertain his intentions, by an English lady, and by that lady's brother, Admiral Lord Howe, who had probably been already designated for the American command, which he afterwards held.

On the 30th of September, the parliament, which had yet more than a year to complete its septennial term, had been dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued for a new one. The general election in the month of October had gone greatly in favour of ministers. The nation seemed tired of the American question, which had vexed their ear ever since 1765, and the large majority of the people were certainly of opinion that the colonies had grossly insulted king, parliament, and country, and invited chastisement. Loyalty certainly increased at home in proportion as disaffection increased abroad. A glance into the publications of the day will sufficiently establish this fact, and convince every candid man that, whatever might be the complaints at a later period, when our ministers and commanders in America had shown an utter incompetency for conducting a great war, few Englishmen complained at this moment of any obstinacy in the sovereign in persevering against the Americans. In some few places, however, tests were proposed by a portion of freeholders and voters, including pledges to stop hostilities with America. Thus some of the freeholders of Middlesex, at a meeting, proposed to John Wilkes, who was again a candidate, and to his colleague, Serjeant Glynn, a test, in which they should engage to promote bills for shortening the duration of parliaments; for the exclusion of all placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons; for a more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament; for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of Middlesex on the former forced election of Luttrell; and for procuring an absolute repeal of the four late American acts, &c. Wilkes and Glynn, who were both returned triumphantly, signed this paper. The court had not ventured to offer the shadow of opposition to the election of Wilkes, who, moreover, was elected at the same time lord-mayor of London. The writs had been made returnable on the 29th of November; and on that day the king went down to the House of Peers, and, being on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; and, they being come, his majesty, by his chancellor, signified his pleasure that they should return and choose a speaker, to be presented on the next day for his majesty's approbation. The commons unanimously re-elected Sir Fletcher Norton; and on the following day (the 30th) the king opened parliament, with a speech, in the usual form, expressing regret for the disturbances in America, and announcing the adoption of measures for their suppression. An address, also in the usual form, was moved for ministers; but an amendment was proposed on the side of opposition, to the effect that his majesty would be pleased to com-

municate the whole intelligence he had received from America, and lay all letters, orders, and instructions whatsoever relating to that business before parliament. This was productive of some considerable debate, and of a division. "The great speakers in opposition," says Burke, in the *Annual Register*, "never distinguished themselves in a more striking manner than in this day's debate." They were, however, outvoted by a majority of 264 against 73. This was in the commons. In the lords both the address and the debate upon it were still hotter. Their lordships declared their abhorrence and detestation of the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws which so strongly prevailed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, &c.; they thankfully acknowledged the communication it had pleased his majesty to make, of his having taken such measures and given such orders as he judged the most proper and effectual for the protection and security of commerce, and for the carrying into execution the acts passed in the last session of the late parliament, &c. Chatham was away at Hayes; but the Duke of Richmond moved an amendment to the same effect as that made in the commons. After a long debate, the opposition, upon a division, only counted thirteen to sixty-three. Nine of the minority joined in a strong and pointed protest—the first protest heard of upon an address.

Having carried their addresses by such vast majorities, and having to all appearance made up their minds to the high-handed course they were to pursue, ministers might have been expected to call for an increase of forces; but, instead of doing this, and instead of keeping attention awake to the American business, they left the estimates to be entirely formed upon a peace establishment, continued the army as it was, and reduced the navy by 4000 seamen, thus leaving only 16,000 for the service of the ensuing year. The house and the country were at a loss how to reconcile this conduct of administration with the speech from the throne, which seemed to call for the most vigorous and decisive measures. Vehement debates took place in both houses. In the lords, Sandwich, as head of the admiralty, confidently asserted that he knew that the low navy establishment would be quite sufficient to reduce the colonies to obedience. He spoke contemptuously of the power and of the courage of the Americans. He declared that they were neither disciplined nor capable of discipline; and that their numbers, of which such boasts had been made, would only add to the facility of their defeat when brought into action.

During the Christmas holidays
A.D. 1775. ministers received more alarming intelligence from America, coming down to the

seizure of Fort William and Mary, which we have mentioned; and the opposition arranged their plans of attack, and stipulated with Chatham that he should on the first occasion make one of his grand displays in the House of Lords. A report had spread that the great orator was determined to give himself no further trouble about American affairs, and that for certain he did not intend to come up to town. But on the 20th of January the orator was in his place; and, according to his ardent wish, the American philosopher was there to hear him, having been introduced or smuggled into the house by Chatham himself. His feet were lame with the gout, but there was no lameness in his tongue, and when he rose to speak there was an awful silence, none but his most intimate friends knowing the motion he was about to make. That motion was simply "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to desire and beseech that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and, above all, for preventing, in the meantime, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town: it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders be despatched to General Gage, for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigour of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable." He said, "I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly owe obedience to us in a limited degree; they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation (*here Franklin must have smiled*); but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else it will cease to be property. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from *obedience and commercial restraints* as from taxation for revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless." After thus strongly stating the supremacy of the mother country, he ventured rather boldly to censure the declaratory act, which was in a manner the work of his own hand. He drew a startling, yet not untrue picture of General Gage's army. It was not easy to exaggerate the ill condition of those forces, half housed in temporary ill-built barracks, half bivouacked on Boston Neck and the common, in that inclement winter, and in a climate so much

colder than our own—inactive, torpid, and, for the time, useless—badly provided with everything, save insult and abuse from the colonists—wasting away with sickness—pining for action; but the orator ought to have remembered that it was, after all, a respect to the rights of British subjects, an aversion to begin the shedding of human blood, a constitutional subjugation of the military to the civil power, that had reduced the army to this condition. If the king and his government had ventured upon that tyranny of which Chatham was talking, the soldiers at that moment would easily have found better provisions and better quarters. Chatham, in his splendid declamations, was doing his best to make the condition of the troops worse than it was, and was further embarrassing an officer who was but too much hampered and embarrassed already. Blinded, perhaps, as it was certainly and especially intended he should be, by some of the half-speaking papers of the general congress which had been assembled at Philadelphia, he panegyricized that assembly for decency, firmness, and wisdom, and for qualities equal or preferable to whatever had been seen in ancient days. He said that ministers derived their information from wrong sources—from selfish merchants, packers, and factors, and such servile classes of Americans, whose strength and stamina were not to be compared with the cultivators of the land, in whose simplicity of life was found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. As a proper source of information and irrefragable opinions concerning the colonies, he referred ministers to Dr. Franklin. He proclaimed that it was nothing but the glorious spirit of Whiggism that was animating the colonists; and that the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and the Whigs on this, were engaged in one common cause. Chatham's motion was supported by Lord Shelburne, who, according to William Pitt, "spoke well and warmly."¹ It was found, however, that the opposition lords were not fully or generally agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. The brilliant Lord Lyttleton both spoke and voted against Chatham, upon whose altar he had recently been offering up incense. To other Whig lords it seemed most unjust and unwise to leave those American citizens who had risked their lives in favour of the claims of this country, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed populace; and that, too, before any previous stipulations were made for their safety. These lords also considered that proper concessions had not been made by the people of Boston, and that the troops, after all, were not numerous enough to raise any reasonable alarm. The ministerial lords said that all conciliating means had

proved ineffectual, or had only tended to increase the stir and tumult; that, if we gave way on the present occasion, from notions of present advantages in trade and commerce, such a yielding would infallibly defeat its own object, it being plain that our navigation act, and all other acts regulating trade, would fall victims to the interested and ambitious views of the Americans. Chatham rose a second time to speak to this last and cogent argument. "If," said he, "the noble lord should prove correct in suggesting that the views of the Americans are ultimately directed to abrogate the act of navigation and the other regulating acts, so wisely calculated to promote a reciprocity of interests, and to advance the grandeur and prosperity of the whole empire, no person present, however zealous, would be readier than myself to resist and crush their endeavours." Upon a division only eighteen were found to support Chatham's motion, while no fewer than sixty-eight voted against it.

Dr. Franklin made haste to express the admiration with which he was filled for that truly great man, the Earl of Chatham, declaring that he had seen, in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; but in the present instance he had seen both united, and both, as he thought, in the highest degree possible.² This was soon followed by two or three interviews between the orator and the philosopher. As Chatham had mentioned in the House of Lords that he had prepared a plan for healing all differences, Franklin was very desirous to know what this plan was, and was meditating a visit when Lord Mahon called upon him and told him Lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing him. On Friday, the 27th of January, the philosopher went down to Hayes, and, on the following Sunday, the orator repaid the visit at his lodging in Craven Street. The philosopher was more excited by the visit and the equipage waiting at his door, than might have been expected; but philosophers are but men, and republicans of the most democratic turn have not been universally found insensible to aristocratic distinctions and the trappings and blazonments of rank. On the following Friday morning, as appointed, Franklin was again at Hayes; but, though he stayed nearly four hours, he had not time to go through half the memorandums he had made for Chatham's guidance. According to his account the great orator kept the talk to himself. "His lordship," says he, "in the manner of, I think, *all eloquent persons*, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned! . . . He is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him that I found little inclination to interrupt him." He

¹ Chatham Correspondence.

² Letter to Earl Stanhope, in Chatham Correspondence.

therefore ceased his querying; and the only alteration that Chatham made, at *his* suggestion, was of a *single word*. He says that there was not time to make changes and another fair copy; that neither of them expected that the plan would be adopted; and that it might be amended afterwards; but, in our humble opinion, Chatham and Franklin could never have agreed upon any plan of accommodation whatsoever; and all that the American really wanted from the proud Englishman was another brilliant speech, which would be sure to increase the embarrassment of government, and to contain passages proper to flatter the pride and to stimulate the resistance of the colonies. If the great orator could possibly have foreseen that Franklin, even under any circumstances of provocation, would disavow the two countries, and then seek the alliance of France and Spain, and every country in enmity with Great Britain, we believe he would have spurned him from his door, or brained him with his gout-crutch. But Franklin took especial care to flatter the great political dogma of Chatham, and to assure him that neither he nor any of his countrymen wished to break the ties which bound the colonies to the mother country. Some time before this, Chatham had mentioned an opinion prevailing in England, that America aimed at setting up for herself as an independent state; and Franklin had assured him "that he never had heard, in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."¹

On Wednesday, the 1st of February, Chatham, having previously secured the attendance and support of the Duke of Richmond, Earl Stanhope, and others, rose in the House of Lords with his plan, which he called "a provisional bill for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." He said that "no regard for popularity, no predilection for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable steady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should at all influence his conduct; for, though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and setting the just value on that inestimable blessing, liberty, yet if he could once bring himself to be persuaded that they entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and control of the British legislature, he should be the very person himself who would be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power, by every possible exertion this country was capable of making."

¹ Letter from Franklin to his son.

The proposed bill was to the following effect: 1. That the parliament of Great Britain had full power to bind America in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representatives of distant colonies; and most especially an indubitable and indispensable right to make laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; that the colonies of America have ever been, are, and of right ought to be dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain and subordinate unto the British parliament; and that all subjects in the colonies are bound in duty and allegiance to recognize and obey the supreme legislative authority of parliament, &c. 2. That to quiet and dispel groundless jealousies and fears, it should be declared that no military force could ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the best rights of the people; but that it should also be declared at the same time that the authority of sending troops to the colonies, or to any part of the British dominions, rested with the parliament and the king, and not with the provincial assemblies in the colonies; and that the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the crown to send any part of the army to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, could never be rendered dependent upon the will of the colonists or their assemblies. 3. That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his majesty's revenue should be commanded or levied from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of provincial assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. 4. That the king and parliament now assembled should declare it lawful for delegates from the provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet again in general congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the 9th of May next ensuing, in order to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies; as also to consider the making a free grant to the crown of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of the British parliament, to be by them appropriated to the alleviation of the national debt, "no doubt being had but this just free aid would be in such honourable proportion as might seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing colonies towards a parent country labouring under the heaviest burdens, which, in no inconsiderable part, had been willingly taken upon ourselves and posterity, for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the colonies;" but that this free grant was not to be understood as a condition of redress, but simply as a testimony

of affection; nor was congress to exercise any right of taxation, without first recognizing the supreme legislative and superintending power of parliament, &c. 5. That the prayer of the petition of congress should then be granted; that the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts in America should be restrained within their ancient limits, and the trial by jury in all civil cases, where the same had been abolished, should be restored; and that no subject in America should, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same in any place out of the province wherein such offence should be alleged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage: nor should it be lawful to send persons indicted for murder in any province of America to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. 6. That all and every such acts, or so much of them as had been represented to have been found grievous; namely, the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. c. 15 and c. 34; 5th Geo. III. c. 25; 6th Geo. III. c. 52; 7th Geo. III. c. 41 and c. 46; 8th Geo. III. c. 22; 12th Geo. III. c. 24; with the three acts for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice," &c.; also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, should be and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act: and that all the said acts, or the parts of them complained of, should be finally repealed and annulled from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament should have been made on the part of the colonies. 7. And that, for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the colonies, his majesty's judges in the courts of law in the colonies of America *to be appointed with salaries, by the crown*, should hold their offices and salaries, as his majesty's judges in England, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. The Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state for America, proposed that the bill should lie on the table, till the papers referred to the house by his majesty should have been first taken into consideration. The Earl of Sandwich moved the rejection of the

bill at once and for ever, and he was supported by Lord Hillsborough, formerly secretary of state for the colonies, and by Lord Gower. The Duke of Grafton strongly condemned, as irregular and unparliamentary, the way in which the bill had been hurried into the house, without notice given, &c. Lord Sandwich's speech, though apparently intemperate, contained some facts and reasonings not to be easily answered. He declared that to make any concession at this moment would be an abandoning the whole cause of government; that the Americans had been guilty of actual rebellion in seizing the king's forts and ammunition; that the Americans were not disputing about words and nice distinctions, but realities; that they were aiming at independence for the future, and for the immediate throwing off all the commercial restrictions we had put upon them. The chief arguments used by the other lords who spoke against the bill were—that, while it would give too much to the Americans, it offered no security for any concession on their part; that the Americans would only agree to those portions of it that suited their own views, and would totally disclaim those parts of it that enjoined submission or concession; that the bill was most condemnable, as it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but also legalized another such meeting by act of parliament, &c. Chatham rose to defend himself and his bill from the numerous attacks which were made on both. The indignity that had been offered in moving its instant rejection seemed to renew all the fire of his youth; and he retorted the ministerial sarcasms with the most pointed and personal severity. Upon a division the great orator's pacifying scheme was rejected by a majority of sixty-one against thirty-two. The bill was as much talked of out of doors, and as much applauded by one party, as he could well have desired. The corporation of the city of London passed him a vote of thanks for his plan, and a similar compliment to all those who had supported him in his humane design; and Franklin, who could never have been satisfied with the bill if it had been passed, represented to his countrymen, and to all England, the monstrous wickedness of ministers in rejecting it.¹

In the meantime debates had taken place in

¹ "The situation which Pitt occupied at the close of the reign of George II. was the most enviable ever occupied by any public man in English history. He had conciliated the king; he domineered over the House of Commons; he was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe. He was the first Englishman of his time, and he had made England the first country in the world. The Great Commoner, the name by which he was often designated, might look down with scorn on coronets and garters. The nation was drunk with joy and pride. The parliament was as quiet as it had been under Pelham. The old party distinctions were almost effaced; nor was their place yet

supplied by distinctions of a still more important kind. A new generation of country squires and rectors had arisen who knew not the Stuarts; the Catholics were not cruelly persecuted. The church was drowsy and indulgent. The great civil and religious conflict which began at the Reformation, seemed to have terminated in universal repose. Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Puritans, spoke with equal reverence of the constitution, and with equal enthusiasm of the talents, virtues, and services of the minister.

"A few years sufficed to change the whole aspect of affairs. A nation convulsed by faction, a throne assailed by the fiercest in-

the House of Commons upon various petitions, and among them, upon one presented from Franklin, Bellan, and Lee, who prayed to be examined at the bar in support of the demands of the general congress. It was insisted by and for ministers that this would look like sanctioning congress, which had met in an irregular and illegal manner; and the motion that the petition should be brought up was negatived by an immense majority. On the 2d of February, the day after Chatham's proposals in the lords, Lord North, in the commons, in a committee of the whole house on the American papers, moved for an address of thanks to the king for the communication of the said papers. If the Americans required any such suggestions, they might have learned what course they were to pursue, in resisting the mother country by force of arms, from almost every debate that now took place in the British parliament. On the present occasion it was shown, on the side of opposition, how very easy it would be for the colonies to obtain foreign assistance, warlike stores, foreign troops, and foreign officers. An amendment proposed by Fox for the censure and removal of the ministry, was negatived by a majority of 304 against 105; and, on a second division, North's original motion was carried by a majority of 296 against 106.

On the 10th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in his bill for cutting off the entire trade of New England and their profitable fishery, with an exception in favour of such individuals as should procure from their governors certificates of good or loyal behaviour, and should take a test acknowledging the rights of the British parliament, &c. In supporting the bill it was urged that, as the Americans had bound themselves not to trade with us, it was fair to prevent their trading with other countries; that, as they had entered into the most unlawful and daring associations to ruin our merchants, impoverish our manufacturers, and starve our West India islands, which had been in the habit of deriving their provisions from them, it was but fair to retaliate upon them part of these mischiefs; that, if any foreign power had offered us only a small part of the insult and injury we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand satisfaction, and the minister would have been ruined who had been slack in obtaining it. The charge of cruelty was

denied. The bill was asserted to be a measure of humanity and mercy as well as of coercion. The colonies had incurred the penalties of rebellion, and were liable to the severest military execution; but, instead of these dreadful punishments, it was proposed to bring them to their senses only by a restriction in their trade, which would last no longer than their contumacy. They had too long imposed upon and deluded us with their threats of depriving us of their trade, hoping, through the terrors of our merchants and manufacturers, to bend the legislature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their designs to maturity, so as to be able to throw off that mask, and openly proclaim their independence. The bill was carried through the commons by immense majorities. On the third reading, in the lords, an amendment was made for including, as equally guilty with the New Englanders, the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. It was urged that, by the late accounts and letters upon their lordships' table, it appeared that these provinces had been pursuing a course which merited and called for the same penalties. The question being put, the amendment was carried by fifty-two against twenty-one; and then the bill was carried by seventy-three against twenty-one, and returned to the commons. The introduction of the amendment caused a disagreement between the title and the body of the bill; and on that ground the commons agreed in rejecting the additions made by the lords. A few days after, a conference took place between the two houses, when their lordships consented to withdraw the amendment, which was in fact rendered unnecessary by another bill, introduced by Lord North, for restraining the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; and on the 30th of March the bill, without the amendment, received the royal assent.

In order to gratify the Irish, and to keep up, by their means, a part of the trade which had been in the hands of the New Englanders, bounties were allowed to Irish ships engaged in the Newfoundland and Greenland fisheries, several restraints upon Irish commerce were removed, and a bounty was also granted on the importation of their flax seed.

In the meanwhile, Lord North had astonished all parties, by bringing forward, on the 20th of February, in a committee of the whole house, his famous conciliatory motion, which was for passing the following resolution: "That, when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision for contributing their proportion to the common defence, to be

rective, a House of Commons hated and despised by the nation, England set against Scotland, Britain set against America, a rival legislature sitting beyond the Atlantic, English blood shed by English bayonets, our armies capitulating, our conquests wrested from us, our enemies hastening to take vengeance for past humiliation, our flag scarcely able to maintain itself in our own seas—such was the spectacle which Pitt lived to see."—Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*—William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

raised under the authorities of the general court, or general assembly, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and administration of justice; it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which shall be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation." Lord North endeavoured to show that this resolution agreed with, and rose naturally out of the late address to the throne, particularly from the following passage in that address:—"And whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence." He said that it was his sense, and, as he believed, the sense of the house, that parliament, in passing that address, not only meant to show the Americans its firm determination to support its just rights, but also its tenderness and conciliatory disposition, upon their making proper concessions; and that, particularly, although parliament could never give up its right of taxation, and must always maintain the doctrine that every part of the empire was bound to bear its portion of service and taxes for the common defence, yet, as to the *mode* of contribution—if that, and not the question of right, was the bone of contention—if the Americans would propose such other means as were most agreeable to themselves, parliament would not hesitate a moment to suspend the exercise of the right, and would concede to the Americans the authority of raising their quotas by themselves and in their own way. "If they reject the terms," said he, "we shall be justified in taking the most coercive measures, and they must be answerable to God and man for the consequences." His speech was very long, and the house very full. In the end he saw his resolution adopted by a majority of 274 against 18!

On the 22d of March, Burke, who had eloquently opposed Lord North's conciliatory scheme, produced a plan of his own, comprised in thirteen resolutions, and prefaced by one of the most admired of his speeches. According to his pacificatory scheme, our supremacy was indispensable, and was to remain, though it was to be a sovereignty without power, or with a power most rarely and timidly exercised. Without waiting for any advances or concession on the part of the Americans, we were to allow all the claims they had set forth in their petitions and declarations, and our parliament was to undo all that it had done regarding them ever since the year 1765.

The first four resolutions and the last were met by ministers with the previous question; and the other eight were negatived.

In presenting the money bills, when parliament came to be prorogued, the speaker stated to his majesty the heavy amount of the grants voted, which nothing but the serious exigencies of the times could justify at a season when we were in profound peace with all the powers of Europe; but this gentle hint was accompanied with assurances, that, if the Americans should persist in rebellion, and the sword must be drawn, the faithful commons would do everything in their power to support his majesty, and maintain the supremacy of the legislature.¹ In putting an end to the session—on the 26th of May—his majesty expressed his most perfect satisfaction with the conduct of parliament at this important crisis.

But while the Houses of Parliament in England had been echoing with the sonorous periods of oratory, the hill sides and river banks of America had been ringing with sharp and dissonant peals of musketry. The colonists had fired their first shot, and blood had been flowing in no diminutive stream. They had passed the winter in making preparations for holding the general congress which was to meet at Philadelphia in the month of May; in fabricating and repairing arms, in drilling the militia, and in keeping their spirits up by the production and interchange of invitations, manifestoes, and proclamations. General Gage, on the 26th of February (just six days after the production of Lord North's conciliatory scheme), ordered a small detachment of troops to proceed to Salem, and take possession of some brass cannon and field-pieces which had been collected at that point. The detachment proceeded by water to Marble Head, whence they marched to Salem; but, before they could arrive at that town, the Americans had removed their artillery.

Another similar attempt was attended with more serious consequences. Having received certain information that a considerable quantity of military stores was deposited at Concord, a town about twenty miles from Boston, Gage, in the night between the 18th and 19th of April, detached the grenadiers and light infantry of his army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn of the marines, with orders to proceed with all despatch to destroy that dépôt. The detachment, having embarked in boats, was conveyed up Charles River, as far as a place called Phipp's Farm: there they landed, at the dead of night, and thence they proceeded in silence and in haste towards Concord, seizing

¹ The speaker also praised the late law for perpetuating the Grenville act for the trial of contested elections.

every person they met, in the hope of stopping any intelligence of their march. But the New Englanders were a people not likely to be caught sleeping; they had active agents and spies, who watched the governor and every movement of the troops, and they were fully prepared for anything that might happen. The detachment had not marched many miles, when their ears were saluted with the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, the signals of alarm. At these, by him, unexpected sounds, Colonel Smith threw forward six companies of light infantry, with orders to advance as fast as they could run, and secure the bridges. These companies reached Lexington, a town about fifteen miles from Boston and five miles from Concord, at five o'clock in the morning, having, as they advanced, seen a body of men under arms, drawn up on a green near the highroad. When questioned by the officer, and ordered to retire, the Americans quitted the green in some confusion; but as they went off, several guns were fired upon the king's troops from behind a wall and from some adjoining houses. By this, their first fire, the Americans wounded one man, and shot Major Pitcairn's horse in two places. Though highly exasperated, the British troops were steady to their orders, and did not return the fire till the word was given. When they fired, they killed several and wounded others. During this check and delay, the grenadiers came up with the light infantry, and then the whole detachment pushed on to Concord—a place ill-named for the scenes it was about to witness. As they drew near that place, a large body of American militia was seen drawn up under arms on a gentle eminence; and the light infantry were ordered to make a flank movement and disperse them, while the grenadiers marched on by the direct road into Concord. As the light infantry ascended the hill on one side, the militia descended it on the other, retreating towards the back of the town and crossing one of the bridges which was on the other side of the town. The light infantry pressed close on their heels, and took possession of the bridge. Meanwhile the grenadiers entered the town, and, setting diligently to work, destroyed the military stores. The militia, who were reinforced from the country behind, now came forward, as if with the intention of forcing the bridge over which they had retreated, and engaging the king's troops in the town. The light infantry on the bridge fired upon them. The militia returned the fire briskly, and several men were killed and wounded on each side. But as the grenadiers had now accomplished the purpose of the expedition, Colonel Smith withdrew the light infantry from the bridge, put his whole detachment in marching order, and began to retire deliberately towards

Boston. Their backs were scarcely turned, when the Americans set up a shout that the "lobsters" were afraid of them! They were also, by this time, greatly reinforced, for militiamen, minutemen—dead shots at the rifle—and volunteers of every description, had run in from all quarters to post themselves behind trees, in houses, and behind walls, flanking the roads through which the British troops were to pass. Presently an incessant, though irregular fire began in front and on both flanks, and the main body of the militia, having recrossed the bridge, pressed upon the rear of the English soldiers, who were too much fatigued with their long night-march and want of rest to move with any great speed. Another discouraging circumstance was, that the most destructive part of the fire proceeded from fellows they could not reach, and who were only seen by the smoke of their rifles. This continued all the way back to Lexington, into which place, according to an English officer present, they were driven before the Americans like a flock of sheep. Worse would have followed—the annihilation of the detachment would have been inevitable—if General Gage had not had the forethought of sending from Boston a second detachment to sustain the first. This second detachment, consisting of sixteen companies of foot and some marines, with two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lord Percy, met Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn at Lexington, and presented a front which made the militiamen halt and fall back. The two united detachments then rested on their arms, and received, for the first time, some slight refreshment. Lord Percy formed his detachment into a hollow square, in which he inclosed Colonel Smith's party, who by this time were so exhausted with fatigue, that for the most part they threw themselves on the ground, "with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase." When they were somewhat refreshed, Lord Percy slowly moved the whole body towards Boston. The militia, who had been treading on their rear, were no longer to be seen in a compact body; but every house, every wall, every tree the English had to pass sent forth upon them bullets and rifle-shots, the Americans running from front to flank and from flank to rear, loading their pieces at one place and discharging them at another, and keeping their own persons so well covered and concealed, that it was useless to attempt firing at them. Indeed, for miles of that tedious, dismal journey, the English soldiers scarcely pulled a trigger. When the two detachments arrived at the river near Boston, they were at a loss to know which was the safest place to ford it at. Lord Percy sought information from some country people, who artfully directed him towards an

ambuscade, where his troops must have been cut to pieces; but fortunately his lordship had some little knowledge of the river and the country, and no great reliance on the smooth tongues of the New Englanders, and he struck aside to a different ford, and crossed the river in safety. But the left bank, as well as the right, was swarming with riflemen, who annoyed the troops all the way to the neighbourhood of Boston, which they reached about sunset, quite spent with fatigue. They had left behind them more than 60 killed and 49 missing; in addition to which they had 136 wounded. They accused the Americans of barbarously scalping several of Colonel Smith's party, and the fact is not denied on authority so respectable as that

on which it is asserted. The provincials owed to a loss of sixty, of whom two-thirds were killed.¹ Wonderfully elated with this affair, which they termed "the glorious victory of Lexington," the Americans talked of nothing less than driving the king's troops from Boston. But the works which Gage had erected on Boston Neck, and the vessels of war lying nearly all round the town, discouraged any immediate attempt of the kind; and, instead of an assault, they prepared themselves for a blockade. Twenty thousand men—so rapidly did reinforcements pour in from distant parts of the province—put themselves in cantonments, and formed a line nearly twenty miles in extent, with their left leaning on the



river Mystic, and their right on the town of Roxbury, thus inclosing Boston in the centre. They were under the command of Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, officers who had all served in the provincial regiments during the last war, and who now were all acting as generals. They fixed their head-quarters at Cambridge; and they were soon joined by a strong detachment of troops from Connecticut under the command of General Putnam, an old experienced officer, who had served in the two last wars, and who had obtained, like the others, the rank of colonel. Since the conclusion of the war, in 1763, he had been living on a small farm, to which he had annexed a tavern—"an economy," says Stedman, "not uncommon in America, particularly in the province of New England." Putnam took up

such a position with his detachment as to be able readily to support any part of the line that might be attacked from Boston Neck. But General Gage remained perfectly inactive, neither attacking this line, which was at first loose and irregular, without any military consistency, nor erecting outworks to prevent any sudden advance upon his main position on the Neck.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts, being adjourned from Concord to Watertown, a place about ten miles from Boston, immediately resolved that an army of 30,000 men should be raised and established, whereof 13,600 should be of that province; and that a letter and delegates should be sent to the several colonies of Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, for further

¹ Stedman, *History of the American War*.

assistance and co-operation. They despatched Captain John Derby, of Salem, to England with despatches for Franklin, containing an account of the Lexington fight, and inclosing another address to the people of Great Britain, stating that they would never submit to the tyranny of a cruel ministry, and that they were determined to die or be free. In the same address, however, they renewed their professions of loyalty to the king, and of esteem for the honour, wisdom, and valour of the English people. They continued to exert themselves in procuring ammunition and artillery; and, in a very short time, their lines were strengthened with sixteen field-pieces, four brass guns of a small size, a few large iron cannon, taken out of merchant vessels, and two or three mortars and howitzers. Powder, however, continued to be scarce. Matters were in this condition when Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived from England, to be scorned and laughed at.

At the end of May, General Howe, the brother of Lord Howe, and Generals Burgoyne and Clinton arrived at Boston from England, with a considerable number of marines and drafts from other regiments. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland, which raised the force to nearly 10,000 men. As the gauntlet had been fairly thrown down by the Americans, and war to extremities had been decided upon by the English government, it might have been expected that this respectable force would have been actively employed at once, instead of being left to waste their spirits in idleness or routine duty. The Americans were in a condition that tempted an attack, and promised almost certain success. Twenty thousand militiamen and raw troops, scattered over twenty or more miles of country, ought to have been routed by 5000 veterans, headed by a general that knew his duty, and was determined to perform it. A sudden concentrated movement from Boston Neck would have done the business; the Americans nearest to that position, at and about Roxbury, must have been utterly routed, before their ill-trained companions could have made the movements and the long marches necessary to get to their assistance. Except at Cambridge, their head-quarters, 500 brave men might have broken their line at any one point. But Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton seemed to agree to be as inactive and passive as Gage, with his inferior force, had been before their arrival; and the Americans made excellent use of the time allowed them in teaching their people military evolutions, and in gathering more and more force from all parts to give consistency to their loose line, and to render their blockades by land effective.

On the 8th of June the provincial congress of

Massachusetts resolved that the compact between the crown of Great Britain and that colony was *dissolved* by the violation of their charter. On the 12th of June, General Gage issued a proclamation, offering a full pardon in the king's name, to all who would forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their peaceable occupations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. The only effect of this proclamation appears to have been an increase of defiance and determination on the part of the Americans, who, strange to say, were allowed to act on the offensive. To the north of the peninsula of Boston, and separated from it only by Charles River (about the breadth of the Thames at London) and now, though not then, united to it by a bridge, is the somewhat similar peninsula of Charlestown, entirely surrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the mainland by an isthmus, somewhat wider and more accessible than Boston Neck. The town which gives its name to the peninsula stands immediately over against Boston, like a suburb to it.¹ In the centre of the peninsula rises the memorable eminence of Breed's Hill, which has an easy ascent from the isthmus, but is steep and rugged on every other side. Charlestown stands at the foot of this eminence, which is high enough to overlook every part of Boston, and near enough to cannonade and command that city. It should seem almost incredible that the merest tyro in the art of war—the veriest blunderer ever confided in to lead his flag into disgrace and his troops to destruction—could possibly neglect this vital position: but Gage, deaf to advice, *had* neglected it; and, though Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton had been more than twenty days at Boston, with the hill constantly staring them in the face, they had done absolutely nothing to secure it, nor had they even thrown out pickets beyond their works at Boston Neck, to watch the proceedings of the Americans, and guard against any sudden movement. According to Stedman, Gage was beginning to talk of doing something with Breed's Hill, and his talk was reported to the enemy, like nearly everything else that was discussed at head-quarters. On the night of the 16th of June, between nine and ten o'clock, a strong detachment of the blockading army moved from Cambridge, passed unchallenged and unobserved over Charlestown Neck, and reached the summit of the hill without being detected.² Setting to work, they

¹ See the plan of Boston with its environs, p. 543.

² The provincial congress had ordered Colonel Prescott (grandfather of the celebrated historian), who commanded the party, to take possession of Bunker's Hill, for the defence of Charlestown



VIEW FROM BEACON HILL. BOSTON, at the period: showing the West Side of the Town, the ruins of Charlestown, Breed's Hill, Bunker's Hill, and part of the Charles and Mystic rivers. 1
A, Mystic River. B, Charlestown Point. C, General Howe's Encampment. Heights of Charlestown. D, Redoubt thrown up by the Americans on Breed's Hill. E, Ruins of Charlestown.
F, Part of Boston Harbour. G, Boston, north end. H, Copp's Hill Battery. I, Charles River. K, Charlestown Neck.

presently threw up entrenchments and a formidable redoubt, and placed their guns in battery. Although Boston and Boston Neck were so near—although the peninsula of Charlestown was almost surrounded by men-of-war and transports, nothing was discovered, or at least no intimation given, till break of day, when the *Lively* sloop-of-war began a cannonade on Breed's Hill. This gave the alarm to Boston and the army; and the officers, rubbing their eyes, saw the important and formidable height covered with works which seemed to have risen by magic in the night, and with troops that were shouting and beginning to fire on Boston and the shipping. As it was now indispensable to do something, General Gage opened upon them, from Copp's Hill, in Boston, a battery of six guns, which fired a long time without doing the Americans any discernible mischief. About the hour of noon a more decisive step was taken, and a detachment from the British army was carried across the river, and landed upon the peninsula of Charlestown, under the command of General Howe and Brigadier Pigott, who had orders at all costs to drive the provincials from their works, and occupy Breed's Hill. The troops, being landed, were formed without opposition; but Howe, perceiving that the works on the crown of the hill were more important than had been imagined, and that fresh columns of Americans were arriving every minute, thought it necessary to halt, and apply to Gage for a reinforcement. New troops were sent across the river, until the column of attack exceeded 2000 men. There were several modes of attacking the Americans. The first and best, and the easiest of execution, as we had the *entire* command of the water, was to have landed the British troops in the rear of the entrenchment, where there was not a cannon to bear upon them, and where the ascent was exceedingly easy. The second way was to have sent some transports drawing

fitted for the purpose, the latter was chosen for the place of occupation and entrenchment. By a similar perversion or mistake, the action that followed has been called in popular speech the battle of Bunker's Hill, to the present hour.

¹ This view is from an interesting drawing made immediately after the battle of Bunker's Hill, by Lieut. Williams, Royal Welsh Fusileers, and preserved in the King's Collection, British Museum. It is entitled, "Panorama from Beacon Hill, Boston, showing the encampments of the rebels and those of his majesty's troops, under General Gage." The drawing is on six sheets that connect exactly with each other, carefully executed in pen and ink and tinted. It shows the entire view from Beacon Hill, looking on all sides. The portion here represented is not quite a third of the whole drawing.

Neck. But, either by a fortunate mistake of a word in reading the written order, or conceiving that Breed's Hill was better

little water, and some gun-boats, up the Mystic River, where they could have got within musket-shot of the left flank of the Americans, which was quite uncovered and naked. The third way, and the *worst*, was to mount the hill right in front, where it was steep and rough, and where the American artillery would meet our soldiers in the teeth—and this was the way chosen by our inconceivable generals! The British were formed in two lines, with the light infantry on the right wing, led by Howe, and the grenadiers on the left, led by Pigott; they had in their front a few small field-pieces and howitzers, which began to fire at intervals, during which the two lines halted. The left wing, in advancing, were fired upon by a body of provincials, who had posted themselves in the houses of Charlestown, where, as at Lexington, they were covered and safe from our musketry; but fire was set to the houses, and in a brief space of time the whole of that town was burned to the ground. The right wing halted while this work was doing; and, when it was done, the whole detachment moved up the hill. The Americans, secure behind their entrenchments, reserved their fire till the British troops were almost up to the muzzles of their guns; but then they opened a terrible discharge of cannon and musketry—the latter being unrelenting, as the men in front, as soon as they had fired their pieces, were supplied with others ready loaded by the men in the rear. The effect was tremendous; the British line gave way in several parts; and General Howe was for a few seconds left standing almost alone: for most of his staff, and the men and officers near him, were either killed or wounded. Some few of the newer troops ran fairly down the side of the hill, and never stopped till they reached the boats which had conveyed them over from Boston.

But at this critical moment General Clinton crossed Charles River, with a number of resolute officers; and he not only succeeded in rallying the fugitives, but made them re-ascend the hill and join in a general charge on the Americans and their works with fixed bayonets. The fire from the entrenchments and redoubt then waxed faint—the loudest noise heard was an English hurrah, and in a very few seconds more the Americans were running for their lives down the easy side of the hill to Charlestown Neck. As they crossed that low-lying and narrow isthmus, they were enfiladed by the guns of the *Glasgow* sloop-of-war, and one or two floating batteries, which did them far more mischief than they had waited to receive from the soldiery on the hill-top. But if a proper force had been brought up to bear upon that isthmus, and if the troops had pursued them with the bayonet in their loins, few of the Americans could have escaped death or captivity. But

the negligence of months could not be repaired in a morning; the stupidity, or something worse, of our commanders was incurable; and the provincials were let go with the loss of some 450 men in killed and wounded; while we had 1050 killed and wounded, inclusive of eighty-nine commissioned officers. There had been an accumulation of nearly all possible blunders and mismanagements on our part. During the heat of the engagement, when the fire of every cannon was of importance, a supply of ball sent over from the ordnance department was found to be of larger dimensions than fitted the calibre of the guns; and this prevented any further use of the artillery. But a still greater disadvantage was the enormous and unnecessary load under which the troops were marched to the attack, and by which, on that hot day, and on that steep ascent, they were nearly exhausted before they reached the real scene of action.¹ "This circumstance," says Stedman, "was universally censured as unmilitary and absurd: and another error certainly was, that, instead of confining our attack to the enemy's left wing only, the assault was made on the whole front; for their left was covered with nothing more than a breast-work of rails and hay, easy to be scrambled over; and behind it was an open hill, which commanded their redoubts and lines."

Some weeks before the battle of Bunker's Hill, a bold attempt had been commenced in Canada. The congress sitting at Philadelphia conceived that it would be as easy as profitable to subdue the whole of that far-stretching country, as there were scarcely any soldiers for its defence. But, even before congress had fixed any plan of operations, a cunning Presbyterian volunteer, by name Ethan Allen, assembled a band of adventurous Yankees, and repaired to Ticonderoga, an important fort at the north end of Lake George, which, with Crown Point, another fort at the southern end of Lake Champlain, was considered as the key to that quarter of Canada. The officer in command at Ticonderoga was a Captain Laplace, an old friend and crony of Ethan Allen. Ethan cajoled his friend, made his little garrison drunk, and then poured his concealed Yankees into the fort. The duped and astonished captain asked by what authority they required him to surrender the king's fort. Ethan Allen, twanging through

¹ Stedman pays a proper tribute to the bravery, steadiness, and discipline of the soldiers, though thus vilely misled and encumbered. He says:—"Twice they were stopped, and twice they returned to the charge, in the middle of a hot summer's day, encumbered with three days' provisions, their knapsacks on their backs, which, together with cartouch-box, ammunition, and firelock, may be estimated at 125 lbs. weight! With a steep hill to climb, covered with grass reaching to their knees, and intersected with walls and fences of various inclosures, and in the face of a hot and well-directed fire, they gained a complete victory over three times their own number of provincials strongly posted behind a breast-work, and defended by a redoubt."

his nose, replied, like a Puritan of the old times, "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress!" Besides the fort,

water, from Boston to Montreal. Prescott arrived at that Canadian city in the month of July; and about the same time Colonel Guy Johnstone arrived at the same place with 700 Indians of the Five Nations (bold fellows, accustomed to the musket as well as to the tomahawk, old enemies to the frontier Americans), who now proposed to General Carleton an immediate attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Some of the Indians had examined these two forts, and had discovered that the American garrisons in them were very weak; yet Carleton thought proper neither to employ these savages nor adopt their project for retaking the forts.

As the chief operations of the war lay, this year, in the direction of Canada, we shall



RUINS OF THE FORT OF TICONDEROGA.—From a drawing by Milbet.

he obtained upwards of 100 iron cannon, fifty swivels, two mortars, ten tons of musket-balls, three cart-loads of flints, 100 stand of small arms, and various other materials of war. Ethan Allen next reduced the fort of Crown Point, which he actually found without guard or garrison. Benedict Arnold, whose name will so often figure in the narrative of this war, came to Lake Champlain, to co-operate with Allen, and to push still bolder plans of his own. This Arnold was a native of Newhaven, and had been, till lately, a horse-dealer; but, being fond of war and adventure, he had been one of the first to take up arms, and was now colonel of a little regiment called the Green Mountain Boys. Seeing a small sloop-of-war, the only armed vessel the English government then had in that water, lying at anchor at St. John's, at the north end of Lake Champlain, and knowing the importance of getting possession of her, which would give him the absolute command of the lake, Arnold armed a little schooner, put some of the guns which had been captured upon batteaux, or large flat-bottomed boats, embarked his men, and surprised and captured the sloop. The horse-dealer had a native genius for the stratagems of war, and a happy confidence in his own good fortune. He and Ethan Allen had got into their hands the keys of Canada. General Carleton, the governor of that province, had only two regiments, of about 400 men each, at his disposal; and these he ordered to Fort St. John, about twelve miles in advance of Montreal. But as soon as General Gage was informed of Arnold's successes, he sent Brigadier Prescott, with a few other officers, by

continue on this side. A regular plan for occupying or revolutionizing all Canada was now submitted to the general or continental congress, who despatched 3000 men, under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, to Crown Point and Lake Champlain. This force embarked in the flat-bottomed boats to cross the broad lake, and descend the river Sorel; but when they landed, they were attacked by a strong party of Indians, who obliged them to retreat to their boats, and return to the Isle aux Noix. Schuyler falling sick, the sole command of the detachment fell to Richard Montgomery, a man full of courage and enterprise, and fertile in military resources. The Americans compared him to our gallant Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec; and in some respects Montgomery merited the comparison, which was soon made the more complete by a premature death under the walls of the Canadian capital. Montgomery, after being foiled by one party of Indians, was joined by another—by the very 700 warriors of the Five Nations whose services General Carleton had rejected. It was now the middle of September, yet he resolved to advance immediately, and lay siege to Fort St. John, the only place of arms that covered Montreal. But at the same time Ethan Allen, the captor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, fancied he could take Montreal by a *coup-de-main*, in an easier direction; and, crossing the river St. Lawrence by night, about three miles below Montreal, with about 150 men, he was making sure of his prize, when he was suddenly attacked by Major Campbell, beaten, and taken prisoner. All the regular force that Campbell had with him,

consisted of about thirty-six men, of the 26th regiment; but the townspeople of Montreal, and other French Canadians in the neighbourhood, had joined him with heart and hand, and had enabled him to take captive the adventurous Presbyterian. In the meantime General Montgomery had reached the St. Lawrence at another point, and had detached 300 men, with two six-pounders, to reduce Fort Chambly, situated on the tributary river Sorel, or Iroquois, or Richelieu, about five miles above Fort St. John. While Montgomery lay on the right bank of the river, General Carleton made a very injudicious and very unsuccessful attempt to dislodge him, trying to effect a landing at the only place where resistance was to be expected. Fort Chambly was occupied by about 160 men and some artillery, under the command of Major Stopford, who made a shameful defence, and surrendered on the 3d of November, when the Americans are said to have been reduced almost to their last round of shot. But they found plenty of ball and powder, cartridges, and stands of arms in the fort, which would have been destroyed before the surrender, if Stopford had done his duty. These timely supplies were forwarded with

all speed to Montgomery, who pressed the siege of St. John's with great vigour. Colonel Maclean, with part of a regiment, hastily formed out of Highland emigrants, had advanced to the relief of the place; but as General Carleton could not form a junction with him, and as he received information that Arnold, with another American army, was approaching Point Levi, he embarked his men, and retreated down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, to stop Arnold's progress. Montgomery then occupied the post Maclean had abandoned, and erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the St. Lawrence. He also made rafts and booms, in order to prevent Carleton from sending down armed vessels from Montreal. Upon this, Major Preston, who commanded in St. John's, seeing all hopes of relief

cut off, and his provisions and ammunition almost consumed, surrendered unconditionally to the Americans, with upwards of 500 regulars, and about 100 Canadian volunteers, who had behaved loyally and gallantly. The fall of St. John's, and the loss of the command of the river, left Montreal incapable of defence. Carleton, with a fragment of his little army—the merest handful of men—made a forced march along the right bank of the St. Lawrence, to succour Quebec, which had been left in a miserably weak condition; and on the 13th of November, Montgomery dashed across the river, and entered Montreal without opposition. It was now Montgomery's object to get to Quebec as quickly as possible, in order to join Arnold, under the walls of that place; but many of his volunteers had had enough of this hazardous and most laborious campaign, and they quitted his ranks by hundreds, to

get back to their own firesides in Connecticut. He had been obliged to leave garrisons at Forts Chambly and St. John, in order to keep open the communication with the united provinces, to keep down the Canadians and Indians, and hold in check the British garrisons at Detroit and Niagara; he was now compelled to leave



RUINS OF FORT ON CROWN POINT, LAKE CHAMPLAIN.—From a drawing on the spot, by B. J. LOSSING.

another garrison at Montreal; and when he put the remainder of his force in marching order, he found it did not exceed 400 men.

While Montgomery is descending the St. Lawrence, we may call attention to the far more remarkable movements of Arnold. Starting from Cambridge, the head-quarters of the army blockading Boston, the bold horse-dealer marched 130 miles to the northward of Boston, and embarked (with 1200 men, consisting chiefly of New Englanders, about £1000 in money, and a whole cargo of manifestoes, to be distributed among the Canadians), on the rough and tortuous river Kennebec, which takes its rise from Lake St. Pierre, or Moosehead Lake, on the eastern declivity of the bleak mountain range which separates Maine from Canada and the St. Lawrence. To ascend

this river against the current, and among rocks and shoals, was tedious and most laborious work; the stream in a great part of its course had never been surveyed; and Arnold found that there were numerous falls and rapids, and that the river was not navigable up to the lake. Colonel Enos, his second in command, after getting embarrassed in the windings of the Dead River, a



PORT CHAMBLY, on the Richelieu or Sorel.—From a drawing on the spot, by B. J. Lossing.

branch of the Kennebec, gave up the enterprise in despair, and returned with one-third of the detachment to head-quarters at Cambridge. Quitting the river, Arnold forced his way through swamps, forests, savannahs—across a dismal wilderness as yet untrodden by the foot of the white man, and where for two-and-thirty long days he neither saw habitation, wigwam, nor any other sign of human life. Owing to all these obstacles he did not reach the first Canadian settlements on the river Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence six miles above Quebec, until the 3d of November. He then divided his half-famished troops into separate companies, each of which ran on as fast as it could to obtain food, shelter, and rest, in the thinly inhabited part of the country, near the mouth of the Chaudière. Arnold rested for two or three days at a little village, in order to circulate his manifestoes, promises, and friendly assurances among the Canadians, and to allow his rear and stragglers to come up; and it was not until the 9th of November that he reached Point Levi, on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, and immediately opposite to the town of Quebec. On the 14th, at the dead of night, a hurricane that had stopped his advance, having abated, Arnold embarked his men in canoes which had been collected, and ascending the stream, and eluding the vigilance of the English ships and boats, he crossed the St. Lawrence and landed, without being discovered, about a mile and a half above the spot where the gallant Wolfe had disembarked in circumstances equally desperate. It is quite clear that he must have been greatly indebted either to the negligence or to the stupidity of his opponents. Finding the rugged cliffs above his landing-place inaccessible, Arnold marched down the shore to Wolfe's Cove, and

with his followers climbed the very same rugged heights which the English hero had ascended.¹ Like Wolfe, too, Arnold formed his men on the Heights of Abraham. They were nearly all armed with rifles, but artillery they had none. When the Highlanders discovered them, they proposed to march out with some Canadians and English veterans, and attack them; but Colonel Maclean wisely kept his little force within the town. Arnold then sent two flags, to use bold language with the colonel in summoning him to surrender the place, and gentle language with the townspeople, in order to induce them to open the gates; but old Maclean refused to receive his flags, and fired on those who bore them. At the same time the veteran Scot armed a considerable number of the respectable townspeople, who seemed determined to fight for their houses and their property; and he brought up some sailors and placed them on the batteries. There were thus as many men under arms within Quebec as Arnold could count in his whole army. Siege and assault were therefore hopeless; and he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, to await there the arrival of Montgomery. At Point aux Trembles, Arnold was very near taking prisoner General Carleton and his staff, who had only quitted that place a few hours before the arrival of the Americans.² But Carleton, having escaped this danger, got into Quebec before Montgomery reached Point aux Trembles from Montreal, and set instantly about

¹ The plan and views which illustrate Wolfe's operations at Quebec, vol. iii. pages 352, 353, illustrate also the transactions here recorded.

² Some three months before this, General Carleton and his aide-de-camp, Lord Pitt, were within a quarter of an hour of falling into the hands of one *Jeremiah Duggan*, formerly a barber, but now a major in the provincials!

making every possible preparation for a vigorous defence.

When the two American corps joined, their united numbers did not exceed 1100, or at the most 1200 men; but Montgomery had brought a few pieces of artillery with him from Montreal; and now he and Arnold marched together, to lay immediate siege to Quebec. On or about the 20th of December they opened a six-gun battery within 700 yards of the walls; but their artillery was too light to make a breach—their heaviest guns were only twelve-pounders; and all the six were soon dismounted by the town-guns, fired by the seamen under the direction of Colonel Maclean, who continued to behave with indefatigable diligence, ability, and intrepidity. The Americans removed their guns to a safer distance, and continued their ineffectual fire, with the hope of amusing the garrison and concealing their design of making an assault in another direction. Many of the New Englanders thought the scheme too dangerous, and were against taking any part in it, until their imaginations were captivated and heated by the prospect held out to them of

force should assail the lower town on opposite sides, while the third should divert the attention of the besieged by feigned attacks from the Plains of Abraham upon the upper town. At the head of the first division Montgomery descended from the Plains to Wolfe's Cove, and directed his march towards the lower town by a road along the river's brink under Cape Diamond; while Arnold, with the second division, was to advance from the opposite quarter on the St. Charles; and both parties uniting at Mountain Street, were to force Prescott Gate. In his march through the darkness and snow-storm, Montgomery, at the narrowest part under Cape Diamond, called the *Pres de Ville*, was opposed by a block-house, garrisoned by Canadians, and a little further on by a small battery called the Pot Ash. His advance was discovered; but after a hasty irregular volley, the garrison of the block-house fled to the neighbouring protection of the battery, which was speedily reinforced, not only by the fugitives, but some Highlanders and English sailors. Calling on his men to follow, Montgomery rushed forward; but the way to the

battery was blocked by snow-drifts and masses of ice, among which his soldiers floundered; and when only within forty paces of the enemy, who calmly waited to receive them, a terrible discharge of grape-shot swept their front ranks, killing not only several officers and privates, but also their leader, the gallant, chivalrous Montgomery. This single volley was enough; the rest fled back in confusion to Wolfe's Cove, where they made no attempt to rally. While this disaster was occurring, Arnold was conducting his part of the enterprise with equal but unavailing courage. With the second division he forced his way



QUEBEC, from the Citadel, looking across the St. Charles River.
From Coke Smyth's *Sketches in Canada*.

plundering Quebec, in which they knew a very large amount of property was collected. The men then agreed to do what their officers wished; and without their consent there would have been no doing anything, for these early American armies paid little respect to the will of their commanders. On the last day of the year, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and in the midst of a violent storm of wind and snow, they divided themselves into four small columns. The plan of attack, which was a daring one, but not perhaps the less hopeful on that account, was that the first and second divisions of the American

along the St. Charles, where the snow was worse drifted than on the St. Lawrence, and advanced by the Faubourg St. Roque towards the *Sault au Matelot*, where under a high jutting rock were strong barriers, and also a battery of two twelve-pounders and well manned. Fearless of danger he advanced in the front of his files; but while leading them on under a volley of musketry from the barrier, a bullet shattered the bone of his leg, so that he had to be carried to the rear, and there he heard of the death of Montgomery. Here, however, the assault did not terminate. Led by Colonel Morgan, on whom the

command devolved, the assailants, after a desperate struggle, won the first barrier, but on advancing to the second, were met by such a storm of grape-shot and musketry, that they were fain to retire under cover, to some stone houses in the suburb of St. Roque, where day dawned upon them, and showed the smallness of their numbers and the hopelessness of their enterprise. Between sixty and seventy Americans fell in this daring attempt; but the loss most generally deplored was that of the handsome, gallant Montgomery. The day after the fatal attack his body was found torn by three mortal wounds. By the order of General Carleton, it was interred with the honours due to an officer of rank.¹ The remainder of the American army retired three or four miles from Quebec, and encamped in the best manner they could behind the Heights of Abraham, with the intention of distressing the garrison, by cutting off supplies and ingratiating themselves with the Canadians. Carleton and Maclean were soon strong enough to have driven them beyond the St. Lawrence; but they preferred waiting until spring should open the navigation of that river, and bring such a force as would enable them to act continuously and extensively on the offensive. Arnold, though suffering severely from his wound, and though abandoned by many of his men, who deserted to their homes, retained his courage and activity, and must have exercised considerable genius or address to maintain himself in that isolated position, as he did for four long wintry months.

In the great southern state of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, had made a determined but ineffectual struggle in support of the authority of the mother country. Patrick Henry, the orator, encouraged by the news of the first affair at Lexington, excited the young Virginians to flee to arms, and he put himself at the head of some volunteers. His lordship was compelled to deliver up all the arms and powder that had been left on shore, and to retreat in the middle of the night, with his family, to the *Fowey* man-of-war, then lying at Yorktown. The animosities of the Virginia planters had long been carried to the height of a frenzy against Dunmore on two special accounts: he had traduced them in his letters to the English parliament; and in conversation he had derided their attempts at independence by threatening to begin their era of liberty by the manumission of their negro slaves. This, to the Virginians, was like passing a rasp over a gangrened

place; it was probing a wound that was incurable, or which has not yet been healed. Later in the year, when the battle of Bunker's Hill had been fought, when our forts on Lake Champlain had been taken from us, and when Montgomery and Arnold were pressing on our possessions in Canada, Lord Dunmore carried his threat into execution. Having established his head-quarters at Norfolk, he proclaimed freedom to all the slaves who would repair to his standard and bear arms for the king. The summons was readily obeyed by most of the negroes who had the means of escaping to him. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, declaring martial law throughout the colony of Virginia; and he collected a number of armed vessels, which cut off the coasting-trade, made many prizes, and greatly distressed an important part of that province.

The royalists, after being defeated in a sanguinary skirmish, burned the prosperous town of Norfolk to the ground. Lord Dunmore lingered in the Chesapeake River or on the coast till the following summer, when, unable any longer to obtain provisions, he set sail with his flotilla, and joined the main body of the English army. As long as his flag remained in sight, many of the Virginians, averse to the revolution, or to its leaders, indulged the hope that the cause of government might prevail; and, when he departed by water, many others prepared to follow him by land, conscious that there was no safety for men of their political principles.

In the meanwhile Dr. Franklin had arrived at Philadelphia from England; and congress, though still delaying their proclamation of absolute independence, had been pursuing a course which no longer left their intentions doubtful to any man. They had been in session from the 10th of May, with John Hancock, the owner of the *Liberty* sloop, for their president; they had formed the plan of a confederation and perpetual union, the chief articles of which were:—1. That the name of the confederacy should henceforth be the UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA. 2. That they bound themselves and their posterity for their common defence against their enemies, the security of their liberties, their mutual and general welfare, &c. 3. That each colony should enjoy and retain as much as it might think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdiction, within its own limits; and might amend its own constitution as should seem best to its own assembly or convention. 4. That for the management of general interests, delegates should be elected annually in each colony, to meet in general congress. 5. That the power of the congress should extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain,

¹ Richard Montgomery was not by birth an American. He was of a good family in the north of Ireland, had borne the king's commission in the last war, and had served with some distinction against the French in Canada. After the peace he purchased an estate in the colony of New York, and married an American lady, the daughter of Livingston, who became one of the leaders of the revolution.

the settling all disputes between colony and colony, and the planting of new colonies where judged proper, &c. 6. That all the charges of the war, &c., should be defrayed out of a common treasury, which should be supplied by each colony in proportion to its population. 7. That the number of delegates sent to the congress should be one to every 5000 males. 8. That, at every meeting of the congress, one-half of the members, or the delegates returned, exclusive of proxies, should be necessary to make a quorum. 9. That an executive council should be appointed by the congress out of their own body, consisting of twelve persons, &c. 10. That no colony should engage in an offensive war with any nation, or tribe of Indians, without the consent of congress. 11. That a perpetual alliance, *offensive and defensive*, should be entered into, as soon as might be, with the six Indian nations, &c. 12. That as all new institutions are liable to imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, the general congress should, from time to time, propose such amendments as might be found necessary; and that these amendments, being approved by a majority of the colonial assemblies, should be equally binding upon the rest. 13. And that every colony of Great Britain in America, not at present engaged in the association, might, upon application, be received into the confederacy, viz., Quebec, St. John, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, and the East and West Floridas, and should thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of the union, with mutual assistance and commerce.

After drawing up this plan of confederacy, the general congress created a paper currency, to have course throughout the united colonies. They next attended to the army; and in a fortunate moment for themselves, looking over the heads of those who were commanding in the lines round Boston, they fixed upon Colonel George Washington to be their commander-in-chief. A committee was then appointed to prepare a declaration of the causes that induced them to take up arms against the mother country. A few weeks after, Jefferson was placed on a committee, with Dr. Franklin, Samuel Adams, and Richard Henry Lee, to consider and report on Lord North's pacificatory resolutions, which had already been rejected and scouted by the provincial conventions separately, and which were now to be denounced by the general congress representing them all. Jefferson, who had drawn up the answer of the Virginia assembly, was intrusted with the preparing this report, which was considered as the ultimatum of congress.

Notwithstanding the zeal of the movement party in New York, who had sent delegates to congress, and who had been among the very first to attack the British settlements in Canada,

great uneasiness continued to be felt with respect to that colony, which was not only defenceless and open to the king's troops by sea, but was also inhabited by many very zealous royalists. A "Committee of Safety," consisting of some of the most determined of the revolutionists, was appointed to take especial charge of the province; and other committees of safety (the pretypes of *Les Comités de Salut Public* of the French republicans) were appointed in many other parts of the Continent, with powers that were not very nicely limited, or with members too ardent to submit to any limitations in working out the great cause of independence. Congress also appointed General Wooster, commanding some regiments of Connecticut men, to march into New York, with the double object of keeping down the royalists and preventing, if possible, the landing of any British troops. The Connecticut men, however, did not enter the city; but quartered themselves near Haerlem, five miles off. Their presence did far more harm than good to the cause; it led to some severe quarrels between Connecticut men and New Yorkers; it provoked the naval force in the neighbouring waters; and it might have ended in causing New York to be reduced to a heap of ashes like Norfolk. The provincial congress, which was said to include not a few real Tories and many timid Whigs, continued to allow provisions to be carried to the English ships of war. This conduct exasperated the general congress and all the friends of revolution; and it was in vain that they represented the danger they were in of having their town burned about their ears, and their property destroyed by the English ships. Many of the more ardent New Yorkers retreated into Connecticut to join the partisans of freedom in that colony. At the same time the committee of safety, by command of the general congress, had adopted, and were carrying into execution, the violent revolutionary measures of breaking open people's houses in search of arms. The functionaries of the committee encountered, however, a stern, and in many instances a successful resistance, though it appears that they were occasionally assisted by a whole battalion of troops. Though much more oppressed and kept down by their own countrymen of the revolutionary party than were those of the revolutionary party by the presence of a few English ships of war, many of the citizens of New York continued hearty in their aversion to congress and in their attachment to the mother country. The disposition of the colony became so alarming to congress that a resolution was moved for seizing and carrying off the governor of New York. Tryon, however, had friends among that potent body, and he was defended so warmly by some of the delegates of New York that the

proposition was dropped. But in the month of October, when it was universally reported that defection from the American cause was increasing in the colony, congress resorted to the subject and adopted a revolutionary measure even stronger than the previous order for seizing the arms; in the gentle form of a recommendation they intimated to the members of the revolutionary governments in the several provinces, that they were "to arrest and secure every person in the respective colonies whose going at large might, *in their opinion*, endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberties of America." Warned in time,

Governor Tryon retired for security on board the Halifax packet. In the other colonies, where the royalists were fewer, and where there were no English ships of war to sustain their hopes, they were more cautious in declaring their sentiments. As there was scarcely a British soldier anywhere except at Boston and in Canada, the Americans found little difficulty in sweeping away the king's governors, of whom not one made so steady an attempt at resistance as Lord Dunmore had done. We turn to the American hero, who was now commanding the revolutionary army, and obliging the English generals to keep their force undivided.

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1775—1776.

GEORGE III.

Washington's previous views on the subject of American independence—His character, and fitness for command—Condition in which he finds the army—Georgia won to the American confederacy—Agitations in London about the war in America—Addresses to the king—Keen parliamentary discussion on the royal speech—The result unfavourable to the revolted colonies—Changes in ministerial office—Burke's bill for the pacification of America rejected—Lord North's bill prohibiting all commercial intercourse with America—The colonists derive encouragement from the speeches of the opposition in parliament—Chatham's son and the war in Canada—Arnold resumes his campaign—His unsuccessful attempt to take Quebec—The siege raised—Hurried retreat of the American army—Canada recovered to Britain—Disasters of the British main army at Boston—It is closely besieged by Washington—Unsuccessful attempts of Howe to defend the town—Washington's skilful approaches—Boston evacuated by the British—Blunders of Howe at his retreat—He retires by sea to Nova Scotia—A British army under General Clinton arrives in North Carolina—It comes too late to aid the Carolina royalists—Clinton attempts the capture of Charlestown—It is ineffectually attacked by sea—The British fleet and army retire—Proposal of congress to form a constitution for America independent of the mother country—Contending claims for the honour of originating the proposal—It is generally attributed to Franklin—Effectual service rendered to the cause by Thomas Paine—Strength of the demand for disavowance and independence in New York and Virginia—The "Declaration of Rights" proposed by Virginia—The example followed by six other colonies—A general committee appointed to frame a declaration of independence—The declaration drawn out—It is accepted finally by the thirteen American colonies—Its preamble—The Americans look to France for aid—Negotiations between them and the French court—General Howe resumes active measures—He obliges the Americans to evacuate Staten Island—Fruitless negotiations of Admiral Lord Howe with the Americans—General Howe defeats the Americans at Long Island—The American troops successfully withdrawn by Washington—The royalist Americans declare themselves—Washington evacuates New York—The town set on fire at his departure—The Americans defeated at Kipp's Bay—Insubordination of their soldiers—Their frequent desertions—Remedies proposed by Washington to congress.



GEORGE WASHINGTON, when the quarrel with the mother country began, did not, for some time, seem to take any very decided part; and when it became serious, he was certainly neither among those who first foresaw, nor among those who first wished for a separation from the mother country and an absolute independence. As late as the 9th of October, 1774, he wrote to a friend serving in the king's army—"You are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious; setting up for independency, and what not: give me leave, my good friend, to tell you that you are abused. . . . Give me

leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or of any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence." When these assertions proceed from Jefferson, Jay, Hancock, Samuel Adams, or even Franklin, we have no faith in their sincerity, and can, in many instances, prove them insincere, by contrary declarations proceeding at the same time from the pens or lips of those very men: but we have that confidence in the honour, straightforwardness, and want of political cunning of Washington, which compels us to believe that he really spoke his sincere sentiments. We can also believe—what is asserted

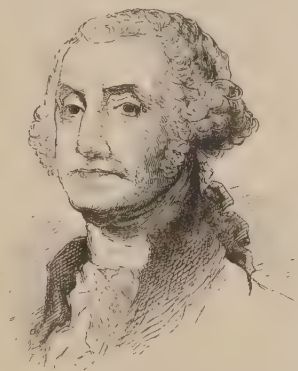
over and over again, and many times lamented by the revolutionary leaders—that the mass of the American people had for a long time no notion of the grand result in view, but were only brought by degrees, and by force of circumstances, to enter into the scheme which went to destroy all their past, and to leave them without historical connection or tradition, without a literature they could call their own, without an ancestry—a strange new people on the face of the earth. Washington, moreover, was decidedly a man of aristocratic tastes, habits, and feelings, not likely in many things to sympathize with the democratic leaders; and, being little or nothing of an orator, he was ill fitted to rule “the fierce democracy” in popular assemblies. But when the appeal was made to arms, when he was called upon by his countrymen as the first soldier in America, he shut his eyes to many signs and indications which he disapproved, and took the field, in the belief that, when he should have beaten the English forces, the English king and ministers would forego their claims and redress the grievances complained of, and that thereupon the Americans would rest satisfied and happy. He loved military rank and the business of war, but to money (of which his countrymen had little to spare) he was nobly indifferent. He declined the pay and emoluments offered him as commander-in-chief, promised to keep an exact account of his expenses

while on service, and expressed a confident hope that congress would reimburse them. At this time George Washington was in the prime and vigour of life—in his forty-third year—and his constitution, hardened by his past campaigns, seemed capable of bearing any fatigue. His other personal advantages were many and striking: he possessed a frank and noble countenance, a tall and most manly figure, a dignified carriage, and a naturally commanding deportment, which imposed respect and obedience on the rabble part of the revolution. A braver man, or one more resolute in action, never drew sword in any cause; and we are, indeed, after an attentive examination of all his campaigns, disposed to agree with several of his contemporaries, who maintained that courage was a feature more predominant in his character than prudence or military skill. As compared with most of the men our ministers sent against him, he may de-

serve to be called a good general; but we are humbly of opinion that facts about to be narrated will prove that he was absolutely deficient in the highest and most intellectual qualities which constitute a great strategist—that he was not one of those mighty masters in the art of war whom nature produces in the whole world once or twice in a century, and in some centuries not at all.

On arriving at head-quarters in Cambridge, at the beginning of July, he found the blockading army considerably discouraged by the defeat sustained at Bunker's Hill, and otherwise in no very good condition. There was little or no discipline, and very little gunpowder, while most of the muskets were unprovided with bayonets. If during this time the English had made a general assault, the Americans must inevitably have been beaten from all their positions; but our generals preferred remaining where they were and doing nothing, and

Washington was allowed time to procure powder from New Jersey and other places. The blockading army were also without tents, without clothing, without shoes to their feet; but the energy of Washington soon induced congress to supply these wants as far as they could, and to appoint a commissary-general, an officer who had hitherto been wanting. General Gage was recalled in the month of October, when the chief command devolved upon General Howe. Everything by land wore a bad aspect; but as yet few of the English would believe that they could ever



GENERAL WASHINGTON.

From the portrait by Stuart, in the Boston Athenæum.

be driven out of Boston by Washington's army. By sea our supremacy was undoubted, though the coast began to swarm with privateers and vessels of various kinds with letters of marque from congress, which were frequently successful in picking up our merchant vessels and transports.

As the governor of Georgia had been left without troops, he was beaten out of the field by a republican parson, the Reverend Doctor Zubly, who at first proceeded with no small degree of cunning. He requested the governor to appoint a day of fasting and prayer for the reconciliation of the colonies with the mother country; but when this desire was granted, the meeting of the people ended in his being appointed with four others as delegates to the congress at Philadelphia. After the eagerly coveted accession of Georgia, congress assumed the style of “THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES.” They established a post-office to reach from Falmouth in Massachu-

setts to Savannah in Georgia, and unanimously elected to be their postmaster-general BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, whose return to America had given vigour and consistency to their schemes, and an unrivalled share of ability to their councils.

While these events were passing in America, the city of London was much agitated by Lord-mayor Wilkes and his party. Wilkes presented another violent address and remonstrance of the livery to the king, complaining that they plainly perceived a real design to establish arbitrary power over all America, and to uproot the constitution at home; and calling for the instant dismissal of ministers, &c. On the 11th of October, a body purporting to be "the gentlemen merchants and traders of London," presented another address, memorial, and petition to his majesty on the very alarming state of public affairs. This paper attributed everything that had happened in America to the acts of the British parliament, and predicted the most lasting and deadly consequences from the quarrel. The Americans had employed and were actually employing the wild Indians in the field, and hitherto our officers had declined the services of those savage allies; but, as if by way of prelude to the Earl of Chatham's lofty denunciation on this subject, the petitioners expressed their indignation and horror at hearing that barbarous nations were encouraged to take arms against our American brethren. But, only three days after, a counter-address was presented by a deputation from another set of the merchants and traders of London. This paper, which served as a model to many others that soon followed from various parts of the United Kingdom, expressed the deepest concern of the addressers at the unjustifiable proceedings of some of his majesty's colonies in America, and entire disapprobation and abhorrence of these acts of rebellion, with the most solemn assurances that they would support his majesty with their lives and fortunes in maintaining the authority of the legislature of this country, which, they conceived, ought to extend to every part of the British dominions. This paper bore 941 signatures; and a few days after, the liverymen of the city of London, among whom John Wilkes had lost his ascendancy, to the number of 1029, signed another ultra-loyal address, expressing their deepest concern at observing that their fellow-subjects in America were now in open rebellion. For a time it rained addresses of this kind; some of them procured, no doubt, by ministerial influence, but many most undoubtedly proceeding spontaneously from the hearts of the people, among whom no subject was now so frequently discussed as the bloody affair of Bunker's Hill. The exasperation was, of course, increased a few months later, when intelligence was received of

the invasion of Canada, and of the attempts made by the Americans to seize the great and boasted conquest made in Chatham's brilliant war. Not a few Englishmen, indeed, were converted by this attempt, believing that, though the Americans might be justified in defending themselves on their own ground, if attacked, they could scarcely plead any right to invade a province which was at peace, and wished to remain so, or to begin their military career by aiming at conquest and enlargement of territory.

In this trying time parliament was assembled much earlier than had been common of late years; and when it met, on the 26th of October, the speech from the throne was unusually long and energetic. There was indisputably more than one thing in this speech connected with the revolt of America, and the means necessary for its suppression, which no enlightened Englishman could or ought to approve. An amendment to the address of thanks proposed by ministers, which was as usual an echo of the speech, was moved by Lord John Cavendish, recommending that every word should be left out except the *pro formâ* introductory paragraph. This motion brought on a series of long, animated, and acrimonious debates, in the course of which the royal speech was taken to pieces, and every part of it severely scrutinized. Ministers were charged with having brought their sovereign into the most disgraceful and unhappy situation of any monarch now living—with having wrested the sceptre of America out of his hands—with having lost one-half of the empire, and thrown the other into a state of confusion and anarchy. Colonel Barré said that they had conducted the late campaign in America like fools and madmen. Fox said that not the Earl of Chatham, not Frederick the Great, nay, not even Alexander the Great, had ever gained so much in one campaign as ministers had lost—for they had lost a whole continent. Other members denied that the colonists had acted with duplicity or mental reservation; denied that they were collecting a naval force; denied, *even now*, that they were aiming at independence. Lord North, who had been asked repeatedly, in the course of these harangues, how he could dare remain in office after so many failures and such an accumulation of disgrace, stood up to defend the conduct of ministers, and to proclaim again what had been all along the real intention of the Americans, or, at the least, the intention of the leaders of their revolution. He asked whether congress, while pretending merely a redress of grievances, had not forcibly seized all the powers of government—whether, while sending pretended petitions (petitions which honourable gentlemen called humble, respectful, *sincere*), they had not raised armies, and taken all mea-

sures for keeping them on foot—whether they were not actually waging war in all its forms against this country, at the very instant that they were hypocritically pretending to owe a constitutional obedience to her? Lord North insisted, that to repeal every act passed relating to the colonies since the year 1763, as many gentlemen proposed, would indeed terminate the dispute, for from that moment America would be an independent state. But neither the country nor that house—not even the opposition members—were prepared to admit the principle of disavowance and independence. At half-past four in the morning Lord John Cavendish's amendment was rejected by a majority of 278 against 108; and the original question then being put, the motion for the address was carried without a division.

In the House of Lords the Marquis of Rockingham moved an amendment on the address similar to that of Lord John Cavendish. The debate there was equally warm. Lord Dartmouth, as secretary for American affairs, admitted that the late proceedings had been unsuccessful, but said that this had arisen from causes out of the reach of any ministerial foresight.¹ The arguments on the side of ministers were much the same as those employed in the commons; but they spoke with greater freedom of a desperate faction and of incendiaries at home, to whom they attributed the progress of rebellion in America. They insisted that the numerous loyal addresses which had come up from all parts of England and Scotland were the full and free voice of the people, obtained without any manoeuvre or exercise of influence, and really expressive of the sense of the nation with regard to the American quarrel, and the necessity of defending the sovereignty, the dignity, and rights of the mother country.

On the report of the address in the commons, the opposition went over nearly the whole ground again, making a main stand on the illegality of sending Hanoverian troops to our colonies. Lord Barrington, as secretary-at-war, had given excellent advice as to the whole management of the war in America; and this advice, if not absolutely rejected, had certainly not been followed. The noble secretary-at-war had now grown heartily sick of his post, and was anxious to resign. Lord Barrington, however, for the present, consented

to drag on with the ministry; but the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of some decided speeches, was turned out. The privy seal, which his grace had held, was given to Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies; and, to the indignation of most men, and the astonishment of still more, Lord George Germaine—the proud, imperious, unpopular Sackville—who had been shifting and changing between the ministerial benches and opposition, but who of late had taken a decided part in all the coercive measures which had been adopted, was made secretary for the colonies, and intrusted with the management of American affairs. At the same time the Earl of Rochford retired, and was succeeded as secretary of state for the southern department by Lord Weymouth; and a few days after “the wicked” Lord Lyttleton, who had distinguished himself at the opening of the session by the severity of his attacks upon administration, was called to the privy council and appointed to the sinecure office of chief-justice in eyre beyond Trent. This also astonished most people, who knew the shameful irregularities of Lyttleton's life and conduct, and the strictness of the king as to all moral observances. But George III. had been obliged before now to admit into his cabinet and court lords equally depraved or irregular. Lyttleton renounced his close connection with Chatham and Temple, agreed to defend the very measures he had attacked, and had eloquence and abilities well worth a price.²

As early as the 30th of October Lord North had brought in a bill, in conformity with a passage in the speech from the throne, for enabling the king to assemble the militia in cases of actual rebellion. Upon the second reading there was a warm debate upon it. In the end, however, the militia bill was carried, with a rider, proposed by Sir George Saville and not opposed by ministers, limiting the duration of the bill to seven years.

On the 16th of November, Burke made his famous motion for leave to bring in a bill for composing the present troubles, and quieting the minds of his majesty's subjects in America. Still confident that the Americans were not aiming at a separate political existence, but would be thoroughly satisfied with a redress of grievances, Burke proposed the total renunciation of the right of taxing, the repeal of all obnoxious laws

¹ Lord Dartmouth, the patron of John Newton, of Henry Venn, and other eminent men, who were seconding Whitefield and the Wesleys in their apostolic labours, succeeded Lord Hillsborough at the board of trade, in August, 1772, and held office until November, 1775. It was to him that John Newton addressed the first twenty-six letters of his *Cardiphonia*, and he and his countess presented by their piety a striking contrast to the prevailing infidelity and profligacy of that period. It is to be lamented that his influence was so small, for it was all on the side of conciliation. Bancroft calls him “the amiable Dartmouth,” and, quoting his letter to Hutchinson, of 9th

December, 1772, says, that instead of thinking to appeal to parliament for stringent measures, he desired the king to “reign in the affections of his people,” and would have regarded conciliation as “the happiest event of his life.” But with the spirit of Christian conciliation, equally remote from haughty pertinacity and mean compliances, there were few on either side of the Atlantic to sympathize. Christianity, alike in Old and in New England, had greatly declined.

² There were also some new court appointments. Lord Pelham was made keeper of the great wardrobe, and Lord Ashburnham groom of the stole.

and acts of parliament passed since the year 1766, an entire amnesty for all offences, and a recognition of the congress, in order to a final adjustment of all and every part of the quarrel. Charles Fox, Sir George Saville, and all the best orators on the side of opposition warmly supported Burke, but he was outvoted by a majority of just two to one, the numbers being 210 against 105. Four days after this, ministers brought in a bill for absolutely prohibiting all commercial intercourse with America. Lord North explained a clause respecting commissioners who were to be sent out by the crown on a redressing and pacifying mission. In vindicating his own ministerial conduct his lordship very justly observed that the dispute about taxation was not begun by him, but by his predecessors in office; that he had found the parliament and country determined not to surrender that right; and that, if the colonies, by appealing to arms, chose to make war the medium, he must pursue it through that medium, although he would constantly keep peace in view as the true point to be obtained.

A.D. 1776. Lord Temple, who again differed, *toto celo*, from his brother-in-law, Chatham, delivered a very remarkable speech, strongly reprobating the violence and unnationality of opposition, and reminding them that few or none among them could condemn the war, and what had passed in America, without condemning their own registered votes, their own recorded speeches, the whole course, or material parts, of their own political conduct. He said with much warmth: "I have heard this war called unjust. I know not who, in this house, has a right to call it so: not those who voted for the declaratory act; those only who denied our right of taxation; and how very few were they! I cannot approve of recalling troops, and publishing the terms to which you will yield, till there is reasonable assurance of your terms not being *absolutely rejected by the Americans*. Uncommon sagacity and discretion are necessary to the attainment of what all must eagerly wish: when the happy moment for conciliation shall arrive, I hope ministers will seize it; I wish them success; at least, at such a crisis I will not hang on the wheels of government, rendering that which already is but too difficult, the more impracticable." His lordship also spoke of the certain effect of the harangues of opposition on the excited minds of the colonists. "The next easterly wind," said he, "will carry to America every imprudent expression used in this debate. I do not wish that the nakedness and weakness of my country should stand confirmed by the authority and sanction of testimonies given in this house! It is a time to act, not to talk: much should be done; little said!" But the opposition,

whether in the upper or lower house, continued to talk, and in the same strain; and nearly every speech they delivered was an encouragement to the Americans, who felt convinced that a large part of parliament and the nation detested the war, and were resolved to thwart it; and that a people so divided could never prosecute the war successfully. Nearly all these opposition speeches, moreover, assured the Americans—of what they were making pretty sure by other means—that the assistance of France would not only not be denied them, but would be granted with alacrity.

During these weighty deliberations Chatham remained in the country; but he carried into effect a measure which seemed purposely calculated to throw odium on the war. He had sent out his eldest son, Lord Pitt (who, many years afterwards, distinguished himself by his military incapacity at Walcheren), to serve in Canada with General Carleton. He had ever considered Canada as his own conquest, and as the brightest achievement of his ministry (it was the real cause of more than half the mischief that was now befalling us); and there seemed a propriety in the son helping to defend what the father had gained. He had also expressed a wish that Lord Pitt might learn the business of a soldier in a good school and *in active service*. Yet, in the month of July, in the preceding year, when he must have known that Ethan Allen and Arnold had captured our forts on the lakes, and that the Americans were meditating an invasion of Canada, he commissioned his wife to express to Major Caldwell, an officer on Carleton's staff, the family doubts as to the propriety of Pitt's remaining to fight against the Americans. The countess told Major Caldwell that her husband gave Lord Pitt a *free power* to decide upon his own situation; and that she herself would be equally miserable to have his sword drawn against the convictions of his own conscience, or to have him do anything contrary to his military honour. General Carleton seems to have considered that the thing expected from him as a friend, and the best thing he could do, was to send the young lord home; and, accordingly, the aide-de-camp, who had gone to learn the art of war in the best school, and who had only been in Canada a few months, was sent home with despatches. At first no *public* hint was given of any such intention; but on the 14th of February, when opposition was carrying on their hottest attacks in parliament, Chatham, by the hand of his wife, intimated to General Carleton, that, from his fixed opinion with regard to the continuance of the unhappy war with our fellow-subjects of America, he found it necessary to take a decisive but painful step, which was to withdraw his son altogether from such a service.

Thus the king's commission was thrown in his face, and the country was given to believe that this must, indeed, be an execrable and hopeless war, since the minister who had conquered Canada could withdraw his own son from its defence!

On the 22d of May, the day before that fixed for the prorogation of parliament, General Conway made a motion for inspecting the powers vested in his majesty's commissioners proceeding to America: and on the 23d, at the moment the king was expected in the House of Lords, Mr. Hartley moved an address praying that parliament might not be prorogued at all, but continue sitting by adjournments during the summer, in order that they might be ready to receive information, and take measures without loss of time for every important emergency. Both these motions were negatived without a division. In his speech proroguing parliament the king confidently asserted that no alteration whatever had taken place, or was likely to take place, in his friendly relations with foreign powers.

From the 1st of January to the 1st of March very few recruits arrived at Arnold's camp, before Quebec; but the weather then began to open, and by the 1st of April the force in Canada was raised to 1800 men. But an enemy they had not counted upon instantly made its attacks and thinned their ranks—this was the small-pox. As coined money did not arrive, Arnold issued a proclamation making the paper-money of congress current, under promise of redeeming it with gold and silver in four months, and threatening with destruction all such persons as should dare refuse this paper in exchange for their commodities or labour. The French Canadians had no faith either in the paper or in Arnold's promises; and his attempts to obtain credit by force only insured him hatred and vengeance. The troops helped themselves to what they wanted. They told the Canadians that they were come to liberate them from tyranny and oppression; but the Canadians did not understand this logic, and thought that they had come only to plunder them. To increase these sentiments of hearty hatred, the New Englanders laughed at the Roman Catholic church ceremonies, and insulted some of the priests. In this state of things, and with the certainty that Quebec would be relieved by reinforcements from England as soon as the St. Lawrence should become navigable, Arnold again set up his contemptible battery before the walls of the capital of Canada; but, so far from making any impression, he could scarcely keep his guns in their places; and when, on the 1st of April, General Wooster arrived as his superior

in command, he took offence, and retired to Montreal to assume a separate command there. He was scarcely gone when many of the Americans left the army and returned home, stating that the time for which they had engaged was expired. General Thomas, who was appointed to the supreme command, did not arrive till the 1st of May. The force then amounted, numerically, to about 2000 men; but many of these were not effective, and many more were looking homeward. The magazines, it is said, were almost void of provisions and insufficiently supplied with gunpowder. To complete Thomas's dilemma he saw the river beginning to open below, and heard that English ships of war, which could not fail to deprive him of the use of the river, were every day expected. On the 5th of May he called a council of war, which unanimously resolved not only that there was no hope of taking Quebec, but that there was no hope of saving themselves except by an immediate retreat! Thomas, therefore, began to remove the sick to Three Rivers, and to embark his artillery and stores in boats and canoes. On the following morning, before these operations were completed, three English ships, which had forced their way through the ice with great difficulty and danger, arrived before Quebec. These vessels were hailed with transports of joy by the garrison: they instantly threw on shore two companies of the 29th regiment, about 100 marines, and a few sailors. The Americans, who had thrown up no kind of entrenchment, began to flee without waiting to receive a shot. General Carleton then sallied out upon them with nearly all his little force and with six field-pieces; but the enemy retreated so fast up the river that all he could do was to take their artillery and stores, about 100 loiterers, and nearly all their sick, who had been left behind in the panic. Every possible care has been taken to give a different colour to this affair; but, words and varnish apart, it was, on the part of the Americans, a complete confusion and dispersion. Many of them were found afterwards concealed and starving in the neighbouring woods. Sick, wounded, and prisoners were all treated with great humanity. A very little fighting—chiefly of posts—drove Arnold and all the American officers, except a Colonel Butterfield, who surrendered at discretion, back into their own provinces. Canada was thus entirely freed from American arms; and the most energetic efforts were now making there for the recovery of Ticonderoga and the dominion of Lake Champlain and Lake George.²

But, in the meantime, nothing but disgrace had attended our main army at Boston. During the winter it had suffered many hardships and pri-

¹ *Chatham Correspondence*. The resignation of Lord Pitt was pompously announced in the newspapers, with abundant comments and reflections on the sad event.

² *Stedman; Gordon; Marshall; Ramsay; Burke, in Ann. Reg.*

uations, but the worst suffering of all was that continued state of inactivity and torpor which commenced with the arrival of Gage, and which never terminated till the departure of Howe.¹ In the course of the month of December the Americans made several advances on the besieged, and took almost undisputed possession of several important positions. Thus, Ploughed Hill, Cobble Hill, and Lechemer's Point were successively occupied and fortified: their approaches were carried within half a mile of the British works on Bunker's Hill, and their guns drove the British floating batteries from some of their stations, and protected other works which they constructed themselves. In the month of January a council of war was held in the American camp, which was attended by several members of congress; and it was resolved, "that a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the ministerial troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the spring, if the means can be provided, and a favourable opportunity should offer." And it was further put in the shape of an advice, "that thirteen regiments of militia should be asked for from Massachusetts and the neighbouring colonies, in order to put the army in a condition to make the attempt." The colonists were prompt in compliance, and the militia regiments assembled in the lines on the 1st and 2d of February. But still Washington was obliged to wait, for the season just then was exceedingly mild, and he wanted ice to enable him to pass the river. About the middle of February the cold became intense, and the ice sufficiently strong to bear the troops. A council of war was then called to consider of an immediate assault upon Boston, Boston Neck, and Bunker's Hill; and they agreed almost unanimously that the attempt was too hazardous. At the end of February various appearances among the British troops seemed to indicate an intention of evacuating Boston, and Washington had received intelligence that a part of the British force there was expected at New York. General Howe, and the ministry at home, indeed, had become convinced, by this time, that there was no use in his staying where he was: but he and they ought to have reflected on the unfavourable impressions and fatal effect of being driven out by the Americans as one beaten and

conquered; and, having stayed there so long, he ought to have guarded against the particular line of attack which Washington was now meditating.² He ought to have been taught a lesson by the affair of Bunker's Hill—and yet there was another hill, the Heights of Dorchester, which commanded the shipping in the harbour and nearly the whole town; and of this hill he had taken no more care than had been taken of Bunker's Hill. On the 2d of March the American general, who had received more powder, some bombs, and some heavy pieces of artillery, which had been brought from our captured forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, began a heavy bombardment and cannonade on the unfortunate town, and on the British lines, which was repeated on the following night, and still more furiously on the night of the 4th, which is said to have been particularly selected as the eve of the anniversary of the death of Crispus Attucks and the other martyrs who had fallen in the Boston riots of 1770. On this latter night, as soon as it was dark, and the artillery began to roar, Washington despatched General Thomas, with about 2000 men, an immense quantity of fascines, trusses of hay, and several pieces of artillery, to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester. Thomas, who was followed by 300 labourers, stole across a low isthmus (it might have been swept by English guns) without being perceived, got to the top of the heights without obstruction, and at daydawn presented to the British precisely the same sudden spectacle they had witnessed before on Bunker's Hill—a redoubt, a breast-work, and a strongly though hastily fortified position.

Before they recovered from their stupor Thomas began to thunder at the town and at the ships of war, which were obliged to shift their anchorage; and all the while his unemployed soldiers worked with the labourers in digging trenches and raising other works to make the Heights of Dorchester still more formidable. General Howe saw that he must either dislodge Thomas or evacuate Boston. He resolved to attempt the former, and detached Lord Percy with 3000 men. These troops, which, to have had any chance of success, ought to have been double or triple the number, embarked in transports, and fell down to the

¹ Notwithstanding the enormous expenses incurred for the support of this army, and the never-ending accounts of our commissaries and contractors, they had not even had a little fresh meat and vegetables to give to the sick and the wounded! Hence, and from the hot weather, a terrible increase of deaths. Captain Harris—afterwards General Lord Harris—was among the sufferers. He had been dangerously wounded on the head in the American redoubt on Bunker's Hill, and had owed his life to the humanity, gallantry, and presence of mind of the Marquis of Hastings, then Lord Rawdon, and a young lieutenant in Harris's company. Though an officer, and an admired one, Harris could scarcely procure anything but salt pork and salt beef. The condition of the wounded privates he describes as

most deplorable.—Letters, in the *Life and Services of General Lord Harris*, by the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington.

² Captain Harris, like a sensible man, had said, eight months before, that there could be no use staying in Boston, and that the proper way of prosecuting the war was by our navy and blockade, as had been recommended by Lord Barrington. "I have heard," said he, "that you are determined to withdraw all troops from the colonies, and carry on the war by sea only. This appears the only possible way of distressing them, as we can cut off every intercourse with other nations, and, by that means, bring them to reason at a much smaller expense than it can possibly be effected by land."—Letter in Lushington's *Life of General Lord Harris*.

castle in order to proceed thence up the river to a low strip of land at the foot of Dorchester Hill; but—fortunately we should say—a storm rose, and then the retiring tide made it impossible for the ships to approach the destined spot. Lord Percy and his men returned to the harbour, and nothing more could be done that day, but much

remained to be suffered from the terrible fire kept up from Washington's lines and from Thomas's new position. And, in the meanwhile, Washington threw more and more men to the heights, and the New Englanders, encouraging each other with cries of "Remember the fifth of March," rushed boldly forward to join and



strengthen Thomas. Colonel Mifflin, who had some knowledge of engineering, with an inventive faculty which regular engineers do not always possess, went to the same spot, and by his advice General Thomas ordered his people to chain together, and fill with sand and stones, a number of hogsheads which were to be rolled down the very steep hill upon the English, if they should attempt to march up—an effective contrivance, by which it was calculated whole columns would have been swept off at once. The storm continued during the night with a tremendous fall of rain, and it had scarcely abated the next morning. Howe, it

appears, again talked of clearing the Heights of Dorchester; but the madness of any such attempt was soon made apparent even to his dull comprehension. It is said that, if he had again detached Lord Percy, Washington would have attacked Boston and Boston Neck—in which,

¹ The reader will more clearly understand the peculiar situation of Boston, and the relative position of the hostile forces and their respective fortifications, by a careful examination of the accompanying plan. It shows the various works thrown up during the summer and autumn of 1775, and at the beginning of 1776. A comparison of the views on pages 514 and 528, with this plan, will tend to render them much more intelligible and interesting.

however, we believe, he would have been as sure of repulse as Percy must have been. As matters were decided, Washington was left to the much safer operations of bombardment and cannonade, and these he continued without any regard to the buildings of the town. On the 8th of March a flag was sent out from the select men of Boston, acquainting General Washington that it was the intention of the troops to evacuate the place, and that General Howe was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he were allowed to retire without molestation. As this paper was not signed by Howe, Washington took no notice of it officially, but it appears that he instructed some of his people to intimate that the terms, if properly put, might be complied with. On the 14th strong barricades were erected in the streets leading down to the water side, and proclamation was made by the crier for the inhabitants to keep within their houses. It appears to have been also hinted, both in the town and in Washington's camp, that, if any attempt were made to hinder the embarkation, fire would be set to Boston, and everything in it destroyed. But no interruption was offered or attempted—the Americans thought it triumph enough to see him gone. In the course of the 15th and 16th, Howe, who would not condescend to any direct communication with Washington, embarked his luggage and a good part of his men, and by the morning of the 17th he got all that the ships could hold and carry safely on board, and at about ten o'clock in the morning the squadron weighed anchor and sailed away. Besides his army he was obliged to carry with him about 2000 American Tories or royalists, who preferred running any chance of danger to remaining in the town at the mercy of their own countrymen of the opposite party. He left behind him, for want of room in the ships, 250 pieces of cannon, half of which were serviceable, four large mortars, 150 horses, 25,000 bushels of wheat, and a quantity of barley, oats, and other provisions, of which Washington's army stood greatly in want. He also left a considerable quantity of ammunition which ought to have been destroyed. His force, at the moment of the evacuation, did not much exceed 7000 men, while Washington must have had from 25,000 to 30,000 men, counting regulars, militia, volunteer companies, and all. To complete all the woful blunders which had been committed, Howe, in sailing away, left no cruiser in Boston Bay to warn the ships expected from England that the place was no longer in our possession; and a few days after several of our store-ships sailed right into the harbour, and fell into the hands of the Americans before they discovered that George Washington and not King George was master of Boston. One of these ships alone—the *Hope*

—had on board 1500 barrels of gunpowder, besides carbines, bayonets, gun-carriages, and all sorts of tools necessary for the army and artillery. In appropriating this much wanted supply the jubilant New Englanders said it was the gift of Providence. But still worse happened in consequence of Howe's unpardonable negligence. Lieutenant-colonel Archibald Campbell, with 700 men fresh from England, ran right into Boston harbour, not knowing but that the place was still in our hands. He was taken, of course, and became in the hands of the Americans a subject for severe and brutal retaliation. Before entering Boston, Washington, fancying that Howe intended to proceed with his whole force to New York, detached a considerable part of his army in that direction, with orders to march as quick as possible; and he soon sent the rest of his army by divisions to the same province. By the 14th of April Washington collected the whole army in the neighbourhood of New York. The revolutionary party, with not so much as a single Tory to disturb their unanimity, remained in peaceful possession of Boston. Instead of proceeding to New York, Howe had sailed to the eastward for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where he arrived soon and safely.

Earlier in the year than these events, signal ill success had attended the efforts of the royalists, or government party, in North Carolina. No second attempt could be made to erect the royal standard in the Carolinas until the arrival of a force from England. At last, on the 3d of May, Lord Cornwallis, with seven regiments of infantry, arrived on that coast in a squadron of transports, convoyed by Sir Peter Parker; and almost immediately after, General Clinton arrived at Cape Fear and took the chief command of the troops. Clinton's instructions were to endeavour by proclamation and other means to induce the Carolinas to return to their allegiance; to inform himself accurately of the temper and disposition of those provinces; and, if he found the royalists numerous enough and bold enough to take up arms, he was to leave a part of the forces there to assist them, and to repair with the rest of the troops to New York to meet the commander-in-chief, General Howe, who was to leave Halifax and be at New York some time in June. But Clinton, who might have changed the whole aspect of affairs if he had been there with anything like a force three or four months earlier, when the Highlanders and Regulators were up in arms, now found no encouragement, and no hopes of a co-operation. Tired of doing nothing, he and Parker resolved to do more than was in their commission, and, sailing away from Cape Fear, they ran down to Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, to capture or destroy that

thriving town, whose trade supplied the two colonies with the nerves of war. On the 4th of June they arrived off Charlestown and took possession of Long Island. There they found willing royalists, but they had all been disarmed by the revolutionary party in the *preceding month of January!* But there was another island, where, instead of disarmed royalists, there were armed insurgents and tremendous batteries; and this island defended Charlestown harbour, from which it was distant about half a mile; and as a sad addition to Sullivan Island—such was the name of the fatal place—there was a projecting point of land to the northward, called Hadrell's Point, which almost touched the island, and which was now united to it by a bridge of boats, and Lee—late an English colonel, but now an American general, the rival of Washington, who had been for months watching Clinton's desultory movements, and following him from province to province—was encamped on that projecting point, with a force of 2500 regulars, about 3000 militia, and some artillery. Notwithstanding these formidable and unexpected appearances, Clinton persevered in his design; he constructed on Long Island two batteries, to answer those of the enemy, and to co-operate with the floating batteries destined to cover the landing of the troops on Sullivan Island. On the 28th of June, at half-past ten in the morning, Sir Peter Parker, in the *Bristol*, made the signal for action. His fleet, consisting of the *Bristol*, of fifty guns, the *Experiment*, of fifty guns, and the *Active*, *Solebay*, *Actæon*, *Syren*, and *Sphynx*, twenty-eight gun frigates, the *Thunder* bomb, and the *Friendship*, an armed ship of twenty-four guns, soon came to anchor, with springs upon their cables, in front of the American fort, and opened a tremendous fire upon it. But misfortunes began early—no soundings had been taken, neither had the ground on the island been surveyed—three of the frigates got aground! Two hove off, but the third stuck fast, and became of little or no service. The fire of the British ships did not produce all the effect which had been expected, for the fortifications were far stronger than had been fancied, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot. They were ingeniously composed of palmetto-trees, earth, and other substances, and the merlons were of unusual thickness. During this long, hot, and obstinate conflict the seamen looked frequently to the eastward, expecting to see the land forces advance from Long Island, drive Lee from his entrenchments at Hadrell's Point, and come up to second the attack upon the fort. When the firing ceased in the darkness of night, the *Bristol* and *Experiment* were left almost wrecks upon the water; and, when they counted their

killed and wounded, they were found to be 111 on board the *Bristol*, and seventy-nine on board the *Experiment*. The frigates had not suffered a proportional loss, but two of them were sadly cut up in hull and rigging. As usual when sailors and soldiers are joined in an unsuccessful service, the popular disposition was to throw all the blame on the latter. General Clinton with the troops set sail on the 21st to join General Howe. He was escorted by the *Solebay* frigate, but the rest of the fleet was under the necessity of remaining some time at Long Island to refit.

In the meanwhile the revolution had been proceeding at an accelerated pace, and the insurgents, who could no longer conceal anything or derive any benefit from concealment, had ventured to announce the full extent of their design. On the 15th of May, the continental congress sitting at Philadelphia resolved, "That it should be recommended to all the various assemblies and conventions in the United States of America, where no form of government adequate to the exigencies of affairs had yet been adopted, to establish such a constitution as should be most conducive to the public welfare and security." This vote was immediately published in the newspapers, with a preamble stating that, as his Britannic majesty had, with the concurrence of his parliament, excluded the inhabitants of the colonies from his protection, it became necessary and expedient to suppress and abolish the power and constitution which had been derived from that source. All this was virtually a declaration of independence. When the mask was off, several individuals, including some who had worn it the longest, put in rival claims for the honour of being the first to have originated the great idea. We cannot enter into the discussion of these rival claims; but several writers, Americans by birth and feeling, and popular with Americans, seem confidently to confer the glory on BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, quoting words and sentences used by that philosopher many months before, when he was still in England, and employing all his art to make the Earl of Chatham and the other great orators of opposition as deaf as adders to the ministerial cry that he and his countrymen were aiming at nothing less than independence. Mr. Josiah Quincy, writing from London in the month of November, 1774 (about two months before the philosopher went down to Hayes to cajole our great orator, and make Chatham believe that the famous conciliatory bill he was then preparing would be a good basis for negotiation, as all that was wanting was a redress of grievances, &c.), says, "Dr. Franklin is an American in heart and soul. *His ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are extended upon the broad scale of total emancipa-*

tion. He is explicit and bold on the subject." The same American writers seem very generally disposed to admit that any premature disclosure of this extreme intention would have had a very injurious effect upon the temper of the American people; and they universally agree that even at the last moment it was necessary, except in the province of Massachusetts, to develop the plan of a total separation from the mother country by degrees, and to take great pains in preparing the popular mind for its reception. And they also admit that it was an English pen that rendered the most effective service in this particular, and that Thomas Paine, the well-known author of the *Rights of Man* and the *Age of Reason*, contributed more than any man to convert the people to the doctrine of independence. Paine, originally a Quaker and staymaker of Thetford, in Norfolk, then an exciseman, then an assistant at a school, then an exciseman again, made his abilities known in 1772, by publishing a pamphlet. This pamphlet recommended him to the notice of Franklin, and Franklin recommended the poor author to go and try his fortune in America. Paine took the advice, and having settled at Philadelphia in 1774, he became a contributor to newspapers and other periodical works, and in January, 1775, editor of the *Philadelphia Magazine*. In the month of January in the present year, 1776, he brought out his famous political pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*. There were other writers on the same side—of course none were tolerated on the other side—but Paine outstripped them all; his pamphlet met with unparalleled success; it was circulated throughout the colonies, and during the winter and spring months it had been a principal study with all classes of Americans; and the American annalists and biographers affirm that after its appearance the public mind was rapidly and wonderfully changed.

As General Washington and the main body of the American army were now in the city of New York, or in its neighbourhood, the royalists and the moderates were completely crushed in that colony, and the men of movement had everything their own way. And so warm and active were the men in the New York convention, that they were among the very first to take into consideration the resolution of the continental congress recommending the organization of a new form of government. Gouverneur Morris put himself at the head of these debates, and advanced a series of facts and arguments to show that disseverance and independence were absolutely necessary, and that the proper time for claiming them had *now* arrived. A committee was appointed to take into consideration the resolutions of the continental congress, and to report thereon with all convenient speed. On

the 27th of May the committee presented their report, which went the whole length desired. It affirmed that the right of granting, or new-modelling governments, belongs to the people; that the present form of congress and committees originated in the free choice of the people, and was dependent on the people; that this form, instituted under British sovereignty, was necessarily defective; that by the voluntary abdication of the late Governor Tryon (*he had fled to save his life*), by the dissolution of the old assembly, and by the unwarrantable hostilities committed by the British fleets and armies, the old form of government was *ipso facto* dissolved, whereby it had become necessary that the people of the colony should institute "a new and regular form of internal government, in exclusion of foreign and external power," &c.

But the men of the hot south, the democratic part of the Virginians, had preceded the New Yorkers by a few days: their convention had met at Williamsburg on the 6th of May; and on the 15th they took the decisive step of instructing their delegates in the continental congress at Philadelphia, to propose to that body an immediate declaration of independence, and the establishment of a democratical republic; and, having done this, they employed themselves in drawing up a "Declaration of Rights," and a new constitution for the colony, as if its independence had already been established. The "Declaration of Rights," which the French revolutionists afterwards took for their model in drawing up their "Rights of Man," was to this effect:—"1. That all men are born equally free, possessing certain natural rights, of which they cannot by any compact deprive their posterity. 2. That all power is vested in the people, from whom it is derived. 3. That they have an unalienable, indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish their form of government at pleasure. 4. That the idea of an hereditary first magistrate is unnatural and absurd. 5. That no government, independent of, or separated from the government of Virginia, ought to prevail within the limits of Virginia." Taking all their declarations and propositions together, the democratic principle could not well go farther. It was hardly possible to make a clearer enunciation of the bold experiment in government then about to be tried—of that system which, after more than eighty years, cannot be said to have got much beyond its experimental stage. In conformity to the instruction of the Virginia convention, Richard Henry Lee, one of the Virginia delegates at Philadelphia, moved, on the 7th day of June, that congress should forthwith declare—"That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the

British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved; that measures should immediately be taken for *procuring the assistance of foreign powers*," &c. The question was adjourned till the next day. The length of the debate (it occupied three days) shows that there was some opposition; but this, it is said, was, in most of the opposers, merely as to *time*, and not to the principle of the measure of independence. Virginia had spoken out, and so had six other colonies; but the other six—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina—were as yet silent, and it was deemed expedient to wait awhile for their formal concurrence. The impatience of the revolutionary leaders was, however, too great to suffer any long delay; they fixed upon the 1st of July as the decisive day, and meanwhile they appointed a committee to prepare a draught of the declaration of independence. This committee consisted

on the question in a committee of the whole house on the appointed day, and in the course of that day nine states voted for independence: Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against it; the delegates from Delaware were divided in opinion; and the delegates for New York, who had been chosen before Washington drove Howe out of Boston and took possession of New York with his army, begged leave to withdraw, and would not vote at all. On the resolution being reported, the delegates from South Carolina requested an adjournment of the question to the next day, hinting that they might then vote for it for the sake of unanimity, though disapproving of the measure! The adjournment was agreed to. On the following day the South Carolina delegates concurred with the majority; a third delegate arrived from Delaware, and voted for the resolution; the Pennsylvania delegates *were changed that very morning* by some very summary and irregular proceeding of the revolutionary party, and the new ones joined the majority. Thus, as the Americans say, twelve of the thirteen states voted *fairly* in favour of the declaration of independence; but from the accounts given—

and the one we follow is their own—we cannot possibly conceive that the voices were all fairly obtained. The resolutions in favour of a declaration of independence having thus been carried on the 2d of July, the declaration itself was finally agreed to, and made public on the 4th of July, which day is accordingly celebrated in the United States as Independence Day.

In the meanwhile the British army had arrived at Sandy Hook, in the neighbourhood of New York, and the convention had retired in a hurry from the city to White Plains. But, en-

couraged by the presence of the British force, the moderates and loyalists stayed away, and, discouraged by the same cause, some of the revolutionary party stayed away also; so that there was a very thin attendance at White Plains. On the 8th of July they opened what they called a new provincial congress, to the members of which the freeholders and voters are said to have granted full powers to decide on the subject of independence; but which members appear to have been none other than those who had sat in the last convention. The number was still small; and the legal competency—considering popular election decisive of the point—very questionable indeed. The people of the colony had not been called together, as recommended in the report of the 27th of May; and, since General Howe's landing in the neighbourhood of New York, the vast majority of the population of that city, and



THE STATE-HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, as it appeared in 1774.¹
From a vignette on an old map of Philadelphia.

of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; Robert R. Livingston, of New York; and Dr. Franklin, of Pennsylvania. They appointed Jefferson to make the draught. The young Virginia lawyer soon finished his task, showed it to Franklin and Adams, who made a few alterations, and then submitted it to the whole committee—which *whole*, as we have seen, consisted of four members besides Jefferson. On the 28th of June the committee reported the declaration to congress, who, after the reading, ordered it to lie on the table till the 1st of July. Though its friends had certainly not succeeded in obtaining an unanimous and spirited adhesion, they brought

¹ In this edifice, called by the Americans Independence Hall, were held the meetings of the continental congress, and here the declaration of independence was discussed and adopted in council, and signed and sent forth to the world.

of the townships near it, had unequivocally declared for the king. The only authority of the new provincial congress was derived from a minority; and it does not appear that the sense of even the minority was regularly taken in the election of the provincial members, who now undertook to bind the whole colony to the declarations and fortunes of the general congress. They instantly read and discussed a letter from John Hancock, the president of the continental congress, informing them of all that had passed at Philadelphia; and on the very next day, July the 9th, they resolved that the reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring the united colonies free and independent states were cogent and conclusive; that they fully approved the same, and would at the risk of their lives and fortunes join the other colonies; and that the delegates of their state should be and hereby were authorized to adopt all such measures as they might deem conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America. This resolution, which was carried *five days after* independence had been proclaimed by congress at Philadelphia, was considered as completing the *voluntary consent* of the thirteen provinces or states. Before being passed Jefferson's draught of the declaration of independence had been slightly altered in committee. Not to offend the friends of America in England, whose sympathy it was of the utmost consequence to preserve, all the passages were struck out which stigmatized the people, and those retained that stigmatized only the king and government. A clause reproaching the slave-trade was also struck out, to avoid giving offence to slave-holding patriots and the slave states generally. But after every alteration several delegates had refused to sign the famous paper. Some of the recusants stayed away, but Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, was present, and frankly declared that he would never sign it. The signatures wanting were supplied, months after, by newly chosen delegates. The declaration, nevertheless, went forth to the world as the unanimous act of congress and of the American people. It commenced with asserting that all men (surely they ought to have introduced the word *white*) were created equal, and that all people had an unalienable right to choose their own government; that the history of the present king of Great Britain had been a history of injuries and usurpations, having for their direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over America. "To prove this," continued the paper, "let facts be submitted to a candid world;" and then came a long array of all the monstrous acts of tyranny, oppression, cruelty, and perfidy of which George III. was said to have been guilty. Many of his sins were omitted for the

sake of brevity, but those inserted filled eighteen separate clauses!

The framers of this document, and such of the American people as went along with them, were neither deficient in confidence in their own prowess nor ignorant of the physical advantages their country presented, and the difficulty Great Britain, split into factions and with a divided parliament, must encounter in carrying on that distant war; yet it remains indisputable that their sole reliance was not upon "native swords and native ranks." We have heard Gouverneur Morris speaking of their dabbling in foreign treaties, we have heard English ministers speaking of secret envoys from France, and we have the confession of one of the leaders of the revolution, that at least one secret agent had been among them *months before they drew up the declaration of independence*. This leader was John Jay, whose own son tells the story. The French agent was repeatedly closeted with Jay, Franklin, and Jefferson; and he promised them all manner of aid, whether in arms, ammunition, or money. They had already established a secret committee of correspondence (of which Thomas Paine soon became secretary), and had opened an active correspondence with every court supposed to be inimical to Great Britain; and, both before and immediately after the declaration of independence, several American agents, much less secret and mysterious than the French gentleman who had been at Philadelphia, repaired to Paris to court and bargain for French assistance. Others went more clandestinely to Madrid, to Naples, to the Hague, to St. Petersburg. But, besides this foreign aid, the Americans counted upon a rebellion in Ireland as a certainty, and upon an insurrection in England as a probability. Their addresses to the Irish people, sent over *before* the declaration of independence, had been artfully contrived to lead to one of these ends.

General Howe, having remained at Halifax with the Boston army till the 11th of June, had then set sail for New York, and had come to anchor at Sandy Hook on the 29th of June. He had expected to meet there his brother, Lord Howe, with the main body of the fleet and the new army, as also Sir Peter Parker with his squadron, and General Clinton with his troops; but all these parties were still far away, and he did not think it prudent to venture upon any hazardous step till they arrived. He was met at Sandy Hook by Tryon, the expelled governor of New York, who had been for some time on board of a ship of war, but who had secured the services of two companies of volunteers, consisting of 100 men each, raised in New York from a respectable class of society, and all ardent in the cause of the mother country, and furious at the persecutions

and annoyances their party in the colony had undergone and were actually undergoing.¹ At this moment Washington and his army were throwing up strong entrenchments at New York and on Long Island, to close the river Hudson against the English fleet. For the same purpose a number of vessels were sunk in various parts of the channel. Washington, with the main body, was at New York; General Sullivan, in great force,

Island, except three detachments—one on Governor's Island, one at Paulus Hook, and the third round about New Rochelle and the East and West Chester—to oppose any sudden attempt which might be made to land up the river in the rear of New York. The total number of Washington's army appears to have been rather above than under 30,000 men; but sickness prevailed in his camp to such an extent, that at one time

it was reported that nearly a fourth part of the men were unfit for service. He had now a large train of artillery and an abundant supply of military stores. Notwithstanding his imposing attitude, General Howe, with his 9000 men, resolved to be nearer to him, and, leaving Sandy Hook, he sailed to Staten Island, situated just under the south-western point of Long Island, and whence he could watch the operations of the enemy. No opposition was made to his landing, the American troops abandoning Staten Island at his approach without firing a gun. Three days after, Admiral Lord Howe arrived with his long-expected fleet and troops from England at Sandy Hook (having unfortunately lost some time in seeking his brother at Halifax), where he was soon afterwards joined by Sir Peter Parker's shattered squadron from Sullivan Island. Our army now amounted altogether to nearly 30,000 men, British and foreign.

Before proceeding to any direct act of hostility, Lord Howe sent ashore, by a flag, circular letters acquainting the Americans with his powers, both civil and military, and inclosing a declaration granting pardons to all such as were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; promising that any colony, town, port, or place that submitted should instantly be excepted from the provisions of the acts of parliament prohibiting their trade, &c.; and giving assurances that the meritorious services of all persons who should aid and assist in restoring tranquillity would be duly rewarded. Washington instantly forwarded these papers to the congress, and the congress published them

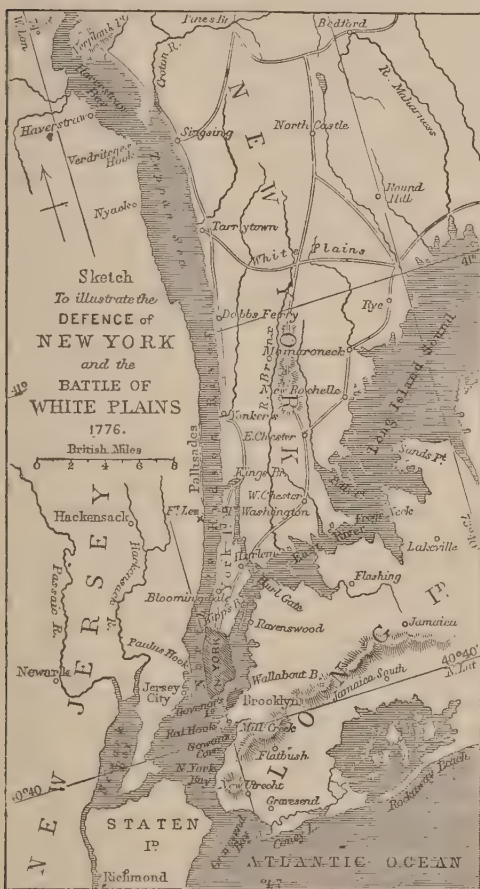
was at the western extremity of Long Island, just opposite New York; and the rest of the American forces occupied different posts on York

in all their gazettes, with comments of their own.

Still reluctant to proceed to extremities, Lord Howe attempted to open a communication with

¹ The revolutionary convention of New York had decreed that all who befriended the British government should be considered as enemies to the state, guilty of treason, and should suffer "the pains and penalties of death!" They had established CONFISCATIONS OF PROPERTY, and were publicly selling by auction the goods and chattels of the royalists or suspected royalists! It would appear that life was taken as well as goods. The *Impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and*

her Colonies (London, 1780), says:—"Some small time previous to the arrival of the fleet and army, plots in favour of the royal cause were discovered in New York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. SOME FEW EXECUTIONS TOOK PLACE, great numbers were confined, and many abandoning their houses, under the operations of their fears, were pursued as outlaws and enemies to their country. The estates of those unfortunate people, against whom there were proofs, were seized."—P. 335.



General Washington, and sent some of his officers with a flag and a letter; but as he could not possibly recognize the revolutionary rank of the American, and as, in consequence, he addressed his letter to George Washington, Esq., that officer proudly refused to receive it.

The impression produced and artfully instilled into the minds of the Americans was, that the Howes were afraid of fighting the captor of Boston. At the same time the gazettes were filled with abuse of the British army and flattering appeals to the American heroes. General Howe, on the morning of the 22d of August, put his army in motion on Staten Island, and first threw forward a division of 4000 men under the command of Clinton, who landed in Gravesend Bay, Long Island, without opposition, their disembarkation being well covered by three frigates and two bombs. Washington reinforced General Sullivan, who was holding the island. Clinton's division was soon followed by the rest of our army, with the artillery; and, upon their landing, Sullivan's advance-guard, which had been hovering in the neighbourhood of the landing-place, set fire to all the houses and granaries, and fled precipitately to seek cover in the woody heights through which the British must pass. Washington, making a most erroneous calculation that Long Island might be held, threw over more and more reinforcements from New York, until the mass of his army was committed on that spot. By his direction the Americans, to the number of 15,000, were posted on a peninsula towards that end of the island which faces the city of New York, and is not more than a mile from it: their lines extended almost right across the peninsula from Whaaloboght or Wallabout Bay, an elbow of the East River, on the left, to a deep marsh on a creek emptying into Gowan's Cove on the right: their rear was covered against an attack from the English ships by some batteries on Governor's Island, Red Hook, and Brooklyn-ferry; and there were other batteries on the East River to keep open their communication with the city of New York; in their front they had a strong line of entrenchments secured by abattis, flanked by redoubts, and lined with spears or lances, their centre, at Brooklyn, being made uncommonly strong; and in advance of these artificial works they had, at the distance of some two miles and a half, the natural defences of a range of hills—those to which their advanced

guard had fallen back on Clinton's landing—covered with thick woods extending obliquely nearly all across the island, and intervening between the American lines and Lord Howe's army. Their object was to occupy these heights, and to defend against the English the defiles which led through the hills. Washington himself had superintended these dispositions; but, after passing the day of the 26th at Brooklyn in the lines, he had returned at night to New York. Notwithstanding their advantageous positions the Americans were driven from them all, and beaten out of the island on the 27th of August. When not firing from behind walls or trees or high breastworks, their resistance was slack and contemptible. A great proportion of their left wing and centre were either killed or taken prisoners while attempting to run away. Their right, under Lord Stirling, was equally panic-stricken; they, however, maintained the contest with General Grant until they received news of the total rout of the rest of their army. They then abandoned their position, and ran for their lives across a morass to Mill Creek. It is stated that, if General Grant had moved rapidly to the edge of that morass, and had secured the head of a mill-dam over which they escaped, the greater part of this division must have been either drowned or taken prisoners. But most of them crossed the creek, and thence continued their run to Brooklyn. In their haste, however, they left their commander behind them, for Lord Stirling was taken prisoner by Grant's division.¹ Between the British right, under Clinton, and the Hessians, a great many of the American officers were taken, including General Sullivan and General Udell or Woodhull. The total amount of prisoners was 1097, and from 1200 to 1500 Americans were killed or wounded. The loss of the British was comparatively trifling, not exceeding 400 men and officers in killed, wounded, and taken. In the heat of the action Washington crossed over from New York to the camp at Brooklyn, whence he witnessed the confusion and headlong flight of his troops, whom, in our opinion, he had most unwisely exposed to an unequal contest. He also witnessed from that ill-omened camp, the ardour of the British troops, who followed the American fugitives almost to the foot of their works, and who were with difficulty prevented from making an assault on their lines—an assault which ought to have been made before the fugitives recovered

¹ This William, Earl of Stirling, as he called himself, was the son of a Mr. James Alexander, who had gone out to America in 1714, with the appointment from George I. of surveyor-general for the province of New Jersey. The son, who succeeded to the same office, and also to large estates in New Jersey and New York, came over to England in 1757, after his father's death, when he was a young man of about one-and-twenty, and in 1759 got himself served nearest lawful heir male to Henry, fifth Earl

of Stirling, who had died without issue in 1739. On this he assumed the title; but, his petition to the king having been referred to the House of Lords, their lordships, in 1762, came to a resolution that he had not made out his claim. He still, nevertheless, continued to call himself a lord, on his own authority, and was recognized as such by the American revolutionists, whose cause he joined, and in whose army, on the breaking out of the war, he received a commission as major-general.

from their fatigue and panic. But General Howe was of a different opinion, and thought that the lines should be attacked by regular approaches. The British army encamped that night in front of the American lines; and on the following morning, the 28th of August, they began to break ground about 600 yards from one of the redoubts. They seemed to have been so absorbed by this tedious and laborious occupation—to have had their eyes so bent and fixed upon the earth and their pickaxes, spades, and mattocks—as to have been blind to everything else that was passing; and they kept digging their trenches on one side, while Washington was smuggling his forces out on the other, and ferrying them over East River to the city of New York. It is said, however, that a marvellously thick fog concealed and favoured the American general's critical operation. On the night of the 29th, having collected a number of boats, and removed his military stores, with part of his provisions and the lighter part of his artillery, he began to embark his men. When the party first embarked were landed on the New York side, the boats returned for another; and this ferrying occupied several hours, during which Washington, who kept his own person on the New York side of the water, expected every moment that General Howe would burst through his lines at Brooklyn, and take his men in the rear, and that Lord Howe would send some of his ships up the East River to destroy their fragile boats and every hope of escape from Long Island. But the high-feeding English general slept on; and his brother, the admiral, though not so apt to doze, did not move a single ship or boat, and was to all appearance unconscious of what was going on. Nothing but a miracle of negligence, slowness, and stupidity could possibly have saved the forces—the half of his army—which Washington had exposed on Long Island; and, in point of generalship, nothing except the British letting them go, when they *were there*, was so miserable as Washington's sending the Americans to that island. But even after his lucky escape, Washington found himself in a very critical situation; for he not only had a superior, and, to a degree, a victorious force in front, with a commanding fleet, but all the country round about him was hostile to his cause. On the first appearance of Lord Howe, the people of Staten Island took the oath of allegiance to the British crown, and joyfully offered to serve as volunteers; the people of Long Island were equally loyal; on both sides the Hudson—in New Jersey, as in New York—the anti-revolutionists began to declare themselves in vast numbers; the whole continent, indeed, between New England and the Potomac abounded with royalists or with very lukewarm

republicans, and the city of New York, taken as a whole, was decidedly hostile to congress. Washington felt that, under all these circumstances, there was no possibility of defending the important city for which he had risked so much—even to putting his whole army in jeopardy; and on the 12th of September, when the British were slowly inclosing him on all sides, he evacuated New York in too great a hurry to carry off all his artillery and stores. But Howe had scarcely taken possession of New York when a dreadful fire broke out, apparently proceeding at the same moment from several quarters of the town. A number of incendiaries had stayed behind and concealed themselves in the houses, combustibles had been carefully prepared, and, taking advantage of a brisk gale of wind, these desperadoes began their work in several places on the night of the 20th, about the hour of midnight, when most of the citizens and troops were buried in sleep. But when the spreading flames gave the alarm the soldiers were beat to quarters, detachments of sailors from the fleet were landed, and after a hard struggle the fire was stopped, though not before it had reduced nearly a third part of that fair city to ruins.¹ Some of the incendiaries were caught in the fact, and were either despatched by the sword or bayonet, or thrown into the flames they had kindled, by the infuriated soldiery. The design was to make what Washington could no longer keep of no use to his enemies; and the stern patriotism and self-devotion of the act have been applauded, by those who have not sufficiently reflected that these New Englanders were not destroying their own houses and property, but the houses and property of another people and a *rival* colony.

On the morning of the 15th three British men-of-war ascended the North River as high as Bloomingdale, and completely stopped the further removal of stores by water; and on the same day Sir Henry Clinton landed at a place called Kipp's Bay, on the East River, about three miles above New York. Washington had thrown up works at this important point, but his troops fled from them, and swept away in their flight a whole column which was sent to sustain them. Washington rode in person to the spot, but he could not rally them; and, in spite of all his efforts, another corps which he brought up joined the general flight, in which he himself was compelled to join, after witnessing the seizure at Kipp's Bay of all the heavy artillery, and a large portion of his baggage, provisions, and military stores. He was thus compelled to con-

¹ Among the buildings consumed was the old English church. When the Americans stationed at Paulus Hook saw the steeple fall, they gave three cheers, probably viewing it as a sign of the downfall of church as well as state control.

fess, in the bitterness of his soul, that new troops and raw militia, notwithstanding their high republicanism, could never stand against a regular army, though only royalists and mercenaries. He clearly saw that the democratic principle and the practice of free election would never do in the army, and that republicans, when they make war, must make it like other people, and dispense with the fundamental doctrine of personal liberty and equality. At present, in spite of various efforts made by Washington to remedy the evil, there was scarcely any distinction between platoon officers and privates. The New Englanders, the strength of his army, were fanatic asserters of equality; they had been allowed, in most instances, to elect their own officers, and of consequence a disposition to associate with them on a footing of equality was a recommendation of more weight, and frequently conduced more to the choice of officers, than any individual merit in the persons chosen. Hence the privates acquired no habits of obedience and subordination; and hence also the most disgraceful and unmilitary practices prevailed among the officers. If we are to believe other accounts, a considerable number of these New England officers were little better than a set of rapacious pedlars and swindlers.

Continuing to withdraw his last regiments from New York, Washington, after a considerable loss in men, occupied works and lines which ran right across York Island, the strongest being at King's Bridge and Fort Washington. General Howe left some troops in the city, and with the main body of his army marched up York Island, and encamped in face of Washington's lines. On the 16th of September there was some skirmishing in the plain that lay between the two camps; and the Americans lost two of their best officers, Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and Major Leitch. Desertion now became frequent; and the time was approaching when the period of service for which most of the Americans had engaged would expire. Washington, on the 24th of September, wrote what was almost a despairing letter to congress. It was found already that all the

boasts of the sons of liberty about fleeing to arms by hundreds of thousands and fighting for their country without pay and reward, save such as they should acquire by establishing the most free and perfect of all independent governments, was little more than moonshine; that, with some exceptions, the richer classes preferred staying at home and sending the poorer to fight for them; and that the poor were only to be engaged by levy money and good pay—that they must in fact be made soldiers in the real sense of the word by being *soldati*, just as if they were mere English or Frenchmen, paid by King George or King Louis. “Establish your army upon a permanent footing,” said Washington, “and give your officers *good pay*. This will induce gentlemen of character to engage; and until the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like, and support the character of gentlemen; and not be driven by a scanty pittance to the low and dirty arts which many of them now practise to filch the public of more than the difference of pay would amount to upon an ample allowance.’ With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment. . . . I shall therefore take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty immediately be offered, aided by the proffer of at least 100 or 150 acres of land, a suit of clothes, and a blanket to each non-commissioned officer and soldier.” As to the militia, he added that it was assuredly resting upon a broken staff to place any dependence upon it; as the militiamen not only deserted themselves, but were the cause of desertion in others. Nay, he went so far as to say that, unless the republican soldiers were gratified to the extent of their wishes, they would be disposed to *join the royal army, and that many of them were doing so already*. Congress then voted an increase of pay and of bounty money, and offered other advantages, immediate or prospective, which made it more profitable to serve under Washington than to serve under Howe.²

¹ It appears that it was no very uncommon sight to see an American officer shaving his own men, and that too “in the face of characters of distinction.” A captain was tried and broken for stealing his soldiers' blankets. In some corps, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, sergeants, corporals, drummers, and privates lived on a common stock, and on a footing of perfect equality. Almost every villainy and rascality was for some time practised with impunity. This state of things drove many gentlemen from the service altogether, and made others declare,

more or less publicly, that if they had known what the republican army was to be, they would never have joined it. At the same time bitter animosities prevailed between the troops from the north and those furnished by the southern colonies. One ground of complaint was the circumstance that, at the beginning of the war, the New Englanders—ever keen bargainers—had got more pay than was allowed the soldiers from the south.—Jared Sparks, *Life of Morris*.

² Washington's *Letters*.

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1776—1777.

GEORGE III.

Lord Howe opens a negotiation with congress—The terms of peace refused—Washington retreats to the White Plains—He is attacked by General Howe—Strategic errors of both generals—Washington retreats to North Castle—Lord Howe captures Fort Mifflin—General Washington's difficulty of retreating from Lord Cornwallis—Sir Guy Carleton's successes in Canada—He constructs a flotilla, and obtains the command of the lakes—He defeats the American general Arnold—Courage of congress under their reverses—Their prospect of aid from France—American desertions to the royal cause—The Red Indians let loose—Affairs in England—The royal speech on the American revolt—Discussion of American affairs in parliament—Fresh grants of parliament for the war—Fires in the dockyard of Portsmouth and at Bristol—The incendiary, John the Painter, apprehended—Mode of his detection—Account of him—Evidence at his trial—His execution—Abuses of the commissariat brought before parliament—Addition granted by parliament to the civil list—Chatham moves for immediate cessation of hostilities with America—The motion negatived—Military proceedings in America—Washington's night attack on Lord Cornwallis on the Delaware—Its success—Washington attempts to recover the Jerseys—He is foiled by Lord Cornwallis—Washington's retreat—His successful skirmish—Increase of his resources—He continues the campaign during winter—General Howe's inactivity—Destruction of American military stores—Skirmish at Danbury, and defeat of the British—Lee, the American general, taken prisoner—The Americans capture General Prescott—Antagonistic manœuvres of Howe and Washington—Howe embarks for the capture of Philadelphia—His successful attack on Washington at Brandywine—La Fayette's first appearance in the American army at Brandywine—His previous proceedings in the cause of America—Lord Cornwallis takes possession of Philadelphia—Washington's unsuccessful attempt to surprise the British at Germantown—Lord Howe reduces Mud Island—The Delaware opened to the British army and fleet—Movements of General Howe and Washington—Success of the British in an encounter at Edgehill—Washington's judicious plan of action for the winter—He establishes a permanent encampment at Valley Forge.



ORD HOWE, as one of the king's pacificators or commissioners, made, immediately after the victory on Long Island, another unsuccessful attempt to open a negotiation. Congress appointed three of the bitterest enemies of Great Britain—Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Rutledge—their committee to receive the communications of Lord Howe. This trio waited upon his lordship in Staten Island, on the 11th of September, four days before the British army took possession of New York. His lordship received them with great politeness. He assured them that there was every good disposition in the king, ministry, and parliament to make the government easy to them; and that to put an end to their grievances, the obnoxious acts of parliament would all be revised, &c. The committee gave it as their opinion, that to return to allegiance and dependence was now impossible; and they declared that the Americans had been forced against their will into the war and into the proclamation of independence. Lord Howe then put an end to the useless conference with many expressions of grief and regret for the horrors which must be let loose upon the land. The committee returned to Philadelphia,¹ and Howe passed over to New York, as we have seen, driving Washington

before him to the lines he had previously made. After consuming whole weeks in throwing up entrenchments to defend his own lines and the approaches to New York, he, on the 12th of October, embarked a considerable part of the royal army in flat-bottomed boats, sent them through Hurl Gate into the sound, and landed them at Frog's Neck, about nine miles in the rear of Washington's positions, which were thus shorn of their strength. Some of the ships of war went still higher up the North River, so as to cut off any retreat to the Jerseys; and the only road open was one leading to the New England provinces; and this road too might have been closed by a more active and skilful commander. Washington, taking counsel from his own high courage, and forgetting the low spirit of his troops, would have remained where he was to fight a pitched battle. He harangued his officers, and told them they must retreat no further, but decide the fate of America on that ground. But General Lee, the deserter, who had come up from Sullivan Island and the Carolinas, remonstrated against this determination, pointing out that the ground was almost as bad as Long Island, and that the British would hem the army round with such a chain of works as would reduce them to the necessity of surrendering,

¹ Before this interview at Staten Island, Lord Howe had written a private letter to his "worthy friend" Dr. Franklin, to acquaint him of the nature of his mission, to express his

earnest desire to see all differences accommodated, &c. This letter gave Franklin the opportunity of insulting England and sneering at the *bonhomie* of his lordship.

through famine, without fighting at all. Washington was still obstinate, but a council of war was called, and it was decided by a majority that they must decamp immediately.¹ If General Howe had landed at Pell's Point instead of Frog's Neck,² the retreat would have been almost impracticable, and Washington must inevitably have lost all his artillery and baggage; but Howe did not re-embark his men and collect them at Pell's Point till the 18th of October, and thus time was allowed the Americans to bring off most of their remaining military stores, and to get towards the open country called the White Plains. The English general's blunders, however, could not excuse those committed by Washington. On the 19th and 20th there was some skirmishing, and a sharp combat at a narrow pass, which the Americans in vain attempted to defend against the British. On the 21st Washington occupied some heights between New Rochelle and the Hudson River. Howe encamped in and about the village of New Rochelle, on the shore of the sound. On the 22d Washington fell back to the edge of White Plains, and put the main body of his army in a long line of entrenched camps, extending from twelve to thirteen miles, on different heights. He thus placed the river Bronx between him and Howe; and he presently threw up some additional works to strengthen his line. When Washington had made himself as strong as he could, and had somewhat revived the spirits of the Americans by a few skirmishes, in which their use of the rifle and their knowledge of the country gave them some trifling advantages, Howe, on the 28th of October, moved to attack him in two columns, the left led by himself, the right by Clinton. As the British advanced towards White Plains, Clinton's column fell in with several bodies of the enemy and drove them back to their lines in great confusion. When our troops arrived within three-quarters of a mile of the American lines they had a distinct view of their whole position, which was strongest on the flanks and weakest in the centre. If an assault had been made on the centre it could not have failed, and its full success would have been absolute destruction to the American army; for Washington had so posted his right wing that, if cut off from the centre and left, it must either have surrendered or have been drowned in the winding Bronx. Howe had in the field 13,000 effective men; Washington had from 18,000 to 20,000; but the greater part of them were not better than a loose militia, and their dismay and confusion was very evident in spite of their fortified lines, which on a near

approach, were not found so formidable as they appeared at a distance. When our army came in sight their tents were all standing; and the hurry of striking them, and of loading the wagons with the baggage, with the movement of troops backward and forward in evident uncertainty of purpose, presented an extraordinary picture of alarm.³ But Howe, instead of moving directly on the weak centre, kept his attention fixed on the right wing, and on a hill beyond the Bronx, where Washington had posted 4000 men, though in that position they were utterly incapable of supporting, or receiving support from the rest of his army. But it appears to have been Howe's strange destiny to convert Washington's mistakes into benefits to the Americans. Though the force beyond the river could not reach him with their guns, and though two battalions with a couple of pieces of artillery might have prevented them from recrossing the Bronx to take him in flank, he directed the first and chief effort of his army against that worthless position. He detached a part of his left wing; the men crossed the river at a ford which was entirely under the command of our cannon; they then mounted the hill, and gallantly drove the 4000 Americans from it.⁴ But then it became necessary to sustain the troops which had taken possession of the hill; and in so doing the left and right wing of our army were in a great measure severed from one another. That night—and it was an inclement one—the British troops lay on their arms. The next day they encamped with the left wing on one side of the Bronx, and the right on the other. On the 30th Howe was reinforced by four battalions from York Island and two from Mamaroneck Post; and he then made a disposition to attack the enemy's lines on the following morning. But during the night it rained in torrents, and the rain made the faces of the hills so slippery, that it was thought our men would have great difficulty in mounting them. On the 31st the weather was fine and the hill-sides comparatively dry. Howe then resolved to make his attack on the morrow; but his intention was betrayed by a deserter, and before the break of day Washington evacuated the lines, set fire to all the houses on White Plains, retreated in the direction of the Croton River, and took up a most advantageous position on the heights of North Castle, where he had previously thrown up strong breast-works. Lord Howe did not venture to attack him here, but returned instead, to reduce

³ *Stedman.*

⁴ Captain Harris, who was on the field, says, "The Americans behaved in the most dastardly manner, for though they at first made a show of resistance, no sooner was our second brigade ordered to advance, than they gave way with such precipitation, that they escaped to the heights behind before our men could reach them."—*Journal, in Lushington's Life of Lord Harris.*

¹ *Marshall.*

² Frog's Neck was an island, joined on by a bridge which the Americans broke.

Fort Washington and King's Bridge, where the American general had left considerable forces, in the rash hope that they would be able to hold out even though he retreated or were beaten. The force in Fort Washington, and in extensive entrenchments round it, was indeed immense for such a service, consisting of no fewer than 3000 men, under the command of Colonel Macgaw, a brave, well-educated, and skilful Pennsylvanian, who had deserted the law to follow the profession of arms. The post was most important to the royal army, as it secured an intercourse with the Jersey shore, and in the hands of the enemy seriously obstructed the navigation of the Hudson River. The fortifications were in good repair—the situation was wonderfully strong by nature—and it was not to be approached except under a heavy fire. It was the 15th of November before the English got their batteries in order and summoned the garrison to surrender on pain of being put to the sword. On that very morning Washington was in the fort, having brought over some reinforcements from the opposite side of the river; but as soon as he had instructed Macgaw to defend the post to the last moment he withdrew. On the following morning all the neighbouring heights were assaulted in different directions by four columns of British and Hessians, who had hills to climb and thick woods to force, rivers to ascend and creeks to cross. They lost in killed and wounded 800 men; but, Lord Percy having carried the advanced works, the garrison threw down their arms, and all who were not killed were taken prisoners. Thus did Washington lose 3000 of his best men. On the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson River, drove the Americans from Fort Lee, which was nearly opposite Fort Washington, took all their tents standing, all their provisions and stores, and advanced into the Jerseys without opposition. This advance induced Washington to quit his post on the Croton, and fall back upon the Delaware River. Cornwallis penetrated to the remotest parts of East and West Jersey, being received by the majority of the people rather as a friend and deliverer than as an enemy. On the 24th of November, being reinforced by two brigades of English troops and a battalion of Highlanders, his lordship marched on for Brunswick. Here he was ordered to halt—an order which is said to have saved the panic-struck and fleeing army of

Washington from ruin. Cornwallis was within two or three marches of the Americans, whose retreat was impeded by bad roads and heavy artillery. But his lordship did not receive orders to advance till the evening of the 16th of December, and, though he marched from Brunswick at four o'clock in the following morning, and arrived at Princetown in the afternoon, the last of the American rear had cleared out before his arrival.¹ In headlong haste, and with extreme difficulty, the American general led the remnant of his army to Trenton, and there began to ferry them across the Delaware. So many had deserted—so many had retired because their term of service was up—that he had now scarcely 3000 men, and of these a portion were unsteady militia. Cornwallis put his division into winter-quarters between the Delaware and the Hackensack, and nothing more was done in this quarter. While Cornwallis had been advancing through the Jerseys, Clinton, with the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, had been sent along the coast to Rhode Island, where the people were enthusiastic revolutionists, and where an American squadron had been collected under Commodore Hopkins. The island was taken without any difficulty, for the provincial troops fled, and Hopkins retired up Providence River, where he remained inactive and useless. But, unfortunately, it required a considerable force to keep Rhode Island, and during three years a great body of men was left upon it in perfect idleness.²

On the side of the lakes, the American army which had fled from Canada had been equally unfortunate with that near the Delaware. We left it on the Isle aux Noix, where the Sorel issues from Lake Champlain, suffering from fever and malaria, Sir Guy Carleton being unable to follow up his successes through want of vessels to cope with the American flotilla and command the lakes. The way in which the wants were supplied and the difficulty overcome afforded a consoling proof—a proof much required—that all activity and energy were not confined to the irregular, self-taught American officers. Thirty vessels were required to give a decided superiority on those waters, the access to which by the Sorel was impracticable to ships, and most difficult and laborious to boats on account of numerous shallows, falls, and rapids. The framework of some vessels was sent for to England, but this

¹ Lord Cornwallis was a very Cæsar in rapidity compared to his commander-in-chief and some of our methodical generals. His movements were checked by Howe. Captain Harris, who was with the advancing column, could hardly understand why they halted so frequently. With his usual good sense and modesty he says, "We pursued the enemy much too slowly; but it is not for us subordinates to comment on the movements of our commanders, of which we are in general very incompetent judges. Warped by passion, we consider only visible objects,

and forget the thousand latent wheels by which a great army moves."—*Journal*. The British, however, would not have been left much behind if the Americans had not abandoned the greater part of their artillery. Harris in his journal mentions that at one place, where 100 resolute men might have stopped our whole army, they left behind them thirty-two guns, together with their tents and baggage.

² *Stedman*; *Gordon*; *Ramsay*; *Burke*, in *Annual Register*; *Marshall*.

required time. Carleton therefore sent detachments from the king's ships stationed at Quebec with volunteers from the transports and a corps of artillery—in all about 700 men—to fell timber and to occupy a favourable post on the shore of Lake Champlain. The keel and floor timbers of the *Inflexible*, a ship of 300 tons, which had been laid at Quebec, were taken to pieces, carried over to St. John's, and laid down again at a corner of the lake where a little dockyard was improvised; thirty long boats, many large batteaux or flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons, were carried up to the spot, partly by land and partly by being dragged up the shoals and rapids of the river Sorel at an extraordinary expense of human labour; Lieutenant Schanck, an officer who possessed great mechanical ingenuity, superintended the works at the dockyard, where timber which had been growing in the forest in the morning, was turned into part of a ship before night. In twenty-eight days from the relaying her keel, the *Inflexible* was launched, rigged, armed with eighteen twelve-pounders, and equipped for service; two schooners, the *Maria* and *Carleton*, were put together with equal rapidity; and the flotilla was completed by the *Loyal Convert* gondola, the *Thunder*, a kind of flat-bottomed raft carrying twelve heavy guns and two howitzers, and twenty-four boats armed each with a field-piece or carriage-gun. The whole thing seemed like magic! In a few weeks the British, from not having a single boat, had a force sufficient to sweep the Lakes Champlain and George from end to end.¹ Before these preparations were made, the Americans had quitted the Isle aux Noix and traversed the lake for Crown Point. Congress had voted that General Gates should take the command of that northern army, and that he should be reinforced with 6000 militia. But men no longer marched willingly in that direction. If any efforts were made to increase the shipping, they had failed; for at this moment the Americans had only fifteen small vessels on the lake, carrying in all ninety-six guns, fourteen of which were eighteen-pounders, twenty-three twelves, and the rest six and four pounders. The command of the squadron, at the instance of Washington, was given to Arnold, the real hero of the Canada expedition. No time was lost by the British in seeking this brave and active enemy, and Sir Guy Carleton himself embarked with the squadron—the strangest squadron that ever English sailor had seen. Captain Pringle was commodore, with his pennant on the *Inflexible*; and among those young officers who were appointed to the *Carleton* schooner, was one who was destined to become one of the most distinguished of British naval commanders—this was Edward

Pellaw, then a midshipman, afterwards Admiral Viscount Exmouth. On the 11th of October they discovered Arnold with his fifteen vessels drawn up in a strong line across the passage between Isle Valcour and the western shore of the lake.

American writers have not a breath, or a flourish of the pen, to bestow on Arnold's brilliant performance on the two days of hard fighting which ensued; but it appears, from English authorities, that his conduct was truly heroic, and that he fought on, with his wonted intrepidity, when most of his vessels had run from him and abandoned him.² Not a republican was left either on the waters or on the shores of Champlain. It is conjectured that the royalists might, and ought to have, at once, retaken Ticonderoga. What remains unquestionable is, that the conception and management of the lake campaign were beautiful things in war; and that Carleton displayed as much humanity as bravery.

Though the easy and comfortable confidence of many of its members that the contest would be soon decided by the victory of American arms was materially shaken, the general congress, as a body, remained firm and hopeful; for they knew that the chances would turn much in their favour when the English army ventured into the interior of the country; and they also knew that extensive foreign aid and co-operation were preparing for them. While Washington was being driven from post to post, they occupied themselves in completing their republican constitution.³ The advance of Lord Cornwallis, however, through the Jerseys, obliged them to flee from Philadelphia to a safer place; but when re-assembled at Baltimore, on the 20th of December, they betrayed no despondency, or any lack of spirit, which must have proved fatal to their whole cause. Convinced that Washington in the field, and as an experienced soldier, was more competent to the management of an army, and of the means of recruiting it, than a set of lawyers, traders, and planters, they materially enlarged his military powers, supplied him with money, and empowered him to raise fresh levies to the amount of sixteen regiments. Their committee of foreign correspondence laboured night and day, neglecting no argument, and scarcely any temptation, to induce France and Spain to espouse their quarrel openly, and threaten England with invasion, while so large a part of her forces were engaged in that distant war. To men who had

² *Steilman: Ostler, Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*, London, 1835. During Carleton's stay at Crown Point, young Pellaw nearly succeeded in capturing Arnold.

³ On the 4th of October they established articles of confederation and perpetual union between the several states. These articles were a supplement to, and extension of the declaration of independence.

¹ See map, vol. iii. page 573.

so committed themselves, everything seemed preferable to a return to allegiance. It was formally discussed in congress, whether their commissioners at Versailles should not be authorized to transfer to France the same command or monopoly of their trade which Great Britain had possessed. This was relinquished as too extreme a measure, and as striking a mortal blow at most of the leading arguments they had used with the people in favour of independence.¹ But the cooler and more astute heads represented that if France would venture into the war at all, it would not be through any treaty, compact, or promise of theirs, but merely out of her old rivalry and hatred of England. This was the political philosophy of Benjamin Franklin, who was now preparing to go to Paris as chief negotiator. They expected, if they could only maintain the struggle a little longer, that half of the powers of Europe, who were jealous of the greatness, and anxious for the dismemberment of the British empire, would, "in sound policy, interfere so far as to prevent the conquest of the United States."²

They were not guilty of that folly in politics of trusting to the generous passions and amiable feelings of courts and cabinets: they appealed to the worst passions and to the most selfish feelings; and with what success we shall soon see. Yet the congress had scarcely left Philadelphia for Baltimore, when the large majority of Philadelphians, who had opposed the declaration of independence, and who had unwillingly recognized the signature of their delegates, which had not been obtained without a trick, began openly to declare for the royal cause. Several of their leading men went over to the commissioners, Lord Howe and General Howe, at New York; and, as those who stayed behind in Philadelphia were heartily joined by the peace-loving Quakers, they hindered the execution of an order for fortifying the city. Most of the towns of the two Jerseys, moreover, sent deputations to the king's commissioners, and expressed their anxiety for the return of peace and order, through the channel of submission and conciliation.³

In one particular the advice of the secretary-at-war, Lord Barrington, had been followed. Our establishments for the management of affairs with the Indians were withdrawn, and the red men were left to adopt their own course against the back settlements of the colonies, which, year after year, had kept encroaching on their hunting-grounds. The fiercest animosities had long existed between these incompatible neighbours; and the white Americans had adopted, at an early period, and continued to retain the princi-

ple that the red men were to be treated like beasts of prey, which can never be tamed, but may be exterminated. As the Indians were accurate accountants in matters of blood, and held, as the most sacred part of their religion, that they were bound to avenge the death of their kindred and tribe, the effect of this exterminating system was terrible. Our agents had scarcely been withdrawn when the Creeks and Cherokees resolved to ravage the back territories of Virginia and the Carolinas, and to carry, if possible, fire and the tomahawk into the interior of these colonies. Our agents warned the well-affected to remove their persons and property, and they then encouraged the Indians to do what would certainly have been done without their encouragement.

We return to England, where the minds of all men were absorbed by the momentous struggle. In the course of the summer it had been discovered not only that many of the American privateers were *French* ships, which had taken out papers and commissions from the government of the revolution, with few or no American seamen on board; but also that France, and Spain as well, were fitting out great armaments, and were allowing the American privateers, or the vessels with American commissions, to sell their prizes in their ports. Sixteen more ships of the line were thereupon put in commission by our government, who issued proclamations augmenting bounty money to seamen, recalling all British sailors that were in foreign service, and laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions. Parliament assembled on the 31st of October. In concluding the speech from the throne, his majesty said: "In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art of which they boast declare it; *their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land*, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, are *irrefragable proofs of it*. My desire is to restore them to the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs." The addresses in both houses brought on violent debates, in which the animosity of party was far more discernible than anything else. In the course of the debate George Washington was lauded as a spirited, hospitable, unambitious country gentleman. The President Hancock was described as a plain, honest merchant, of fair character and considerable substance in Boston; and the rest of the leaders in congress were represented as

¹ *Secret Journals of Congress*, as cited by Marshall; *Life of Washington*.

² See papers, in Almon's *Remembrancer*.

³ *Annual Register*; Almon's *Remembrancer*; Gordon; *Stedman*.

simple-minded, unspeculative people, who, until very lately, had abhorred levelling and republican principles. It was maintained—it was solemnly averred and sworn to—that the revolutionary leaders had practised no arts, no trickery, no subterfuges, no oppression upon any part of their countrymen—that there had been no coercion anywhere—that the revolution had sprung from the spontaneous and universal feeling of the colonies. Lord North and Lord George Germaine defended the speech in all its parts, and went farther in attributing or insinuating a direct share in its composition to the king than it was usual for ministers to do. Lord North, in his quiet way, told some of the opposition declaimers that, if they were members of the new American legislature, they could not have ventured with impunity to make so free with the president and the absolute majority of congress as they were doing with the sovereign, the ministers, and parliamentary majority of this country! Efforts were made to bring the great orator to the charge; but Chatham's gout had not improved with advancing age, and little could be got from him beyond a declaration that he continued in the same sentiments with regard to America, which he had always professed, and which stood fully explained in his provisional act; that, unless effectual measures were speedily taken for reconciling the colonies, he was fully persuaded that, in a very few years, France would set her foot on English ground; although, at the present moment, her policy might probably be to wait some time, in order to see England more deeply engaged in this ruinous war, *against herself*, in America; as well as to prove how far the Americans, abetted by France *indirectly* only, might be able to make a stand, before she took an *open* part, by declaring war against England. It required no superhuman sagacity to arrive at the latter conclusion, which was familiar by this time to the whole nation. The ministerial majorities continued to be very large. For the expenses of the navy £3,205,505 were freely voted. The number of seamen was raised to 45,000. The army estimates were about £3,000,000, exclusive of extras, and some new contracts with the German princes for more men to serve in America.

During the Christmas recess the public mind was dreadfully agitated by the strange and mysterious performances of an incendiary. On the 7th of December a fire broke out in the rope-house in his majesty's dockyard at Portsmouth, and threatened destruction to everything there. By timely exertion it was got under, and it passed for an accident till the 15th of January, when Mr. Russell, one of the under-clerks of the dockyard, having occasion to move some hemp in the hem-

room, discovered a machine and combustible materials, evidently placed there by design. This awoke and confirmed the worst suspicions; and as, some weeks before, a sullen and silent man had been seen loitering about the yard, the assembled workmen instantly conceived that he must be the incendiary. As he was a painter by trade, they called him John the Painter; but nothing more was known of him, and on searching Portsmouth and the neighbourhood no such person could be found. In the meantime other fires broke out in various places, and six or seven warehouses were consumed on the quay at Bristol, close on a deep and narrow chasm, which was nearly dry when the tide was out, and which was at the moment crowded with shipping that narrowly escaped destruction. A cry of indignation, horror, and alarm ran through the land, that American incendiaries had stolen into the country, and would spread fire and devastation in every part of it. While people were in this agitated state, Sir John Fielding, the most intelligent and active of all our magistrates, found some means to trace this John the Painter, and to identify him with a fellow who had been apprehended at Odiham, in Hampshire, for a burglary, about the beginning of February. He was brought up to London for examination. The fellow behaved with perfect composure, boldness, and cunning; and, though several times interrogated by members of the privy council, by some of the lords of the admiralty, and other officers belonging to that board, he was neither disconcerted nor embarrassed, and he could never be driven to answer any question that tended, however indirectly, to criminate him. It appeared, however, that he had passed some time in the most combustible of the American colonies; and thereupon it was determined to set another painter, who had likewise been in America, to circumvent and entrap him. This scheme is said to have been suggested by Earl Temple, who thought that we could not, and ought not to stand upon punctilios in so vital a matter. Baldwin, the travelled painter selected for the business, did it with great address. Being put in the same ward with John the Painter, he pretended to sympathize in his misfortunes, and to hold principles similar to his own; he spoke of his travels in America, and nothing is more likely to lead to fellowship and free communion, whether among educated or half-educated men, than their having been over the same ground in distant countries. By this freemasonry of travellers, and by his other ingenious arts, Baldwin thoroughly outwitted the crafty incendiary, and in about fifteen days led him to disclose the whole of his secret history. Implicit reliance can scarcely be placed on the evidence of a man capable of

such work, and Baldwin had too cunning and low a mind not to be suspected of some little exaggeration; nevertheless, nearly all the details that admitted of proof to be found in this country were in a remarkable degree corroborated by other witnesses, who were removed from any suspicion of collusion, invention, or exaggeration. According to Baldwin, the incendiary told him that his real name was James Aitken, that he was born in Edinburgh, and bred a house-painter, and that a spirit of rambling and a profligate habit of life had led him into many countries and through many strange adventures. To gratify his roving disposition, and probably to escape the consequences of his crimes, he shipped himself for America, continued there two or three years, and travelled on foot through several of the colonies, at a time when political frenzy and animosity against England were at their highest. There and then the renegade, the fugitive from the gallows, commenced politician and reformer of abuses, and conceived the notion of serving the cause of liberty and checking the monstrous tyranny of King George, by burning our shipping and our principal trading cities and towns. Leaving America, in March, 1775, he went to France, where he had several interviews with Silas Deane, the agent of congress, who was travelling Europe, like another John of Procida, in search of enemies to Great Britain. Silas Deane, we know, was at the time in very close relations with the leaders of the war party in France; and Choiseul, the head manager of a similar burning plot which Lord Rochefort had discovered in 1764, was now again in office, and as anxious for a war with England as ever he had been. According to Baldwin, the incendiary told him that Silas Deane had given him some money; had encouraged him to set fire to the dockyards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, and Chatham, as the best means of distressing Great Britain; had promised to reward him according to the service he should do the American cause; and, as an earnest of what should follow, had given him a recommendation to, and bills upon a merchant in London, to the amount of £300, which bills, however, he had found it necessary to burn in order to prevent a discovery. Following the same evidence we find it stated that, after concluding his bargain with Silas Deane, he procured a French passport (which he was sorry to say he had left at Portsmouth with other things in a bundle), and came over to Dover; that at Canterbury he contrived the machine which had been found in the hemp-house at Portsmouth, and got involved in a quarrel about politics with a dragoon; that on leaving Canterbury he proceeded straight to Portsmouth, and began to compound and prepare his combustibles; that he

quarrelled with his landlady on account of the interruption she gave him in these occupations, and was obliged to take another lodging, as she forcibly turned him out of her house; that he easily got into the dockyard, and was even locked up one day in the hemp-room; that, finding a difficulty in lighting his matches, he had purchased other matches of a woman in the town; and that, when his machine had been effectually placed and the fire was breaking out, he took his departure from Portsmouth in a country-woman's cart, often looking back at the flames, with the hope that the conflagration would spread and answer the end proposed. A boy, who had made a canister or part of the machine for him at Canterbury, was produced at his trial, which took place at the Winchester assizes, and swore to the article found in the hemp-room and to the person of the prisoner; the dragoon whom he had quarrelled with at Canterbury—the woman at whose house he had lodged at Portsmouth—the man who had let him out of the rope-house—the various persons who had seen him in the dockyard—the woman who had sold him the matches—the woman who had taken him up in her cart in his flight from Portsmouth—and, lastly, the bundle he had left behind him, in which was his French passport, with other articles which had been mentioned by Baldwin—were all produced against him, and formed, altogether, a long and strong chain of circumstantial evidence.

There was no doubt left on any mind either as to his guilt, or as to his connection with Silas Deane. But, after sentence the prisoner confessed to some naval officers and others, that the substance of most of what Baldwin had deposed as his previous revelation to him was true—that he had indeed applied to Silas Deane, who told him when the work was done he should be rewarded—that, after setting fire to the rope-yard at Portsmouth, he had come up to London and waited on Dr. Bancroft, an American, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Silas Deane—that he afterwards wrote to Dr. Bancroft, and the day following met him at a coffee-house, and told him he would do all the harm he could to this kingdom—that the doctor did not approve of his conduct, yet, upon being pressed not to inform against him, the doctor promised him he would not. He confessed that he had twice attempted to set fire to the dockyard at Plymouth, and had set fire to the warehouses at Bristol, after failing in an attempt to deposit his combustibles on board of some ship; that he had committed various robberies, some a long time ago, and some quite recently; that he had enlisted in and deserted from two regiments, and that he had lived and travelled in America as stated. On the 10th of March (1777) he was

carried from Winchester jail to Portsmouth dock-gate, and there hanged on a gallows sixty feet high. Silas Deane made a tour to Italy, but he was soon afterwards regularly appointed by congress their ambassador and plenipotentiary at Paris.¹ He gave other and ample proofs that his hostility to England was under no control of conscience or of decency.

A series of debates took place on A.D. 1777. abuses in the commissariat, in the chartering of transports, in the contracts for supplying the troops in America with provisions, rum, &c. Many members of the House of Commons—ruby-faced gentlemen, who sat on the ministerial side of the house, sometimes speaking of king and country, but always voting with the treasury bench—had been allowed to get profitable contracts; profitable to them, but slow death to the poor soldiers and sailors who had to eat their meagre, sapless beef, their carrion pork, and their mouldy biscuits. The opposition affirmed that, both at Boston and since, our brave soldiers had been destroyed by unwholesome provisions. Nor was this party invention or exaggeration; the monstrous evil existed, as it had done for ages, and as it notoriously continues to exist at the present day. Another violent debate took place on account of an unexpected demand made by the Landgrave of Hesse for more money; and Lord North had scarcely recovered from this combat, and from a severe fit of illness, when he was compelled—on the 9th of April—to deliver a message from the king, asking for an increase to the civil list. He stated that his majesty had again been obliged to incur debts to the amount of upwards of £600,000, and that he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons for enabling him to discharge these debts, and for some further provision for the better support of his household and the honour and dignity of his crown. His lordship then laid before the house a number of accounts which had been sent down with the message, and which went to prove that the king had been a loser by his surrender of the hereditary revenue and his bargain with parliament at his accession in 1760. As the demands upon the public purse had been so excessive, and seemed so likely to keep on the increase, a loud outcry was raised. On one division the very unusual number of 114 voted against the ministerial majority of 281. After this division, the house, in a committee of supply, passed two resolutions:—1. That the sum of £618,340 should be granted to enable his majesty to pay his debts. 2. That the sum of £100,000 a-year, over and above the sum already fixed (of £800,000 a-year),

should be granted for the better support of his majesty's household, &c.

On the 7th of May more money was asked in the commons, for the insatiable Landgrave of Hesse. This was too much even for the country gentlemen; and such of them as were still in town expressed their disapprobation in strong terms. The resolution to pay was nevertheless carried in the committee of supply, though only by a majority of thirty-eight to twenty-eight. When the report was brought up the next day, the debate was renewed, and the report was finally agreed to only by fifty against forty-two. But there was one more grand debate in the House of Lords on the affairs of America. On the 30th of May, the lords being summoned on purpose, Chatham went to the house to move an address to his majesty for the immediate cessation of hostilities. He was in a weak state of health, but he spoke with all his former fire—his eloquence, like some other men's poetry, improving with age. It was, as it always had been, better than his political philosophy, for he maintained even now that the Americans might be reclaimed by concessions on our part. The idea of their independence was as odious and horrible to his imagination as ever. England must keep the States in her dependency or perish. She could only keep them by acknowledging herself the aggressor, and by removing at once all the grievances of which they complained. He was answered or opposed by Lord Gower, Lord Lyttleton, Lord Mansfield, Lord Weymouth, and the Archbishop of York, who all maintained that a separation from Great Britain, with absolute independence, was the primary object of the American congress, and the end at which that party had been aiming for *many* years; that concessions on our part would now be not merely useless, but ridiculous, degrading, and encouraging to their designs; and that such an acknowledgment of weakness would assuredly draw down upon us the contempt of our friends and the attacks of our foes, who would believe us to be too weak and spiritless even to defend our own soil and our own homes. Lord Lyttleton expressed his astonishment at Chatham's despondency—despondency in one who had formerly inspired the whole nation with the most exalted, warlike, and heroic feelings. Lyttleton asked in what was the state of America calculated to make Britain despair of reducing her to her former obedience? Anarchy, he said, prevailed there, with treachery, cruelty, and oppression practised on the loyal party; every law was trampled under foot by an ambitious faction; every prison was filled with those who would not join the scheme of congress, and other loyal Americans were driven into exile and despoiled of their

¹ He left Paris to try his diplomatic talents at Florence, Venice, Naples, &c., in the month of March, a few days before the painter was hanged at Portsmouth.

property: but this could not last—this state of anarchy would swallow up those who had made it. He reminded Lord Chatham and the other peers in opposition how often they had denied the probability or possibility of a declaration of independence; and how often they had declared that, if it should ever happen, they would be the first in endeavouring to compel the Americans to renounce the fatal scheme and return to their duty. A murmur ran through the house that Chatham was doing his best to encourage the Americans and discourage the people of England. Upon the question being put, the motion was negatived by a majority of ninety-nine against twenty-eight. On the 6th of June his majesty prorogued parliament, with thanks to the commons for the zeal and public spirit they had displayed in granting large and extraordinary supplies; and with the expression of the hope that, under the Divine providence, the vigorous exertions of his great forces would end the war in the present campaign.

But before the royal speech was delivered some unlucky events had occurred in the seat of war. As the detachment which Lord Cornwallis had led through the Jerseys in pursuit of Washington lay in winter-quarters on the left bank of the Delaware, many of the British officers got leave of absence and went to enjoy themselves at head-quarters in New York. It appears also that the men left behind indulged rather too freely in Christmas festivities. Moreover, two faults had been committed: the troops were put in straggling cantonments far apart; and one of the most critical points was intrusted to a body of Hessians, who were wholly unacquainted with the language, customs, and manners of the American people, while their commander, Colonel Rhalle, or Rawle, was a dull, brave, or obstinate man—a mere *sabreur* of the old school. The most careless confidence prevailed in all the cantonments, arising out of the belief that Washington's army was entirely disorganized, and that the Americans would neither attack nor wait to be attacked when the annual freezing of the Delaware should enable the British to cross it.

Washington, who had spies everywhere, ascer-

tained the situation of our forces, and resolved to try the effect of a sudden attack, which might save Philadelphia, and induce his enemy to fall back from the Delaware. On the 24th of December he collected his regiments on the opposite bank of the river, some higher up, some lower down, but all out of sight of the British and Hessians. He, however, found himself under the necessity of leaving a considerable force at Philadelphia to keep down the royalists, who seemed threatening to rise in arms. On Christmas Day he made all his preparations for crossing the river by night; but when the division he conducted in person got to their boats, they found the water so obstructed with ice that they could scarcely force a passage through it, and it was thus three o'clock in the morning before they

reached the left bank, above Trenton, where Rhalle lay with his Hessians. A trusty spy had told him that he had looked into the houses where the British and Hessians were quartered, and had found them buried in sleep and in Christmas drink. It was four o'clock before Washington could get his own division, which consisted of 2500 of his best men, into motion, and then he had to march eight or nine miles before he came upon the Hessians at Trenton. But those mercenaries slept on, and, though it was



TRENTON BRIDGE AND VICINITY.¹
From a drawing by B. J. Lossing.

eight o'clock and daylight before the Americans arrived, they permitted themselves to be almost surrounded in the town before they fired a musket. At the first crash of mingled musketry and artillery—Washington had brought several field-pieces with him—Rhalle ran out into the street, assembled all that he could of his three regiments, and bravely charged Washington's main body; but in the very beginning of the attack he was brought down mortally wounded by an American rifle, and then his men endeavoured to retreat towards Princetown, a place about fifteen miles up the river, where General Leslie was cantoned. But by this time every road was blocked up in force by the Americans, who, in addition to their own artillery,

¹ This view is from the north side of the Assanpink, looking south. Nearly all the buildings in the picture existed at the time of the American war.

had now got possession of all the field-pieces in Trenton. After a short hesitation and very little fighting—for only about twenty of them were killed—the Hessians, to the number of nearly 1000, laid down their arms and surrendered. On the part of the Americans two privates were killed, two frozen to death, and one officer and three or four privates wounded. About 500 Hessians, among whom were a troop of light horse, stationed at the lower end of Trenton, towards the bridge which the American General Irvine was to have seized, got safely off by crossing the bridge and retreating down the river to Bordentown. As that road was open, nearly the whole force might have escaped by it, if the Hessians had had any presence of mind, and had moved from the town in time.¹

The expedition had a surprising effect on the spirit of the Americans, and all pains were taken to make the most of it. Hitherto, his raw recruits had looked upon the veteran Hessians with fear and dismay. To break the spell and to convince the inhabitants that his success was not, as many suggested, a mere fiction, Washington despatched all his prisoners to Philadelphia, and caused them in their abject state to be paraded through all the streets of the town. His good fortune, however, made him rash. In the course of a few days the Delaware was completely frozen over, and the ice strong enough to bear his army and artillery. He resolved to recover the Jerseys, and, sending Generals Cadwallader, Irvine, and Mifflin across the ice with between 3000 and 4000 men, he himself recrossed the Delaware on the last day of the year (1776), and took post at Trenton, which had not yet been re-occupied by our arms. When united his whole force must considerably have exceeded 6000 men, for his recent exploit had brought in many recruits, and those whose time of service was up, agreed to remain a little longer upon receiving a bounty of ten dollars per man. But General Grant, with a strong body of British and auxiliary troops, had advanced from Brunswick, and had joined General Leslie at Princetown; and Lord Cornwallis, who had been on the point of sailing for England when news arrived at New York of the affair at Trenton, had rapidly returned to take the command of the Jersey army, was in Princetown on the 1st of January, and had there concentrated all the troops he had on the Delaware River. And, on the 2d of January, some days sooner than the Americans expected him, Cornwallis descended from Princetown, drove the enemy's outposts before him, and, by four o'clock in the afternoon, reached Trenton. Washington retired across the Assanpink, a creek, as the Americans call it, which runs through that town. The British

attempted to follow him; but, finding the fords of the creek guarded by artillery, they desisted, and began to kindle their fires and spread their blankets. The Americans also kindled their fires and spread their blankets; and then a cannonade was begun, and kept up on both sides till it was pitch dark. Cornwallis resolved, with a full confidence of victory, to bring on a general engagement in the morning: Washington, aware of his intention, resolved to flee by night.² He would have recrossed the Delaware if he had been able; but a rapid, temporary thaw had set in, and the ice was reported rotten and unsafe. In this desperate dilemma he called a council of war, and proposed the only thing that could be done—to leave Philadelphia to itself, and strike across the country by an open and circuitous road, and get into the rear of Princetown, where Cornwallis had not left any considerable force. The plan was, of course, adopted; the baggage was silently packed up and sent off, and, about two o'clock in the morning, after renewing their bivouac-fires and leaving their advanced pickets and several small parties to guard for a time the fords of Assanpink Creek, the American army, muter than Quakers, stole away by the road called the Quaker Road. As day dawned they discovered the British regiments—the 17th and 55th—in full march from Princetown to join Lord Cornwallis at Trenton. A fierce conflict ensued, and for some time the two British regiments most gallantly resisted the whole of Washington's army. Colonel Mawhood, who commanded, posted them on some rising ground between Princetown and the enemy, sent back his baggage-waggons along the road, and despatched orders for the 40th regiment, that lay at Princetown, to come up instantly to his assistance. When the Americans advanced he opened a heavy discharge of artillery upon them, which did the more execution, as they were huddled together in a most unmilitary fashion. Thus their van was soon thrown into disorder; and then the 17th regiment rushed forward with fixed bayonets and drove them back pell-mell to a ravine which separated them from their rear. The van was, in fact, thoroughly beaten when Washington galloped up to the ravine, got his main body into something like order, and encouraged them by his cheers and his fearless example to cross it and attack the British—who, after all, were only *two* regiments, and those, numerically, not strong ones. But a terrible slaughter ensued before he could get across that

² The movements of the British army were generally betrayed beforehand to the Americans, and occasionally in a way which forces the conviction that there were traitors at our headquarters. Washington knew the importance of secret service-money, and often employed that means of corruption.

¹ Captain Harris's *Journal*.

WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

One of the most picturesque incidents in the American War of Independence was the capture of Trenton by the colonial troops under General Washington. Hitherto the British army, led by Lord Cornwallis, had been successful in driving back the Americans, and when they advanced into the Jerseys, capturing all the forts, Washington's forces were compelled to retreat beyond the Delaware. There they lay until Christmas night (1766), when Washington determined to resume the offensive, and suddenly gave instructions to re-cross the Delaware in order to attack the German mercenaries quartered in Trenton. The Americans embarked on this bold undertaking in a storm of snow and sleet, *and, led by Washington through the masses of floating ice, they arrived by daylight at Trenton where they at once began the attack.* The garrison was taken by surprise; their artillery was seized; panic became general; and at length they fled before the charge of the Americans. A thousand prisoners were secured, however, and this notable victory went far to encourage the colonists in their gallant struggle for Independence.



Engraved by J. Marchesi

WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

NEAR TRENTON, N. J. CHRISTMAS, 1776.

FROM THE PAINTING BY E. LEUTITZ IN THE COLLECTION OF MARSHALL C. ROBERTS ESQ. NEW YORK

line; Colonels Haslet and Potter, Captain Neal of the American artillery, Captain Fleming, and five others of Washington's best officers were killed near the ravine, and he himself had several hair-breadth escapes. It was assumed by British officers—and apparently without much presumption—that if the 40th had come up in time from Princetown, they could have kept the Americans in play, blundering at that ravine, until Cornwallis could have taken them in the rear, when the surrender or annihilation of their whole army must have been all but inevitable. But the 40th were slow in moving, and Washington, after several efforts, succeeded in severing the brave 17th from the 55th; and that success got him out of his predicament. The 17th, nevertheless, cut their way through his main body and rear, and marched on for Trenton. The 55th, less brave or less fortunate, fell back to Princetown, and thence retreated with the 40th to New Brunswick; but these two latter regiments lost a great number in prisoners, not so much on the field as in the slow operations of escorting stores and artillery from Princetown, which place was open and untenable. Washington entered it, but could find no rest there, for Lord Cornwallis had discovered his *ruse* and was now close in his rear. As, however, the great object of the English general's solicitude was New Brunswick and not Princetown, and as our troops diverged by a road to the right, Washington was enabled to clear out and to reach and cross Millstone River, breaking down the bridge behind him to stop pursuit. That night Lord Cornwallis lay at New Brunswick, and there he continued to lie for many days, during which time Washington overran the greater part of East and West Jersey, made himself master of the coast opposite to Staten Island, and fixed his head-quarters at Morristown, a place naturally strong and difficult of access, situated among hills, with a fine country in the rear, abounding in supplies. We had thus, for the time, lost nearly the whole of the Jerseys, and had left the inhabitants who had declared for us in a woful condition. Making every possible allowance for the nature and extent of the country he had to guard, in order to cover the Jerseys, General Howe's conduct must still lie open to severe blame. But what was far more extraordinary than all the blunders, was the fact that, though at only a few miles' distance, with a far superior force, with a good fleet at command, and with all the materials and means of war in abundance, he left Washington undisturbed where he was for several months, to strengthen his positions, to erect forts, mills, and magazines, to receive 20,000 stand of arms and 1000 barrels of gunpowder from France, to reconcile or accustom the people of the country

to the dominion of congress, and to distress and cut off the supplies of the British advanced posts at Brunswick and Amboy. It was true it was winter, and the season from the middle of February to the middle of March excessively severe; but if Americans could keep the field, British and Northern Germans, inured to cold, and far better provided with clothes, tents, and comforts, could have done the same; and as Washington set the example by beginning a winter campaign, Howe ought to have followed it up, without pause or intermission, till his enemy was crushed or again driven in a helpless condition beyond the Delaware. But such campaigns, as yet, were rarities in the eyes of European routine generals, and Howe was never the man to despise the comforts and luxuries of snug winter-quarters. Besides, as we firmly believe, he had no wish to hurry on the war to a conclusion. Something, however, was done on our side during this long season of repose. Several thousand provincial troops, native Americans still ardent in the royal cause, the triumph of which would restore to them their property, their consideration and all that they had lost, were enrolled and trained, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon. An intercourse was kept up with the royalists in other parts of the Continent, and Washington was repeatedly alarmed by rumours of movements and insurrections in the two counties of Somerset and Worcester. In the province of Maryland the royalists threatened to rise in great force, in which case they would have been joined by a great number of persons in the county of Sussex and in the Delaware state.¹ But congress put the committees of safety into operation, and recommended the apprehension and instant removal "*of all persons of influence or of desperate character,*" while troops were assigned to the committees for carrying the measure into execution.

When General Howe began to think of bestirring himself, he was assured that Washington's main position, now at a place called the Manor of Courland, among the Jersey hills, was converted into a sort of citadel, with quantities of artillery, provisions, forage, and stores of every kind deposited in it; and that the port through which these supplies were chiefly carried was a place called Peekskill, up the Hudson, and about fifty miles from New York. On the 23d of March he sent a detachment of 500 men, under the command of Colonel Bird, to ascend the river in a couple of transports, drive the Americans from Peekskill, and bring off the stores. Seven or eight hundred Americans fled from that position as the British approached it; but before they retreated they set fire to their barracks and store-houses, so that Bird was obliged to return with-

¹ Gordon; Marshall.

out any booty. A month after this exploit, Howe sent 2000 men, under the command of Governor Tryon, General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, to beat up the town of Danbury, on the borders of Connecticut. The Americans fled out of the town in too great a hurry to burn their magazines, and the detachment entered without opposition. But the stores were too numerous and heavy to be carried off; they had brought no carriages with them; therefore they set fire to the place, and burned 1600 barrels of pork and beef, 600 barrels of flour, 2000 barrels of wheat, rye, and Indian corn, 2000 tents, and a considerable quantity of military clothing, of which, as of the tents, Washington was in great want. This work of destruction was not completed until the following morning, when the detachment began to march back to their shipping, not expecting to find any enemy on their road. But, while they had been burning and destroying, the Connecticut men had been marching and running in from all quarters, and General Wooster had brought round some field-artillery and placed it at the end of a bridge over which he thought the British must of necessity pass. And there was a greater than Wooster in the field—for when the detachment reached the little town of Ridgefield, they found General Arnold posted there with a considerable force, and with entrenchments in his front. There was no road but through the town, and, therefore, the word of command was given to force the entrenchments. The British troops rushed on, and carried them after a short but terrible conflict, which very nearly put an end to the career of Arnold. That adventurous man had his horse shot under him, and while extricating himself was charged with a fixed bayonet by an English soldier; but the fortune and address of the horse-dealer prevailed, and he shot the man dead with a horse-pistol. As the day was on the wane, and as the British troops were extremely fatigued, having had no sleep for two nights, they formed themselves into an oblong square, and lay upon their arms till morning. When they moved they soon came to the bridge, and there they found General Wooster, with his field-pieces and two strong columns, drawn up on the river bank. Most fortunately, however, their guide led them to a ford three miles above the bridge, and there they crossed and got between Worcester and their ships. But, though disconcerted by this rapid manœuvre, the Americans followed, fighting or skirmishing nearly all the way to Camp's Point. But the farewell greeting of the British was memorable. Sir William Erskine put himself at the head of 400 men, charged and broke the two American columns, and drove them back across the country like a flock of sheep. They left behind them,

dead on the field, General Wooster, several field-officers, and a great many men. The loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted to about 200. The rest got unmolested on board their transports and returned to New York.¹

About the middle of May the Americans retaliated in kind; for, having learned that we had a quantity of salt beef and pork, forage, and other commodities deposited in a slovenly manner on Long Island, at a place called Saggs's or Saggy Harbour, they resolved to destroy them by a night attack. The expedition was successfully conducted by one Colonel Meggs, a Connecticut man, who had been trained under Arnold.

In the winter of the preceding year, when Washington had fled to the Delaware before Lord Cornwallis, Colonel Harcourt, commanding our light horse, took prisoner Charles Lee, who had deserted from our service, in which he held the rank of colonel, and gone over to the Americans, who conferred on him the rank of major-general. According to a British officer, he behaved in as cowardly a manner in this transaction as he had behaved dishonourably in every other, and, after firing one or two shots from a house, came out and entreated our troops to spare his life.² He told his captors that he had been mistaken in three things:—1st, that the New England men would fight; 2d, that America was unanimous; and 3d, that she could afford two men for our one.³ His loss was considered a severe blow to the American cause. Lee had been a soldier almost from his birth, and had seen much service during the last war, in Portugal, under Burgoyne, and in America, under Chatham's favourite generals. His military knowledge was great, and he had been exceedingly useful in forming and disciplining the revolutionary armies. He was also well acquainted with modern languages and with most of the great countries of Europe, so that he was considered as capable of diplomacy as of war. The British officers who took him boasted they had taken the American palladium.⁴ They expected that he would be shot at once; and, according to the military code and practice of all European nations, a court-martial, or a mere identification of his person over a drum-head, would have settled the fate of the deserter. But General Howe and the British government, from mercy or from policy, were not disposed to proceed upon these bloody canons, and Lee was kept at New York

¹ *Stedman; Gordon; Burke, in Annual Register; Marshall; Carlo Botta.*

² *Captain Harris's Journal.* Harris adds, "Had he behaved with proper spirit I should have pitied him, and wished that his energies had been exerted in a better cause. I could hardly refrain from tears when I first saw him, and thought of the miserable fate in which his obstinacy had involved him."

³ *Captain Harris.*

⁴ *Gordon.*

as a close prisoner in a private house. On the 10th of July, Colonel Barton, who had belonged to the Rhode Island militia, with several other militia officers and volunteers, chiefly Rhode Islanders, to the number of forty, crossed over by night from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, with the intention of surprising and seizing General Prescott, who had been left in command of the British troops there. Barton and his company crossed over in two row-boats, landed at the southern end of the island, lay there till near midnight, and then, advancing with great caution, they surprised the sentinel at the gate, took the general in his bed, and, without allowing him time to put on his clothes, they hurried him to their boats, and away to the mainland. It is said that they reached the continent before Prescott was missed on the island. That general's imprudence almost merited anything that could be done to him. The New Englanders announced that they would hang him if Howe shot Lee, and they treated him in the interval with much harshness, in order to press for an exchange—general for general.¹

In the meantime Washington, who had been greatly reinforced, had quitted his encampment at Courland Manor, and had taken up a still stronger position at Middle Brook, with entrenchments and well-garnished batteries in his front. In the beginning of June, Howe, who ought to have been in the field at least two months earlier, left New York and crossed the Hudson to the Jerseys. As the American lines at Middle Brook were so formidable—though not so terrible but that they might have been carried at the bayonet's point—it was his object to tempt Washington from them. After trying other expedients, he, on the 19th of June, retreated with seeming precipitation from a position he had taken up in front of Middle Brook, evacuated the town of Brunswick, and ordered his main body to retire to Amboy. Washington fell into the snare: he detached large bodies of his troops to pursue Howe, who threw a bridge over the narrow channel that separates Staten Island from the continent, and sent over part of his baggage and a small number of men. Upon this, Washington himself moved from Middle Brook, abandoned what had cost him so much trouble to create, and advanced to Quibbletown. The rest of Howe's scheme was well conceived; but, by the slowness of his execution, Washington was once more allowed to escape the consequences of his rashness, only leaving behind him some cannons and 200 men in killed and wounded.

On the 28th of June, Howe called in all his detachments, concentrated his army at Amboy,

and, on the following day, passed in earnest over to Staten Island, leaving Washington entire master of the Jerseys. He had suddenly altered his whole plan of operation. The fleet, with transports, was collected at Staten Island, and, in the hottest season of the year, he crammed his troops, both cavalry and infantry, in the holds of these vessels, thereby exposing them to the chances of a greater mortality than they would have risked if they had attacked Washington in his lines. Howe's officers were at a loss to divine what he meant to do. Some knew that he was expected to ascend the Hudson to Albany, in order to co-operate with General Burgoyne, who was moving in an opposite direction from Canada, with the intention of descending from Ticonderoga towards Albany; and it is assumed that if Howe had proceeded in that direction, or had only detached 2000 men to Albany, the sad catastrophe which befell our army from Canada would never have happened. But Howe apparently thought that Burgoyne might shift for himself, and that the grand object of his own campaign must now be the taking of Philadelphia. To this end he had embarked the mass of his army on the 5th of July; but it was the 23d before he sailed from Sandy Hook, and it was the 30th before he got round the coast to the capes of Delaware. It was the worst time of the year for such a voyage, as the southerly wind at that season usually blows nineteen days out of twenty, and his course was to the southward. His original design had been to reach Philadelphia from the mouth of the Delaware; but on learning of the almost insurmountable obstacles with which the Americans had blocked up that river, he altered his plan, and, adopting a more circuitous course, made for the mouth of the Elk, which opens on Chesapeake Bay. He did not make the Chesapeake till the middle of August. The soldiers seemed worn out by this long confinement on ship-board—the horses had, for the most part, become nearly useless. He then proceeded up the river, but it was the 28th of August before his troops were landed and formed at Elk Head, now Elkton, near the head of Chesapeake Bay, and it was the 2d of September before he put his van in motion on the road leading to Philadelphia. On the 3d his advanced body fell in with some detachments of the enemy, scattered them, and took post on Iron Hill (their position). Howe followed, and on the 8th of September his whole army moved onward. On the 11th they got sight of the American army; for Washington had been allowed ten times more than time enough to march from Middle Brook back to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to the Brandywine River, which, on his present line of march, Howe must necessarily cross in order

¹ *Steelman; Gordon; Marshall.*

to get at the great object of his campaign. Nay, the Americans had had time to erect batteries and other works at the forks of the Brandywine, and to strengthen positions, which were naturally strong, on some rising wooded ground, a little in the rear of the fords. Notwithstanding their formidable position, Howe instantly resolved to attack them; and this time his attack was made both with judgment and celerity. The Americans, leaving some of their guns behind them, fled by all the roads that were open to them, and by many a wood and wild where there were no roads at all. With such men as he could keep together, Washington retreated to Chester. His march was encumbered with baggage and artillery; yet no pursuit was ordered, and he was permitted to pass the night without disturbance in Chester, Howe remaining on the field of battle, eight miles off. On the following morning, Washington marched by Derby to Philadelphia, and there he was allowed two whole days to collect his scattered troops and remove his stores. The Americans suffered considerably in this battle: 300 of them were killed, about 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. The British did not acknowledge more than 100 killed and 400 wounded.

It was at Brandywine that the famed Marquis de la Fayette first came into action on the side of the Americans. This vain warm-headed Frenchman had imbibed the political notions of the new school of philosophy, which for some time had been sowing the seeds of revolution in France; and he had been further converted by the adroit representations of Silas Deane. La Fayette was at that moment (1776) scarcely nineteen years old; but he was a marquis and had money; and it was hoped by Deane that, between the old French animosities against England and the new political philosophy so fashionable at Paris, and the ardent love of war natural to Frenchmen, his example would be followed by other men of rank and property. La Fayette had an independent revenue of nearly 200,000 livres—a great fortune for France. Though so young, he was married; but it does not appear that his wife was any serious impediment; although she was, at the time he resolved to depart, in an interesting situation. Preparations were making at the moment to send a French ship to America, but the very bad news which arrived damped the popular or commercial ardour, and defeated the scheme. According to La Fayette's own account, even Silas Deane was despairing of the cause, when he (La Fayette) told him, he would purchase a ship on his own account to carry out arms and officers. At the end of 1776 Franklin arrived at Paris to assist his brother minister, Silas Deane, in inducing the French government to declare itself openly, and contract an alliance, offensive and de-

fensive, with the United States. La Fayette corresponded with Franklin through the medium of another American, who was less generally known, and the philosopher encouraged the youth's enthusiasm. At the beginning of 1777—the present year—La Fayette came over to London, where his wife's uncle was residing as ambassador. He says that, on arriving in our capital, he first paid his respects to Mr. Bancroft, an American, and afterwards to his British majesty—that he liked the idea of playing a trick upon the king he was going to fight against—that he danced at the house of Lord George Germaine, the minister for the affairs of America, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York—and that he saw at the opera General Clinton, whom he was afterwards to meet on the field of battle. But, anxious to defend his character for honour and sincerity, and to escape the odium which must ever attach to the proceedings of a spy, he adds—"Whilst I concealed my intentions of going to make war in America, I openly avowed my sentiments; I often defended the Americans; I rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and my *opposition spirit obtained for me an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelburne*. I refused the offers made me to visit the seaports, the vessels fitting out against the rebels, and everything that might be construed into an abuse of confidence."¹ After some delays and one or two adventures, the French government *pretending* rather than *intending* to stop him, he got on board his ship towards the end of February, and set sail for America, accompanied by Baron Kalb and a few other adventurers, some French, some Germans, some Poles. He had the good fortune to escape the English cruisers, and after a seven weeks' voyage, he landed at Georgetown, in Carolina. On the 31st of July the congress expressed their sense of his accession to their cause in warm terms, and resolved that the inexperienced young man should have the rank and commission of major-general. He had advanced with Washington to the Brandywine, where he first came under fire, and was shot in the leg. The Baron Saint Overy, another French volunteer, was made prisoner soon after the action: and De Coudry, a French general, was drowned, or drowned himself, in the Schuylkill. Pulaski, a noble Pole, commanded a squadron of American light horse in the battle of the Brandywine. But these Polish patriots, who had been driven from their own country, and could live in no other save by the sword, were not all on one side; for Count Grabowski was serving in America under the banner of King George.

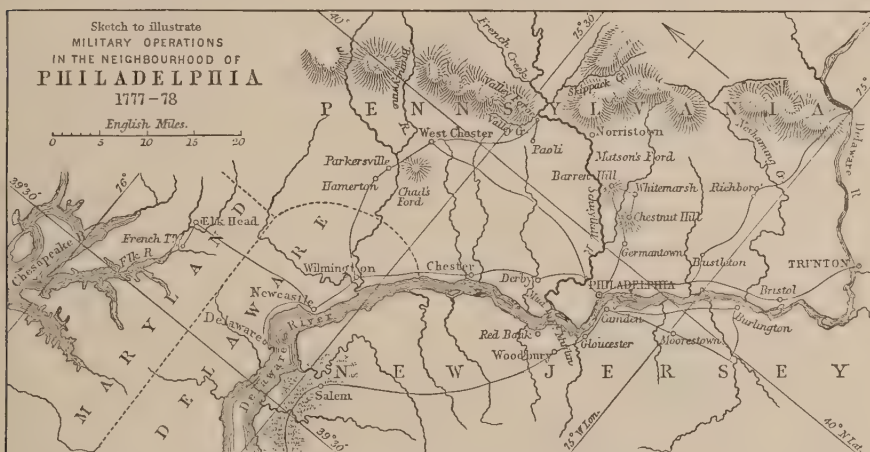
On the 17th of September, Washington fell

¹ Memoirs written by himself.

back to Warwick-Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek. Howe did nothing but unite his columns. From French Creek, Washington detached General Wayne with 1500 men to cross a rough country, and get, if possible, in Howe's rear. But Wayne's movement was discovered also; and on the 20th of September, when he was concealing himself in some woods on the left wing of the British army, he was attacked in the middle of the night by General Grey, who had given strict orders that not a gun should be fired, and that bayonets alone should be used. Wayne was both surprised and signally defeated.

Washington now gave up the notion of defending the line of the Schuylkill and covering Philadelphia. He retreated so as to leave the road open; and on the 22d of September, General

Howe began to cross the Schuylkill. By the following day his whole army was over the river; on the 26th they entered Germantown; and on the following day, Lord Cornwallis took possession of Philadelphia, from which the members of congress had fled only a few days before. They had threatened that they would set fire to the place rather than see it fall into the hands of the British; but they abandoned the terrible design, and no incendiaries were left as at New York. But the quiet possession of the city did not give Howe the command of the Delaware; and some tremendous works erected on that river prevented his direct communication with the British fleet. The Americans had also fire-ships, gun-boats, row-galleys, and two frigates in the river; and these vessels fired on all our posts, and even on the city.



The British were occupied in making their preparations for reducing these forts, and in covering, through a considerable line of country, convoys of provisions and stores, when Washington, who was encamped at Skippack Creek, about seventeen miles from Germantown, and who had been reinforced by 2500 men, determined to attempt a surprise. Favoured by a thick fog, he, at six in the evening of the 3d of October, quitted his encampment, and by dawn of day his van made an attack on a body of our troops posted at the head of the village of Germantown, which consisted of one long street—said then to have been two miles in length—about six or seven miles from Philadelphia. After some hard fighting all Washington's five columns were either foiled or repulsed. He then retreated to his old position at Skippack Creek, having left about 800 killed and wounded, and about 400 prisoners behind him. Among his killed was General Nash of North Carolina.

On the 8th of October, Admiral Lord Howe

with the mass of the British fleet ascended the Delaware as far as the town of Newcastle, a little above which place the Americans had erected strong wooden piers to defend the approaches to a line of sunken frames which blocked up the passage of the river. A body of sailors was landed to assist the troops in erecting batteries to reduce the American works on Mud Island; but the ground opposite to that island was so boggy that our operations proceeded very slowly. It was not until the 15th of November that the Americans were driven from those works, leaving their artillery behind them in the hurry of their retreat.

Two days after the fall of Mud Island, Lord Cornwallis proceeded against the redoubt on Red Bank with such a force and with such materials as should have been employed in the first instance. On his approach the Americans fled as fast as their brethren had fled from the island; and the flotilla—the gun-boats and row-galleys which

those land-works had protected—were abandoned and burned. At last, a free communication was established along the Delaware, between the ocean and Philadelphia, between the British army and navy. But it was already the season of short days and cold nights: and Howe, as we have seen, had no taste for winter campaigns. We imagine that he thought the work of the year done, when Washington rather suddenly made a movement in advance that seemed to compel further exertion. Being reinforced by 4000 men from the army of the north, which had certainly done its work by capturing Burgoyne, he quitted his strong position at Skippack Creek, and advanced to a still stronger one at White Marsh, only fourteen miles from Philadelphia and Howe's head-quarters. On the night of the 4th of December, Howe marched out of Philadelphia, and on the following morning took post on Chestnut Hill, in front of Washington's right wing. Howe remained for two days drawn out in line, to tempt Washington to an engagement on ground of his own choosing. But the Americans were not inclined to risk a battle in the open country; and with the exception of a slight skirmish, in which some of their militia ran like a rabble before Colonel Abercrombie and his light infantry, nothing took place. On the night of the 6th, Howe again put his army in motion, marched from Washington's right to his left wing, and on the following morning ascended Edge Hill, about a mile from the American left. A strong body of the victorious army of the north were on the crest of that hill, but they were soon driven from it by the British van, led by Lord Cornwallis, and they retreated so rapidly that Washington's left was thrown into some dismay or confusion. This was a favourable moment for trying an attack, and in the course of the morning another good opportunity offered; yet Howe did not avail himself of these advantages, and, after viewing all that side of the encampment, and seeing that Washington was determined not to quit it, he, on the afternoon of the 8th, returned with the army to Philadelphia. On the night of the 10th, Washington abandoned his position, and began to cross to the west bank of the Schuylkill. Early in the morning, as his van began to form on that side of the river, they were most unexpectedly charged by Lord Cornwallis, who drove them back to their bridge of boats, and took possession of some heights which commanded it. Washington was greatly disconcerted, and, fancying that Howe was in the rear of Cornwallis, he

broke up his bridge and moved higher up the river. But Cornwallis was neither supported nor in any force. The winter had now set in with great severity; but if Washington went into winter-quarters in Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, the nearest towns capable of accommodating his army, he would leave a wide and fertile country open to the British troops, and a population but too well disposed to accept the pardons which the Howes offered. He therefore resolved to keep the field, and to occupy during the whole winter such a position as should keep Howe in check, and the city of Philadelphia in great discomfort. This was one of Washington's brightest inspirations, and the way in which he executed his plan did the highest honour to his steadiness, his perseverance, and wonderful power of command. He selected a strong piece of ground, thickly covered with wood, at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, and not above twenty-five miles from Philadelphia. Tents were scarce in his army, and even if he had been well supplied, few men could have braved the winter with impunity under mere canvas; Washington therefore introduced or extended the backwoodsman's practice of hutting. On the east and south of his encampment, he drew an entrenchment with a ditch six feet wide and three or four deep. He began two redoubts, but they were never finished, as he clearly saw that Howe was determined to keep warm and dry in his winter-quarters, and that no attack was to be apprehended. His left was covered by the Schuylkill, with a moveable bridge across it; his right was somewhat open and accessible; and, notwithstanding his entrenchment, the centre of his front was contemptibly weak. His rear was, for the most part, covered by an abrupt precipice, at the foot of which flowed Valley Creek, which had a narrow passage through the rocks to the Schuylkill. With reference to the duties of covering the fertile country and harassing Philadelphia, the spot was well chosen; but, as a defensive position, it was weak and bad. An active enemy would have allowed him time neither to dig his entrenchment nor construct his huts, and defeat in such a place must have been attended with the most fatal consequences. But Howe ate his meat, drank his wine, and played his game at cards in Philadelphia, in seeming forgetfulness of there being such a place in his neighbourhood as Valley Forge.¹

¹ *Stedman; Gordon; Ramsay; Marshall.*

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1777.

GEORGE III.

The war in Canada—The British general, Carleton, superseded by General Burgoyne—Force with which Burgoyne takes the field—He lands at Crown Point—The Americans abandon Ticonderoga—Their losses in their retreat—Burgoyne takes possession of Skenesborough—An American rear-guard defeated by General Fraser—The Americans rallied and reinforced by General Schuyler—Burgoyne continues his advance—Difficulties of his march—He detaches his German auxiliaries to surprise Bennington—Their unfitness for rapid action and surprise—They are driven back with loss—The British unsuccessfully besiege Stanwix Fort—Burgoyne encamps at Saratoga—He is attacked by General Gates—Indecisive engagement—Burgoyne is unaided by the British generals, and deserted by his Indian allies—He is inclosed by the Americans—His unsuccessful attempts to extricate himself—He changes his position—Difficulties of his retreat—Burgoyne's designs revealed to the Americans—He is reduced to capitulate—Honourable terms of the surrender—General Clinton's operations on the Hudson—His hazardous advance upon Forts Clinton and Montgomery—Fort Clinton taken—Gallant capture of Fort Montgomery—Success of General Clinton's expedition—The British parliament assembled—The Earl of Coventry's proposal to withdraw our fleets and armies from America—Chatham's eloquent speech recommending the immediate cessation of hostilities—Apparent inutility of such a proceeding—Tidings received by parliament of Burgoyne's surrender—Chatham's motion for the production of Burgoyne's instructions—The motion negatived—His inquiry into the employment of Indians as our allies—He is accused of having set the example.



FROM the operations of the main British army, we turn to our unfortunate movements from the side of Canada. For parliamentary reasons our ministers had thought proper to take the command from General Carleton, who had re-established our supremacy on the lakes the year before, and to confer it, against the ordinary rules of the service, upon General Burgoyne, a brave man, and in many respects a skilful and excellent officer, but one little acquainted with the country and the manners of its various inhabitants. Carleton, who had long resided in Canada, who knew the country well, and who had an immense personal influence with the people of all classes, felt himself aggrieved, and his disgust was heightened by his not being allowed a voice or the shadow of a will in the plans to be pursued. These plans were minutely and absolutely laid down by our ministers at home, who only knew the country through maps that were inaccurate, and through reports that were contradictory, and who seem to have been awfully blind to the fact that campaigns are not things to be made by sedentary men in a cabinet, but by generals commanding in the field. Lord North had no taste or talent for war; the war minister, Lord Barrington, entertained notions diametrically opposite to those of his colleagues, and was scarcely consulted; and the authorship of the plans was pretty generally attributed to the joint heads of General Burgoyne, George III., and Lord George Germaine. Carleton sent over his resignation as governor of Canada; but, as he was bound to remain till a successor should arrive, he did what

he could, or what he was ordered to do, to assist Burgoyne in opening the campaign, and to support him while engaged in it. It is said by some that his co-operation was destitute of heart and spirit: it could scarcely be otherwise; but we have so much confidence in his high sense of honour and patriotism as to believe that Carle-



GENERAL BURGoyNE.—From an engraving by Cook.

ton, throughout the unfortunate and vexatious business, did his best. A considerable body of veteran troops being sent out from England, Burgoyne's force amounted to 7200 men, rank and file, exclusive of the corps of artillery. Nearly half of these were Germans. The French Canadians, to the number of 2000 or 3000, were fur-

nished with arms, hatchets, and other implements; and engaged to occupy the woods on the frontiers of the province, to make roads, to complete the fortifications on the river Sorel, at Forts St. John and Chambly, and at the Isle aux Noix; they were also to act as pioneers and scouts, and another body of them were to accompany the army as



OSAGE CHIEF AND IROQUOIS CHIEF.
Catlin's North American Indians.

baggage-men, with horses and carts. In addition to this force, Burgoyne, by the express orders of ministers, had put under arms several nations or tribes of Red Indians, who inhabited the back settlements and the borders of the western lakes, and who were so eager for the war that his only difficulty was in preventing an over-numerous accession. He knew, and every one else in the country knew, that if we did not engage these savages to fight against the Americans, the Americans would endeavour to engage them to fight against us; but, as a man of humanity, he exerted himself to check the native ferocity of the tribes, and to teach them to make war like civilized men.¹ He was told by those who knew more of the Red Men, that he might as well attempt to change

their natural colour by washing them with soap and water. Burgoyne was furnished with picked and experienced officers, among whom were Major-general Philips, Brigadier-general Fraser, Brigadiers Powell and Hamilton, the Brunswick Major-general Reidesel, and Brigadier-general Specht. The first thing he was to do was to take Ticonderoga. The starting-point was Fort St. John, on the Sorel; and, having detached Colonel St. Leger, with between 700 and 800 men, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk River, Burgoyne set out from St. John's on the 16th of June, preceded by the shipping, and attended on the right and left flank by columns of Indians. The Americans were in considerable force at Crown Point, but they retired at the approach of our flotilla, and the troops were safely landed at that point. When this operation was over, Burgoyne treated the Indians with a war-feast, and again entreated them to relinquish their old and cherished habits. He, however, put into his proclamation or manifesto a terrible picture of Indian ferocity, and threatened such of the insurgents as should continue in their obstinacy with its unavoidable effects. Having erected magazines and some slight defences at Crown Point, Burgoyne, in a few days, proceeded to Ticonderoga. The Americans there had erected several new works, and had, moreover, fortified Mount Independence, a high hill on the eastern shore of the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, to which they had united it by a strong bridge, which effectually prevented any attack by water. But there was another hill, called Sugar Hill, which commanded both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the American general in command, St. Clair, had neither occupied nor fortified it; and there was still another hill, called Mount Hope, which commanded part of their line, and which was equally neglected. Major-general Philips took possession of Mount Hope on the 2d of July, and on the following day Sugar Hill was occupied. Our troops, with wonderful rapidity, threw up works for investing the place in form; but on the night of the 5th of July the Americans evacuated both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and, putting their baggage and provisions on board of batteaux, they fled by the only road that remained open to

¹ As the Red Men, or native Indians, played an important part in the French and revolutionary wars in America, it is right that their character should be understood. Lord Mahon says of them:—"Along the frontier of these states, and often within it, ranged, far and wide, divers tribes of the Red Men, the native Indians. The character of these tribes has been most variously portrayed; sometimes invested with imaginary virtues from a vague admiration of savage life, sometimes, to justify oppression, loaded with as imaginary crimes. It will be found that in general they are painted all bright in poetry, and all black in state papers. In truth, they might often be admired for generous and lofty feelings, but were ever liable to be swayed to and fro by any sudden impulse, by their passions or their wants.

They would endure bodily torment with the most heroic courage, and inflict it with the most unrelenting cruelty. Whenever they had neither warfare nor the chase in view, they seemed indolent, dissolute, and listless, yet always with an inborn dignity of demeanour and a peculiar picturesqueness of language. In hostilities, on the contrary, they were found most formidable from their skilful and stealthy marches, their unforeseen attacks, and their ferocity in slaying and scalping their opponents. It is to be feared that nearly all the Europeans who came in contact with them, whether French or English, republicans or royalists, have been, when at peace among themselves, too ready to neglect or oppress these Indians, and when at war with each other too ready to employ them."—*Hist. of England*, ch. xlii.

them to Skenesborough, now called Whitehall. The batteaux went along the South River, the entrance to which was defended by booms and an immense framework of timber, sunk in the water, which was said to have cost the Americans near twelve months' labour; but, as soon as their flight was discovered, our sailors fell upon these works, and, in the course of a very few hours, destroyed them. A brigade of gun-boats then shot into the river, and proceeded with such speed that they overtook the American batteaux, near the falls of Skenesborough. Some large galleys bore down the river to defend the batteaux, but they were beaten, boarded, and taken; and most of the batteaux were destroyed. General Burgoyne, with one part of his army, followed with other gun-boats and two small frigates, while Generals Fraser and Reidesel marched by land after St. Clair. When Burgoyne approached the falls of Skenesborough he was saluted by a heavy fire of artillery, but as soon as he began to land his men the Americans fled from their stockade-fort and other works, and left him in quiet possession of Skenesborough, which had remained in the hands of the Americans, like Ticonderoga, ever since the first surprise by Ethan Allen. The Americans, who had occupied the place, retired hastily to Fort Anne; and in the course of the day nearly all the baggage of their army, and a great part of their military stores, were either taken by the British, or burned and destroyed by themselves.¹ General St. Clair marched with such headlong haste that he reached Castletown, nearly thirty miles from Ticonderoga, that very night; but his rear-guard, under Colonel Warner, did not move quite so fast, and halted six miles short of Castletown, on some rising ground, partially covered with trees. At an early hour on the following morning they were there discovered by General Fraser, who had been close on their heels the greater part of the preceding day—one of the hottest days in July—but he had now scarcely more than 800 men with him; whereas Colonel Warner was from 1200 to 1500 strong, advantageously posted, and with his men covered with a sort of breast-work, composed of logs and old trees. Fraser, who was as brave as steel, determined nevertheless to attack, being confident that the body of Germans under Reidesel, who had started

with him on the pursuit, but had been left behind, would soon come up to his assistance. Warner also had assistance within reach; but two regiments of militia, instead of attending to his summons, turned their backs upon him, and fled to Castletown as soon as they saw the head of Fraser's little column. Fraser led his men up the hill to the breast-work: a terrible, and, for some time, a doubtful conflict ensued, for the Germans did not come quite so soon as he expected them. But when Reidesel appeared, with a full band of music playing, the Americans conceived that all the German troops were with him, whereas, in truth, he had only a few companies; and they then abandoned the hill, and fled for Castletown as fast as their militia. Their loss had been appalling: Colonel Francis, several other officers, and above 200 men were left dead on the field; one colonel, seven captains, ten subalterns, and 210 privates were made prisoners; while nearly 600 wounded crawled away to perish in the woods, in a vain attempt to escape to the inhabited country.² Fraser lost Major Pratt, and had about twenty inferior officers and about 150 privates killed and wounded. During this action,



TICONDEROGA, LAKE CHAMPLAIN.—From a drawing by James Hunter, dated 1777, in the King's collection, British Museum.

Burgoyne, with the principal division of the British army, was at Skenesborough, where he halted several days; and the American general, St. Clair, was at Castletown. The latter now retired in all haste to Manchester, and thence to Fort Edward (on the left bank of the Hudson, about equidistant from Saratoga and from Fort George at the southern end of the lakes), leaving Colonel Long to defend Fort Anne. But Long was overtaken, and thoroughly beaten by Colonel Hill; and, instead of defending Fort Anne, he set fire to it, and fled to join St. Clair.

¹ Marshall, *Life of Washington*; Stedman; *Ann. Register*.

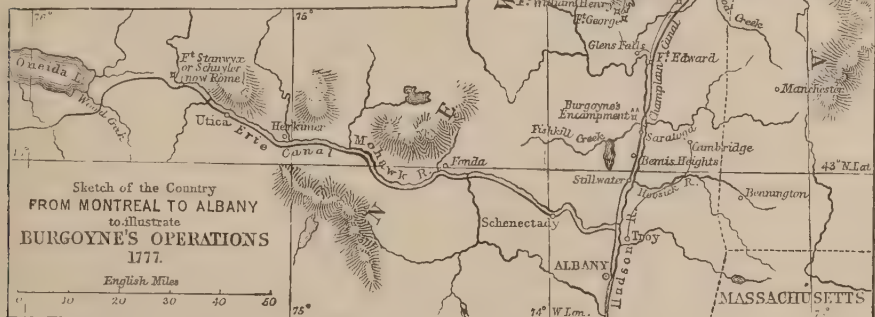
² When Warner joined St. Clair, he had with him only ninety men.

At this critical juncture, General Schuyler, the commander-in-chief of the American army of the north, who was bringing up reinforcements to defend, as he supposed, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, reached Saratoga, to be overwhelmed by the news of a rapid succession of defeats and disasters. He relied, however, on the rough country which the British must traverse; and, calling in St. Clair and Long, and the wreck of that army, he fixed his head-quarters at Fort Edward, broke up the roads and the bridges, blocked up the creeks and rivers, and swept the country bare of live stock and all kinds of provisions. At the same time he implored congress, who were wholly absorbed by the strange desultory movements made by Howe in the beginning of his campaign, to send him reinforcements of regular troops; he called up the militia and the backwoodsmen of New England and New York; he wrote the most pressing letters in all directions; and he succeeded, by degrees, in collecting a numerous though motley force. On landing at Crown Point, Burgoyne had addressed the American people in a proclamation; and now, from his head-quarters at Skenesborough, he issued a second manifesto, summoning the people of the adjacent country to send deputies from each township, to meet at Castletown, in order to deliberate on such measures as might still be adopted to save from punishment those who had not yet conformed to his first proclamation and submitted to the royal authority. To counteract this document, General Schuyler issued a proclamation, in the name of the congress of the United States, citing the example of Jersey, to show the treatment the people would receive if they allowed themselves to be deluded by proclamations, and threatening them, in the same breath, with death, as traitors, if they sent any deputation, or afforded any manner of aid to the enemy. At the same time Schuyler contrived to make a letter fall into the hands of Burgoyne, so written as to bewilder the English general, and make him hesitate whether he should advance or retreat. At last Burgoyne resolved to advance, according to the original plan laid down for his campaign, and which plan included about the worst route which he could have pursued. Instead of retracing his steps to Ticonderoga, and embarking on Lake George to proceed to Fort George, whence there was a waggon-road to the place of his destination, Fort Edward, he struck across the country with the mass of his force, and sent General Philips, with a strong detachment, to proceed by Lake George, with the artillery, provisions, and baggage. The land journey was as difficult as the water communication was easy: Burgoyne had to pass swamps and morasses, numerous creeks, ravines, and gullies, over which it was necessary

to throw bridges; and he was obliged to consume more time in clearing the roads of the forest trees, which the Americans had cut down and disposed in such a manner as to intersect each other. The swampy, wooded country abounded with mosquitoes and other insects, to a degree almost intolerable to Europeans, and the weather was close and sultry. Nevertheless, the men bore all these annoyances and their excessive fatigue with great good humour; and on the 30th of July they reached the river Hudson, near Fort Edward; Schuyler retiring across the Hudson at their approach. If Howe had ascended that river from New York, the Americans could scarcely have been in a condition to resist the two united armies; but Howe, a month before, had retreated to Staten Island, and, on the 23d of July, one week before Burgoyne reached the upper course of the Hudson, had sailed away for the Delaware. It is said that Howe had distinctly given Burgoyne to understand that his plan of operations did not allow him to co-operate on the upper part of the Hudson. Yet his own object, the capture of Philadelphia, was utterly insignificant, if compared to the results that might have been expected from the united operations of the two armies on the Hudson, which must have split America into two, by separating the northern from the southern provinces: but Howe, who had begun late, and who had twice changed his own scheme of campaign, evidently had no affection to the plan for the execution of which another had been appointed in the first place, and the honour of which, if successful, would fall more to Burgoyne than to himself.

As soon as Burgoyne was assured that Howe would not co-operate, he ought to have retreated to the lakes, for, with a small army like his, he could scarcely occupy forts or positions enough to keep the country in awe, or even to keep the communications open with Canada; and the most that he could hope from the most brilliant success was to make a military promenade through the country to New York, where he was not wanted. Nevertheless, he resolved to continue on the advance, and he merely waited in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward for the arrival of General Philips with the artillery, provisions, and stores, and for the junction of Colonel St. Leger, who had proceeded on a different line of march from the first, and who was now descending from Oswego, the Oneida Lake, and Wood Creek, by the Mohawk River, which falls into the Hudson between Saratoga and Albany. Unfortunately St. Leger stopped at the upper end of the Mohawk to lay siege to Stanwix Fort, called by the Americans Fort Schuyler, a place strongly situated. Upon receiving this information, Burgoyne, who had already split his army into too many parts,

thought it would be necessary to co-operate with St. Leger; and, as a preparation to this step, and in order to get possession of bullocks, waggons, and other things necessary for the journey, he detached Colonel Baum to surprise Bennington, a place between the forks of the Hoosick River, about twenty-four miles to the eastward of the Hudson, where the Americans had deposited the supplies of cattle, carts, provisions, and stores they were receiving from the New England provinces. The German troops had many good qualities; but rapidity of motion, which alone can insure success in attempting surprises, was certainly not among the number: they were, perhaps, naturally slower than the English; and they were, moreover, borne down under the weight of the monstrously exaggerated equipments of Frederick the Great, their hats and swords weighing very nearly as much as the whole equipment of other soldiers. "The worst British regiment in the service," says Stedman, "would with ease have marched two miles for their one." Yet, in spite of these facts and the warm remonstrances of General Fraser and other officers of rank, Burgoyne persisted in employing Germans to surprise Bennington. Another capital mistake was, that he sent only 600 men on an expedition that required at least three times the number. On his first day's march Baum, the commander of the detachment, took prisoners a considerable body of Americans, who had assembled in a wood to check his progress. Colonel Skene, the original



owner of Skenesborough, who, on account of his local knowledge, had been appointed inspector-general, insisted that these prisoners ought to be kindly treated and then liberated, which would have the effect of detaching them from the cause of congress. Poor Baum, who knew little or nothing of the country, the people, or their language, followed Skene's advice; and the liberated Americans went straight to Bennington. On the second day's march, Baum captured some cattle and routed a small party near a village called Cambridge. Not far from this place he was brought to a halt, by intelligence that the Ame-

ricans were assembling in great force for the defence of Bennington. Baum applied to Burgoyne for reinforcements, and another German detachment, of only 500 men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, was sent to his assistance. This Breyman, like most of his school, was a pedant and a formalist, who had no notion of marching even through a rough country except with all the order and precision of the drill-ground; he halted ten times an hour to dress his ranks; and before he came up Colonel Baum was completely surrounded at St. Coieck's Mill, on Walloon Creek, by General Starke and Colonel

Warner, who had with them a force which constantly kept increasing, and which at one moment exceeded 1800 men. Baum, as stanch in battle as he was slow in advancing, endured for upwards of an hour a terrible discharge of musketry and rifles from every side, and three several times drove the Americans from some high ground on which they were stationed; but at last he was brought down by a rifle-shot, and then the Germans retreated into some woods in the direction of Fort Edward, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. At this desperate moment Breyman, who had employed twenty-four hours in marching sixteen miles, came up. Had he been *one little hour* sooner, the fate of the day might have been widely different; but now he had nothing to do but to put the fugitives of Baum's detachment into some order, and retreat to the place from which he had started. Starke and Warner made several hot attacks, and endeavoured to surround him; but he bravely fought his way through and reached Burgoyne's outposts when he had fired almost his last cartridge. It is worthy of note, that the prisoners taken by Baum, and liberated at the instance of Skene, were found among the fiercest combatants at St. Coieck's Mill! Instead of taking Bennington, the bullock-waggons, &c., Burgoyne lost about 500 men in killed and wounded in this ill-judged expedition.

In the meanwhile Colonel St. Leger, left to himself with his 600 light troops and his tribes of savages, was prosecuting the siege of Stanwix Fort. On the 5th of August he received intelligence that the American General Harkimer was advancing to the relief of the place with 1000 men. St. Leger instantly detached Sir John Johnson with the Indian tribes and a party of regulars into the woods to lie in close ambush. Harkimer, coming on confidently and incautiously, fell into the trap. Nearly 400 Americans were killed or wounded, and the rest fled back to the Hudson. But as St. Leger had only light field-pieces with him, which could make no impression on the works, the garrison of Fort Stanwix still held out; and the savages growing weary of the siege, and being informed by some crafty Yankee spies that Burgoyne's army had been cut to pieces, peremptorily insisted upon retiring. To stop this desertion a council of their chiefs was called; but even while it was sitting a large party of the savages folded their blankets and departed. News also arrived that the daring and active Arnold was approaching with 2000 men and ten pieces of artillery. A retreat was thus necessary; but it was managed so badly that St. Leger left behind him his artillery and stores, and his tents standing. Arnold, who was really advancing up the Mohawk River, did not arrive at Fort Stan-

wix until two days after the siege had been raised!¹

There was much to dishearten, and positively nothing to encourage the advance of the main army; yet, having collected his artillery and provisions for about thirty days, and having constructed a bridge of boats, Burgoyne, on the 13th and 14th September, passed his whole army across the Hudson, and then encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. General Gates, who had just taken the chief command of the American army in the north over the head of Schuyler, and who was now joined by Arnold with his 2000 men, was lying on an island near the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson, about eight miles above Albany, and called Stillwater, where he had a strong star-redoubt and other defences. The place was merely insulated by swamps and shallow water, easily passed by foot. On the night of the 17th, after incredible labour in erecting bridges to bear their artillery and baggage over numerous creeks and ravines, the British army encamped within four miles of the American army; but between their encampment and Stillwater the country was equally rugged and seamed with water-courses, and the whole of the 18th was spent in laying down bridges and temporary causeways.

On the morning of the 19th, the mass of the British army formed close in front of the American left; our right wing, including part of the foreigners, was commanded by Burgoyne, and covered by General Fraser with the grenadiers and light infantry; the front and flanks were covered by Indians and Canadians; the left wing and artillery were commanded by General Philips and Reidesel, who stood across the only good road that existed. Instead of waiting to be attacked in his muddy position, Gates threw out 5000 men to attempt turning our right and attacking General Burgoyne in his rear. But a discovery of the strong position of General Fraser, whom they had not seen, made them fall back. Gates's detachment, being reinforced and led on by Arnold, fell upon Burgoyne and the right wing, and a smart engagement began at three o'clock in the afternoon, which lasted till after sunset. Arnold behaved with extraordinary gallantry; but he could make an impression nowhere, although the weight of the action fell on three or four of our regiments, the rest of our right being stationed on some hills, and the Germans occupying a position at some distance. Every time that Arnold was beaten back Gates sent him more men from the star-redoubt. Why Burgoyne, who contemplated a decisive action, did not engage in full force, may possibly be accounted for by the nature of the country,

¹ *Stedman; Gordon; Marshall; Burke, in Ann. Register.*

and by the circumstance of his being embarrassed by a long train of artillery, which was next to useless, as he could not drag it through bogs and swamps, or get it rapidly into proper positions. As it grew dark the fire of the Americans slackened, and during the night Gates evacuated the ground in front of Stillwater, and collected all his troops into and round the star-redoubt. He had lost two superior officers, a great many subalterns, and from 500 to 600 men in killed and wounded; but Burgoyne's loss was scarcely inferior. The British army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle; and as day dawned they began to erect works within cannon-shot of the enemy, with strong redoubts on their right. At the same time the Americans attended to strengthening their positions; and thus the two armies lay from the 26th of September till the 7th of October, an interval of time most fatal to Burgoyne, who consumed nearly all his provisions. Every possible method was taken to inform General Howe of his situation, and the strongest of arguments were employed to induce either a co-operation or a diversion in his favour. Howe, who had just taken Philadelphia, and who had not yet taken and destroyed the forts and strong works on the Delaware, was wholly occupied by Washington and those works, and could scarcely spare a thought on Burgoyne. Sir Henry Clinton, who was in command of the troops left at New York, took the responsibility upon himself, and informed Burgoyne that he would do what he could to effect a diversion, by attacking Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the lower part of the Hudson. Burgoyne, therefore, agreed to remain where he was till the 12th of October, and hoped that the movement from New York up the Hudson would be made with rapidity and decision. But his Indian followers, disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and annoyed at his endeavours to check their ferocity, began to desert from him, as they had done from St. Leger. Besides, their hunting season was now arrived, which no inducement could make them forego. Their desertion much weakened Burgoyne, who would not, however, think of retreating. On the side of the Americans the delay was attended with all kinds of advantages; Gates, who had proclaimed the affair of Stillwater as a great victory, was reinforced every day, both from the southern and from the northern provinces; the militia, who had been as timid as hares, became as bold as bull-dogs, and stores and provisions were brought up to him with surprising rapidity. Besides Arnold, General Lincoln had come up to Stillwater with a force estimated even by the Americans at 2000 men. He no longer thought of a retreat; and, at the suggestion of Arnold, he adopted a scheme likely

to reduce Burgoyne to the hard necessity of an unconditional surrender. He detached a considerable body of New England militia, which had assembled in the rear of the British army, to surprise Ticonderoga, Mount Independence, and Fort George, to capture or destroy all the stores there, and to cut off Burgoyne from his supplies and from Canada. The detachment, under the command of one Colonel Brown, got by night to the north end of Lake George, and surprised and took a sloop and the boats that were carrying provisions to Burgoyne. Brown then took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, and began to attack Ticonderoga. Being repulsed there he returned, in the vessels he had captured, through Lake George, and made another attempt upon Diamond Island, where there was a considerable dépôt of stores; being repulsed there also by a handful of men, he hastened to the shore, burned all the vessels he had taken, and returned to his former station in Burgoyne's rear. But he had traced the fatal route, and other and stronger corps of Americans collected between the British army and the lakes.

Burgoyne was now obliged to put his men on half rations; his stock of forage was entirely exhausted, and his horses were perishing for the want of it. The Red Men, who had hitherto remained with him, now began to desert, whole tribes at a time, and the Canadians and loyal Americans lost faith or heart.¹ No news was heard of Sir H. Clinton's movement up the Hudson, and not a man, not a biscuit was allowed to reach him from the side of Canada. In this predicament he attempted dislodging Gates, and moved on his left wing with a column of 1500 men, his best troops, commanded by himself and by Philips, Fraser, and Reidesel. This column had scarcely formed in front of Gates's left, when the Americans, issuing from their entrenchments, made a desperate attack on the left of the British army, where Burgoyne had left the grenadiers under the command of Major Ackland. As soon as this attack began, a body of 2000 men were sent out to meet Burgoyne's column, and Morgan and his rifle corps stole round under cover of some woods, and opened a fire on the flank of the column. Other troops came out from the American entrenchments, and while some laboured to crush the British left, others endeavoured to throw themselves between Bur-

¹ "The Indians," says an American writer, "finding themselves beaten in the woods by Morgan, and restrained from scalping and plundering the unarmed by Burgoyne—who saw before them the prospect of hard fighting without profit—grew tired of the service, and deserted in great numbers. The Canadians and provincials were not much more faithful; and Burgoyne soon perceived that his hopes must rest almost entirely on his European troops."—*Marshall, Life of Washington*.

goyne's column and his lines. Under the eye and voice of Major Ackland the grenadiers kept their ground most manfully; but Burgoyne, with his 1500, was obliged to abandon six field-pieces he had taken out with him, and to run back to his camp. Morgan and his riflemen were now getting on the flank of our right wing. General Fraser, with the light infantry and the 24th regiment, marched to dislodge them: he succeeded, but fell mortally wounded under the shots of the American marksmen, who were placed behind trees and accustomed to pick out officers. Shortly after Burgoyne's return to his camp, a loose irregular attack was made nearly all along his lines, and while this was sustained, Arnold, in great force, made a steady concentrated attack upon the entrenchments on our extreme right, and Lieutenant-colonel Brooks made a similar assault on the left. Arnold was repulsed wounded, and had another horse killed under him; but Brooks was more successful—for, falling upon a part of the entrenchments defended by the German troops under Colonel Breyman, he effected a passage: Breyman was killed, and his men, after much slaughter, which was not all on one side, retreated with the loss of all their baggage and artillery.

Night closed on the scene of carnage, but Brooks kept the ground he had won within the line of our entrenchments, as orders given by Burgoyne to drive him back were not attended to. During the day about 200 men and officers were taken by the Americans, and the British loss in killed and wounded was very considerable for so small an army. In losing General Fraser, Burgoyne lost the bravest and best officer serving with him. On the following morning before daybreak, Burgoyne changed his position, which was scarcely tenable since the impression made by Brooks; and with great secrecy and silence, and much skill, he removed his whole army, with all their baggage and artillery, to some heights above the bank of the Hudson, extending his right up that river. Gates changed his position also, but carefully avoided an engagement, which the British endeavoured to bring on by repeated attacks on outposts and by several brisk skirmishes right in front of the American line. The whole day, the 8th of October, was spent in this manner; but, in the course of the night and the following morning, Gates, who had received still more reinforcements, sent off a strong party higher up the Hudson to occupy good ground on the right bank, and he threw other strong columns over to the left bank, in order to guard the passages and intercept the retreat of the British—a movement which was now inevitable. Burgoyne, however, discovered the movement on the right bank, and prevented its effect by

ascending the river to Saratoga; but the suddenness and rapidity of this movement obliged him to leave all his sick and wounded in the hospital behind him. Gates behaved with much humanity to these unhappy prisoners, who amounted to about 300. Otherwise the retreat to Saratoga was effected without loss and without any obstruction. But on the 10th, when Burgoyne reached the fords of Fishkill Creek, which lie a little to the northward of Saratoga, he found the Americans collected in force on the opposite side of the creek. The fire of a few guns scattered these men, but they only retired over the Hudson, to the much larger force which Gates had stationed there to obstruct the passage. Burgoyne's present design was to ascend the Hudson by its right bank, and get to Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George; but the roads could not be passed by an army without considerable repairs, and there were numerous creeks and ravines which could only be crossed by erecting bridges—long, toilsome, and desperate operations for worn-out, half-famished troops, pressed upon from all sides by an enemy five or six times more numerous than themselves, and wonderfully elated by their very unusual success. Burgoyne, nevertheless, sent forward a detachment of artificers, under a strong escort, to open the road and repair the bridges. The artificers had scarcely begun their work when they were interrupted by swarms of American riflemen, whom the escort could neither reach nor dislodge. The inevitable consequence was, that workmen and escort were all obliged to retreat. In the course of this unlucky day, Gates reinforced his divisions on the left bank of the Hudson immediately opposite to Burgoyne, and supplied them with abundance of artillery, with which they plied the batteaux on the river that were carrying part of the baggage and the miserable remainder of the provisions of the British army. Many of these frail embarkations were taken, and the regular American troops called continentals and the American militia vied with each other in their eagerness for plunder, and their determination to appropriate to themselves whatever they could take. The militiamen, it appears, were more rapacious than the regulars, and inclined to forget all military duty and subordination in their avidity for gain. These fellows, who were chiefly New Englanders, carried their peddling trading spirit with them, and made their quarters a kind of auction-mart. It is said that they would often rob the American regulars of what booty they had secured, and sell it on their own account. Irregularities of this kind were carried to such a height, that Gates, in general orders issued on the 12th, declared:—"That he saw so many scandalous and mean transactions committed by

persons who sought more after plunder than the honour of doing their duty, that it was his unalterable resolution to have the first person who should thereafter be detected in pillaging the baggage and stores taken from the enemy tried and punished with the utmost severity." Unable to retreat to Fort George by the right bank, Burgoyne conceived the now desperate project of ascending the river a little higher, and of crossing it in presence of the American detachments on the left bank. He thought it possible to cut his way through these; and, as he had made up his mind to abandon the artillery, which had so continually embarrassed his movements, and to remove nothing but two or three days' provisions, which the men might carry in their knapsacks, he then hoped to be able to effect his retreat to Fort Edward, whence, by a different route, he might reach the lakes and the British shipping upon them. In pursuance of this plan he sent a body of men up the river, intending to follow with the rest under cover of night. At this desperate crisis he was well nigh saved by a capital mistake committed by his adversary. Gates called the general officers of the American army together, and informed them of his having received certain intelligence that the main body of Burgoyne's army was marched off for Fort Edward, and that the rear-guard only was left in the camp. Upon this, it was concluded to advance and attack the British camp, which was now very strongly posted upon some heights beyond Fishkill Creek. The general officers repaired instantly to their respective commands: General Nixon with a whole brigade crossed the creek, and General Glover was upon the point of following him, and had actually entered the water, when a spy or a British deserter came and met him with intelligence more certain than Gates's, that the main body was still in the camp, and well prepared to receive the attack. Glover ran back from the creek, but Nixon was not quite so fortunate, for his advance had brought him up to some brushwood, behind which Burgoyne had a line of troops and some artillery, who, when they saw him halting and turning back on the signals given by Glover, opened a terrible fire upon him, and then drove him with considerable loss and still more confusion across the creek."¹

If the secret had been kept, and Gates's orders had been executed, as he intended, with only some divisions, from the goodness of their position and from the desperate spirit which animated them, the British would assuredly have gained

a victory; the Americans might have been obliged to call in their detachments on the other side of the Hudson, and Burgoyne might have got to Fort Edward. But the breath of the spy or deserter dissipated this hope—and it was the last!—for Burgoyne had now ascertained that the Americans on the other side of the river had formed an entrenched camp, well garnished with artillery, on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George, and that the only roads he could possibly take were blocked up by troops. The men that had advanced up the river, and had got nearly opposite to Fort Edward, were recalled, and once more demonstrations were made to tempt the Americans to battle; but Gates was sure of his prey without fighting or struggling, and his troops had little inclination to attack desperate men in a strong position. The Americans, therefore, remained in their positions, which were equally strong, and such as could scarcely be attacked by so inferior a force. As an additional curse on this doomed expedition, no news was received by Burgoyne touching the movements of Clinton, even when that general had really begun to move and was sweeping the lower part of the Hudson most triumphantly. Nearly every possible mistake had been committed by their generals and commanders in all directions, but the spirit of the British troops under Burgoyne, as everywhere else, was good, manly, and noble to the last; and, in the words of a foreign writer, whose prejudices were engaged on the other side, these soldiers never said a word in their extremity, or did a deed but what was worthy of firm and valorous men.² And by this time, what with the desertion of Indians and Canadians, and the losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, Burgoyne's army was reduced to 3500 fighting men, and of these scarcely more than one-half were British. A visit to the magazines showed that there was not bread for three days. To advance or to retreat was equally impracticable, though many a soldier, many an officer would still have attempted the passage of the Hudson, and a loose straggling retreat through the wild country to the right of Fort Edward. On the morning of the 13th of October Burgoyne called a council of war, at which not only field-officers, but every captain of the weak army attended. It seemed to them all, that nothing was left but to capitulate on the most honourable terms which could be procured. Burgoyne, who was as gallant an officer as ever took the field, and who had first gained renown by a bold and dashing movement,³ thus described to the secretary-at-war his situa-

¹ Dr. Gordon, the Scotsman, with an American heart, tells this story, which, he says, he received from General Glover himself. Marshall, the American biographer of Washington, says that Gordon is confirmed by General Wilkinson, who was serving

with Gates as adjutant-general; and that the narrative of Wilkinson varies from that of Gordon only in minor circumstances.

² Carlo Botta, *Storia della Guerra Americana*.

³ See his performances in Portugal, vol. iii. p. 432

tion and the result of the council:—"A series of hard toil, incessant effort, stubborn action, until disabled in the collateral branches of the army by the total defection of the Indians; the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and provincials, some individuals excepted; disappointed in the last hope of any co-operation from other armies; the regular troops reduced by losses from the best parts to 3500 fighting men, not 2000 of which were British; only three days' provisions, upon short allowance, in store; invested by an army of 16,000 men, and no appearance of retreat remaining, I called into council all the generals, field-officers, and captains commanding corps, and by their unanimous concurrence and advice, I was induced to open a treaty with Major-general Gates."¹ It was a bitter step; but early in the evening Burgoyne sent a note to the American head-quarters to say that he was desirous of sending a field-officer with a message to Major-general Gates, upon a matter of high moment to both armies, and that he requested to be informed what hour on the following morning would suit General Gates. The American replied, in the tone of a conqueror, that he would receive a field-officer from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne at the advanced post of the army of the United States at ten o'clock next morning. At the appointed hour Major Kingston appeared at the American advanced post, and delivered the following message to General Gates:—"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-general Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring against him. He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified, by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms. Should Major-general Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms during the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms, by which, in any extremity, he and his army mean to abide." To this Gates replied—that, General Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c., their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they could only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war. To this Burgoyne answered, that his army, however reduced, would never admit that their retreat was cut off while they had arms in their hands. Gates had better information than Burgoyne as to Clin-

ton's movements up the Hudson; he had perhaps little confidence in the militia, who composed the principal part of the forces beyond the Hudson; and he was certainly anxious to hasten the capitulation. He therefore gradually moderated the conditions of surrender. At first he demanded that Burgoyne's troops should be drawn up in their encampment, and there ordered to ground their arms. The English general answered that this article was inadmissible in any extremity, and that his army, rather than consent to ground their arms in their encampments—the maximum of military disgrace—would make a rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter. In the afternoon Gates agreed to a cessation of arms until sunset. In the course of the next day—the 15th—the negotiation was continued; but it was not until the 16th that the articles of convention were finally settled. They imported that Burgoyne's troops were to march out of their camp with all the honours of war, and the artillery to be moved to the verge of the Hudson, and there left, together with the soldiers' arms, the said arms to be piled by word of command from *their own* officers; that a free passage should be granted the troops to Great Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest; that, if any cartel should take place by which Burgoyne's army, or any part of it, should be exchanged, the foregoing article should be void as far as such exchange should extend; that every care should be taken for the proper subsistence of the troops, till they should be embarked; that all officers should retain their carriages, horses, bat-horses, &c., and their baggage be exempt from molestation or search; that on the march and during the time the army should remain at Boston (the port selected for their embarkation), the officers should not be separated from their men; that all corps whatsoever, whether composed of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of *whatever country they might be*, should be included in the fullest sense and to the utmost extent of the articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects, whose general had capitulated for them (this was an important article, as not a few of the drivers, independent companies, and followers were American royalists); that all Canadians and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment should be permitted a free return to Canada, should be conducted by the shortest route to the British posts on Lake George, should be treated in all respects like the rest of the army, and should be bound by the same condition not to serve during this war, unless exchanged; that passports should be immediately granted for three officers to carry General Burgoyne's despatches to General Howe

¹ Letter to Lord George Germaine.

at Philadelphia, to Sir Guy Carleton in Canada, and to the government of Great Britain by way of New York; that all officers during their stay in Boston should be admitted on parole, and from first to last be permitted to wear their side arms; that if the army found it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage from Canada they should be permitted to do so, and have the necessary passports granted them; and, finally, that these articles should be signed and exchanged on the following morning at nine o'clock, and the troops to march out of their entrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon. These were not such terms as are usually granted to conquered armies; but Gates almost heard the thunder of Clinton's artillery and of the British ships on the lower part of the Hudson.¹ At the appointed hour the convention was most reluctantly signed in the British camp, and on the afternoon of the 17th of October, the troops marched out of their encampment, down to the water-side, to a place called the Old Ford, where they piled their arms at the word of command from their own officers. Several of the officers could scarcely pronounce the words, and many of the men wept as they grounded their muskets. Gates was—what many of the American commanders and officers were not—a gentleman in heart and mind, a man of delicate feelings, and of too good a spirit to revel in the mournful degradation of a brave enemy. He kept away from the spot himself, and it is even said that he would not suffer his own people to be witnesses to the sad spectacle.² Among the fruits of victory that remained in his hands were about forty pieces of artillery, 4600 muskets, and a not very considerable quantity of powder and ball. The batteaux on the river and what they contained were scarcely to be counted in this category, for the Connecticut men, the Rhode Islanders, the Massachusetts men, and the other militia men who had seized them, or the greater part of them, had set them down to a separate and more private account. As soon as intelligence of the surrender was received on the lakes, the garrisons of Fort George and Ticonderoga evacuated those important places, and retired by the Sorel to Fort St. John and Montreal. Burgoyne had requested Carleton in the most pressing manner to forward a regiment to maintain Ticonderoga; but Carleton, in whose recollection the winter exploits of Montgomery and Arnold were fresh,

did not think it prudent to weaken any further the feeble force he had for the defence of Canada, and he positively refused to send the regiment.

On the 6th of October, ten days before the capitulation was signed, but twenty days later than Clinton had hoped to commence his co-operation or diversion, that general appeared in force on the Hudson, and began a series of attacks which must have rescued Burgoyne's army if they had been made even only eight or ten days earlier.



SIR HENRY CLINTON.—From a fine print by Bartolozzi.

It does not appear that any particular blame attaches to General Clinton, who, with his seventeen battalions, his single regiment of light horse, and his provincial militia, had to defend New York, the great repository of our stores, which was accessible from a variety of points, and which demanded a very considerable force, as, besides General Putnam, who was hovering in the neighbourhood with a small regular army, there were large bodies of cunning and quick Connecticut militia, Massachusetts Bay men, and others, on the watch for opportunities to attack and destroy or carry off stores, &c. Reinforcements, which had been promised from Europe, did not arrive at New York till late in September, and then they consisted chiefly, if not entirely, of a body of recruits to make up losses. Almost as soon as they arrived, Clinton, of his own accord and on his own responsibility, embarked about 3000 men, and proceeded up the Hudson to Verplank's Point, on the east bank of the river, and about forty miles above New York. The place had been previously reconnoitred by Lord Rawdon in a frigate. It is situated upon a peninsula, and the landing-place was then defended by a small battery and a breast-work, from which the Americans fled at the approach of our troops. Clinton landed his men without opposition, and passed

¹ Marshall frankly confesses this motive for haste and moderation in Gates:—"The situation of the two armies considered, these terms were highly honourable to the British general, and favourable to his nation. They were probably more advantageous than would have been granted by General Gates, had he entertained no apprehension from Sir Henry Clinton, who was at length making the promised diversion on the river."

² *Stedman*; *Carlo Botta*; *Burke*, in *Ann. Register*; *Gordon*; *Papers in Almon's Remembrancer*.

dreadful fire until they got to the foot of the works, and, there being no ladders, no implement, or help of any kind, they climbed on one another's shoulders up into the embrasures, pushed aside the warm cannon, and drove the Americans across the rampart at the bayonet's point. The garrison, who were about 400 strong, made an attempt to rally at the head of the ram-

part, but they were soon dislodged. They then retired to the other side of the esplanade, discharged a last volley of musketry—murderous and useless, and contrary to military honour—and then threw down their arms and cried for quarter. This last provocation is such as troops rarely brook, and the British, and the Germans with them, had besides suffered considerably in



VIEW ON THE HUDSON AT ANTHONY'S NOSE, the sites of Forts Clinton and Montgomery in the distance.

From a large view by G. B. Fisher, 1785.

storming the fort; yet it is said, on good authority, that there was not a single American put to death, except such as fell in the hand-to-hand fight at the embrasures or upon the ramparts. The loss on the side of the assailants was less than might have been expected, as it amounted only to 140 killed and wounded. The Americans lost about 300 in killed, wounded, and prisoners.¹ The British had advanced to the charge in the dusk of the evening, and by the time they had completed their conquest it was night. But the darkness was soon partially dispersed by a most brilliant illumination, which proceeded from two frigates, two galleys, and a sloop, which the Americans had drawn up in a little inlet under the guns of the forts, and to which the crews now set fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the conquerors. The flotilla made a brief but magnificent spectacle, and then blew up into the air between the lofty echoing banks of the Hudson. A few miles higher up the river there was another strong place, called Fort Constitution, built upon a rock; but the Americans there, without any orders from their governor, demolished part of the works, left their artillery be-

hind them, and fled as soon as they learned the fall of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. A new settlement, called the Continental Village, with barracks for 1500 men, storehouses, &c., was destroyed by a detachment of American loyalists, under the command of Governor Tryon. A boom was removed, and Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of small frigates, ascended the Hudson still farther, destroying a number of American vessels on his way. On the 13th of October, the very day on which Burgoyne made his first overture for a capitulation, General Vaughan, under cover of Wallace's frigates, landed a detachment at Esopus Creek, which, going by land, was scarcely thirty miles from Saratoga, the scene of our humiliation. If, instead of this weak detachment, Clinton had come up with his whole force, it appears to us that Gates, even now, might have given Burgoyne a fair chance of retreat, by detaching troops to secure his own rear.² General Vaughan reduced two batteries and a row-galley stationed at the mouth of Esopus Creek, and he then ascended the creek about five miles to the town of Esopus, a young but flourishing place, which he reduced to ashes, together with

¹ The American Governor Clinton, who was in the fort that bore his name, passed the river in a boat, and escaped, as did also General James Clinton, though wounded in the thigh by a bayonet. Lieutenant-colonels Livingston and Bruyn, and Majors Hamilton and Logan were among the prisoners.

² According to Marshall, intelligence of the success of Sir Henry Clinton was received by General Burgoyne on the night after the convention at Saratoga had been agreed upon, but before the articles had been signed and executed; and Burgoyne had serious thoughts of breaking off the treaty.—*Life of Washington*.

a vast quantity of provisions and stores, collected for the use of General Gates's army. Putnam, whose army had been reinforced by militia till it was 6000 strong, now detached General Parsons with 2000 men to protect the banks of the Hudson; and on the morning of the 17th, when Burgoyne's army were all prisoners, Gates was enabled to detach more and more troops to the scene of Clinton's operations. The British general therefore recalled Vaughan and Wallace, destroyed all the places he had taken in order to have the river open to future operations, re-embarked his men, and returned to New York, having swept the Hudson, and proved how effective the campaign might have been if General Howe had gone up that river to Albany in the month of July or August.¹ The damage that Clinton's small force had inflicted was immense.

The British parliament assembled on the 18th of November. The king had neither lost any of his firmness nor abated any of his hope as to the final result of the expensive contest. In his speech from the throne he expressed his great satisfaction in being able to have recourse to the legislature at a conjuncture which demanded the most serious attention. He assured them that he had faithfully employed the means intrusted to him for the suppression of the revolt, and that he had just confidence in the conduct and courage of his officers commanding in America; but still, he intimated, it would be necessary to prepare for such further operations as the contingencies of war and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient. In the lords, the Earl of Coventry, who had made a very remarkable speech during a preceding session, opposed the address, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of our fleets and armies, and our instant recognition of the independence of America. But even this, his lordship chose to say, would be only a temporary preservation; and he predicted, as a thing as certain as any law of nature, that the fall of Great Britain and the transfer of the seat of empire to the other side of the Atlantic must follow or accompany the independence of America. When Lord Coventry sat down, Chatham rose upon his crutch to move an amendment, which he had previously submitted to Rockingham and the other lords in opposition.² The arrival of his *ci-devant* friend Benjamin Franklin at Paris, and the great attention which had been paid to him, had wounded and irritated the great orator in an uncommon degree. "*But yesterday,*" he exclaimed, "*and England might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.*" The Hessians had been guilty of some excesses in the country near the Delaware, but the orator

represented them in a more horrible light than was justified by the facts. Continuing his vaticination that the struggle, however prolonged, must end in our defeat, he exclaimed—"You may swell every expense, and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince! Your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never." He affirmed that our own army was infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies, and that the spirit of plunder and of rapine was gone forth among them. But when he came to speak of the employment of the wild Indians with our army—though he himself, nineteen years before, had employed Indians in the same manner against the French and the Canadians—his tone was still more loud and indignant. "But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the national character; it is a violation of the constitution; I believe it is against the law." He proceeded to speak on the great question of disseverance and independence, and on this subject no new light had broken in upon him. He avowed now, as he had done all through the quarrel, that our supremacy must be maintained or our ruin inevitably sealed. As his course had all along been to attribute every blame to the British government, and to applaud both the spirit and the intentions of the Americans, so he pretended to assert even now that the Americans, or a very considerable part of the colonists, were still full of affection for the mother country, were only declaring independence in moments of anguish and despair, and were still in their hearts inclined to return to their old political condition. Nay, he would not even admit that our power of regulating their trade ought to be abolished or abridged. He dwelt upon the insincere nonsense in the royal speech about the friendly assurances

¹ Gordon; Stedman; Burke; Marshall.

² Letters in Chatham Correspondence.

of foreign courts; he spoke of the interests and of the passions of the French, and he showed that no foreign power was really friendly to Great Britain. He might have been told that the irritated pride, the jealousy and the eagerness of the French to brush from their laurels the tarnish of the last war, were, in no inconsiderable degree, attributable to his own councils, and to the military glory which he had acquired during that contest, and of which he was so proud. Without this incentive it is quite possible that the French would have been disposed to interfere, and to take advantage of the embarrassments of England: their old rivalry, their new political philosophy, their proneness to war would have led them in this direction; but the sore recollection of their defeats and Chatham's trophies hurried them on at an accelerated pace. After dwelling again upon our weakness, and our calamities foreign and domestic, and declaring that ministers were making the constitution itself totter to its foundations, he said, "Since they have neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice and humanity to shun these calamities; since not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore propose an amendment to the address, to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power." But few or none that heard him believed that anything of the sort was in our power, unless we recognized their independence; and some doubted whether an instant recognition would have the effect of procuring lasting peace and good-will between the two countries. In their most depressed state the Americans had displayed an eagerness for conquest, and it was the fundamental principle of congress, and an article of almost religious belief with the patriots, that the whole of Canada and Nova Scotia should be incorporated in their republic. As, on every occasion when no force had been employed against them, they had attributed every concession to our weakness and fears, could they be expected to do less when considerable armies had been in the field for many months? Their triumph would have known no bounds; all Europe would have joined them in the confident belief that the lion of England had become a timid, helpless lamb; their foreign negotiations, their leagues with the French, would not have been broken off by any treaty with us; and, even if inclined for a time to moderation themselves, they would have been heated and impelled by their new alliances. There was a great diversity of opinion among

these lords. They even differed as to the propriety of offering terms of concession at this moment, and they were not at all agreed as to what the terms, if offered, should be. The majority, however, were decidedly of opinion that we must retain our supremacy and our right of regulating the American trade. Chatham's amendment to the address was rejected by a majority of eighty-four to twenty-eight; and only two peers signed the protest. In the lower house a similar amendment was moved by the Marquis of Granby and seconded by Lord John Cavendish. The opposition, though animated, were quite as much divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued as in the other house; and the amendment was negatived by 243 to 86.

On the 3d of December, the mournful news arrived of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, and was whispered about town, though without any particulars. This, it was concluded, must drive ministers from their posts, and make room for those who had been so long and so loudly struggling for them. On the next day, the 4th of December, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, and Lord Shelburne met and agreed that a motion should be made in the upper house for the production of Burgoyne's instructions; and they hoped that Chatham's health would enable him to come to London on the morrow to make it. The Duke of Grafton and several other opposition lords were out of town before the sad news arrived. On the 5th, Chatham was in his place to make the motion. He began a long and powerful harangue by criticizing the king's speech at the opening of the session, which, he said, contained an unfaithful, delusive picture of the state of public affairs. Returning to Burgoyne, he paid that general some very high compliments—saying his abilities were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, he had suffered none of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions. What, then, was the great cause of his misfortune? And, forgetting his preceding declaration, that he would not condemn ministers without evidence, he answered his own question by affirming that the great cause of the calamities was want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers! He laid the whole blame upon ministers, and told them that they ought to submit to all the obloquy till the general had an opportunity to justify himself in person. Notwithstanding a correction he had so recently received as to his own employment of the Indians, he again dwelt upon the horror of the scalping-knife and tomahawk, saying that, if he had been serving in the army, he believed he would rather have mutinied than consent to act

with such barbarians—that such a mode of warfare was a pollution of our national character which all the waters of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away! He was almost as severe upon German bayonets as upon Indian scalping-knives. The only thing to be done to preserve America in our dependence was to disband the Indians (they were disbanded long before this), recall the Germans, and withdraw our own troops entirely. He again declared himself an avowed enemy to American independence, saying that he was a Whig, and that, while he abhorred the system of government attempted to be established in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government and a Whig connection between the two countries, founded on a constitutional dependence and subordination of America upon England. These colonies, he said, had made our riches, had raised the value of estates, given employment to our manufacturers and wealth to our merchants. With the independence of America all these advantages must vanish and pass to our enemies. In concluding, he moved for the production of copies of all orders and instructions sent to Lieutenant-general Burgoyne. The motion was negatived by a majority of forty to nineteen. It had been previously agreed to make demand after demand, motion after motion; and Chatham himself next moved for copies of all instructions relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops. In opposing the motion Lord Gower asserted that the noble lord himself employed savages in the operations of the last war. Chatham accused Lord Gower of quibbling; and told him that, at the time he alluded to, he was too inexperienced, thoughtless, and dissipated to know anything of public affairs—was immersed in pleasures and indulgences to which young noblemen were too much inclined! Gower, after replying to these personalities with equal heat and bitterness, produced from the journals of the house the recognition of a treaty with the Indians, who were engaged to make war upon and destroy the French in Canada. Chatham poured out a fresh volume of words. Ministers then offered to produce, from the depository of papers in the secretary's office, documents written by himself to prove the charge. The dispute grew still hotter; and at length Lord Amherst, Chatham's general, who had commanded our troops in that Canadian war, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that he found himself compelled to acknowledge that he had followed the example of the French in employing savages,

which he would not have done *without express orders from government at home*. He even offered to produce the orders, if his majesty would permit him. Lord Shelburne argued that the orders to employ the savages might have proceeded from the board of trade; but Lord Denbigh, who, rather happily, called Chatham “the great oracle with the short memory,” said that this was impossible; that Chatham, when in office under George II., had guided and directed everything relating to the war, had monopolized functions which did not belong to him, and had been excessively jealous of any interference by others, whether boards or ministers. The lords in opposition now seemed inclined to lay the question by, as far as it concerned Chatham's veracity or correctness of memory, and only insisted upon the difference between the two wars—the one having been against our old enemies the French, the other being against our fellow-subjects. They also contended that, since the French had certainly begun the practice so justly abhorred, we were, in Chatham's time, in a manner under the necessity of retaliating, and employing the Red Men in the same way. But ministers might have urged that, in the present instance, the Americans had set the deplorable example. Arnold took with him into Canada the very savages whose services we had refused. One of the first cares of congress was to secure the alliance of the Six Nations; and it was understood by all that the treaty was not to stop at neutrality, but to engage those Indians as auxiliaries in the war. When Lord Bute, in his close retirement, heard what passed in the House of Lords, and how Chatham had denied his having employed the Red Men, he exclaimed with astonishment, “Did Pitt really deny it? Why, I have letters of his still by me, singing *Io Pœans* over the advantages we gained through our Indian allies!”¹ Chatham's present motion was negatived by a majority of forty to eighteen. His party still continued to think, or to affect to think, that there was a vast difference between American Christians and French Christians, and that this difference justified whatever he had done in the former war.

The number of seamen for the ensuing year was fixed at 60,000, and that of the troops to be employed in America alone at 55,000.

¹ Lord Brougham, *Statesmen of the Times of George III.* His lordship says that he was indebted to the kindness of “a most accomplished and venerable person, the ornament of a former age, and fortunately still preserved to enlighten the present,” for this interesting anecdote.

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1778.

GEORGE III.

National contributions in England for the continuation of the war in America—Counter-efforts of the opposition—Debates in parliament—Lord North brings forward a plan of conciliation with America—Concessions proposed in it—Arguments of the opposition against his plan—It is carried—Treaty established between France and America—It widens the breach between Britain and America—Parliamentary measures for the relief of Ireland—They excite the jealousy of the British mercantile classes—Petitions against the Irish relief bills—They are in consequence modified—Bill passed for the relief of Roman Catholics—Burgoyne's calamity and its causes discussed—Assent to the independence of America deliberated—Lord Chatham's appearance for the last time in parliament—His speech against the dismemberment of the British empire by the recognition of American independence—His sudden illness in the House of Lords—His death—Public funeral and honours voted by parliament—Franklin's popularity in Paris—Success of his negotiation in behalf of America—Naval hostilities between France and England—Battle between the French and English fleets off Ushant—The convention with Burgoyne violated by the Americans—Their pleas in justification—Destitution of Washington's army—His exertions to procure supplies—His difficulties in obtaining them—A party raised against him in congress—General Gates set up as his rival—Continuing destitution of his army—It is partially relieved by unpopular expedients—The army wasted by disease—Congress resolves to send another expedition to Canada—La Fayette appointed to command it—Deficiency of preparations for the enterprise—It is abandoned—Baron Steuben joins Washington—He introduces the Prussian discipline among the American soldiers—Dissipation of the British army in Philadelphia—Continuing apathy of General Howe—Unimportant skirmishes—La Fayette defeated—General Howe returns to England.

BOTH by the government party and by the opposition, extreme efforts were made during the recess. The notion of ending a ruinous and vilely mismanaged war by recognizing the independence of the United States was certainly now entertained or debated by a few practised politicians; but Chatham shrunk from it as from a monster too hideous to contemplate. Lord Shelburne expressed himself as being entirely of Chatham's opinion, and the mass of the opposition continued to talk and to act as if we should neither make war upon the Americans nor submit to their high pretensions of separate sovereignty. The vast majority of the nation, hurt in their pride, and eager to blot out the recollection of Burgoyne's disgrace, were warm for the war; and some of our great cities, which suffered and lost most by the stop put to their trade with the colonies, were the most warlike of all. Liverpool raised a regiment at her own expense; Manchester raised another; as did also Glasgow and Edinburgh. Several independent companies were raised without cost or charge to government in the principality of Wales. The corporations of London and Bristol, being more under Whig influence, rejected proposals to co-operate; but private subscriptions were opened, large sums were given, and 15,000 soldiers were raised by these various means.¹ Many of the maritime towns armed ships to cruise in the Channel, where American privateers and French-

men with American colours were now rather numerous. On the other side, the opposition set on foot subscriptions for the American prisoners of war, who received no succour from their own country, government, or families, and who were represented as suffering great hardship and cruelty from their English jailers. The opposition generally chose to consider that the conduct of Liverpool, Manchester, and of the other towns and individuals who had raised regiments at their own expense for the service of government, was highly reprehensible; and the conduct of ministers in accepting their aid most unconstitutional and dangerous. This was one of the first subjects discussed on the re-assembling of parliament. Putting aside the emergency of the case, the practice may be regarded as not free from objection; but Lord North could justify himself by precedents. Regiments and independent companies had been raised precisely in the same manner in the troublous year 1745, and again in the year 1759, when Chatham was minister. So far from considering the practice dangerous and unlawful, Chatham had then publicly and solemnly thanked those who raised the troops for the honour and glory of their country. Yet now "the great oracle with the short memory" joined in the out-cry!

At this time a very considerable party in the country entertained the idea that Chatham, who had been so successful a war-minister, ought to be recalled to the helm; and there were some few who seem to have fancied that his return to office was not an improbability. There were

¹ *History of Lord North's Administration.*

many flying reports that the king himself had become convinced that the country could be saved only by means of Chatham. We doubt the correctness of these surmises, *because* we know that the harangues and taunts of Chatham, and his strange neglect of all business when holding the privy seal, had sunk deep into the soul of George III.; because we know that the king had learned to consider Chatham rather as an orator than a man of business, and was led by his plain common sense to see that any such attempt at conciliation as he recommended must end in failure and ridicule. And it would have been a task, compared to which the making ropes of sand were a hopeful and profitable employment!

On the 2d of February, on the order of the day being read for the house resolving itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation, Fox, in the commons, had moved that no more troops should be sent out of the kingdom, and the Duke of Richmond had made a similar motion in the lords. In both houses the opposition represented immediate war with France, to be followed in a brief space by a war with Spain and the whole house of Bourbon, as inevitable; questioning at the same time the efficacy of our fleets to defend our coasts from invasion, and speaking contemptuously of our militia, and of all our internal means of defence. The motions were rejected, in the commons by a majority of 259 against 165; in the lords by ninety-one against thirty-four. On the 6th of February, Burke introduced a motion for papers relating to the military employment of the Indians by a magnificent speech, which seems to have kept attention alive, though it lasted *three hours and a half*, a length of time which no orator in the house except Burke had ever yet ventured to occupy. Quite as much from his rich and teeming fancy as from facts, he drew a most striking and ghastly picture of Indian warfare, and of the horrors committed by our savage auxiliaries—horrors which had certainly been prevented to the very utmost of his power by Burgoyne, who, in the moment of his greatest difficulty, had lost the services of the Red Men by restraining their ferocity. Strangers were shut out from this debate; and the speech, apparently, was never fully reported. It seems to have abounded with touching stories and very pathetic episodes, and to have greatly excited those whose minds were otherwise prepared for excitement. Colonel Barré offered, if it were published, to nail the speech on every church door by the side of the king's proclamation for a general fast. Governor Johnstone thought it very fortunate for the two noble lords (North and Germaine) that the galleries had been cleared, as the indignation and enthusiasm of strangers might have excited the people to tear them to

pieces on their way home from the house. The motion, nevertheless, was negatived by a majority of 223 against 137. In both houses fresh and numerous calls were made for papers, but in every case the ministerial majorities, on a division, prevailed over the opposition in the proportion of two to one. We may add that in nearly every case the production of the papers called for would have let the enemy into dangerous secrets, and would have been extremely injudicious when we were actively engaged in hostilities with one power or people, and certainly threatened with war by France.

On the 17th of February, Lord North produced a conciliatory plan, which, he said, he hoped would yet prove effectual; and moved for leave to bring in two bills—one for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies in North America; the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America. His lordship said that he had been uniformly disposed to pacific arrangements, and that he was by nature a friend to peace; that he had tried conciliatory means before the sword was unsheathed, and would gladly try them again. He had thought the former propositions to the Americans equitable, and capable of forming a happy and lasting union between the mother country and the colonies—and he thought so still; but unfortunately, through a variety of discussions, a plan originally clear and simple was made to appear so obscure as to go condemned to America. He again reminded the house that *he* had originated no taxes—that he found America already taxed, when, unfortunately for his own peace of mind, he came into administration. As for the act which had led to the Boston riots—the act enabling the East India Company to send out teas with the drawback of the entire duty—it was a relief rather than an oppression—it was actually giving the colonists their teas at a cheaper rate than before; but the disaffected and all those who had been previously engaged in the contraband trade, had too successfully endeavoured to give it another colour. The first of the bills he now proposed was designed to quiet the minds of the Americans on the subject of taxation; to dispel all fears, real or pretended, that parliament might attempt to tax them again; and even to renounce the right itself. This, he said, would be far better than repealing, as the Americans had once seemed to desire, all acts passed since the year 1763, as among those statutes were several granting bounties and premiums, or relaxing

former regulations and statutes expressly intended for the benefit of the colonists and the promotion of their trade. By his second bill he intended to grant the royal commissioners powers far more ample than those formerly intrusted to Lord Howe and his brother; to authorize them to treat with the congress as if it were a *legal body*, and competent by its acts and negotiations to bind all the colonies. Further, he intended that they should be empowered to treat with the conventions or provincial assemblies, or colonial congresses—with individuals in their actual civil capacities or military commands, without any cavil as to allowing them, and addressing them by the rank they held under congress; to treat with General Washington or any other officer; to suspend hostilities, intermit the operation of laws, grant pardons, immunities, and rewards, restore charters and constitutions, and nominate governors, judges, magistrates, &c., till the king's pleasure should be known. The bar or stumbling-block of independence was to be thus got over. Instead of admitting the claim in the first instance, to combat it and refuse it afterwards, he proposed that a renunciation of independence by the Americans should not be insisted on *in limine*, nor debated till the treaty had received final ratification by the king and parliament. The commissioners were to be instructed to negotiate for a reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when reunited; but they were by no means to insist on this slight contribution as a *sine quâ non*. He contended that these concessions ought not to be considered as the tardy result of defeat or of weakness; as they were substantially the same as he should offer in the height of victory. He allowed that the events of the war had not corresponded to his expectation; but he denied that there was any truth in the jeremiads of the opposition. England, if not split by faction, was as vigorous as ever, and as fertile in resources; she was in circumstances to prosecute the war, to raise new armies, and to increase her navy, which was never in a better condition. Burke and Fox harangued against the scheme, the latter stating that the French had actually signed a treaty of alliance with the Americans—a fact which Lord North did not deny. The opposition proclaimed generally that North's plan was intended not to pacify America, but to amuse and delude the people of England, and suspend for a time the popular vengeance which was hanging over the heads of ministers. They again furnished the Americans with specious arguments to justify their contempt and hatred of Great Britain. They affirmed that weakness and fear were now the active feelings in the breast of Lord North; and they asked whether the Americans, after resisting and baffling our utmost

efforts, could be expected to part with their victorious swords, to negotiate with men who had laid the foundations of war in perfidy, and built upon that with cruelty. About the usual majority agreed, however, to the motion; and the two bills were brought in and carried through the house. When the bills were brought up to the lords, the opposition was renewed. The Duke of Richmond read the Declaration of Independence, and asked ministers whether they meant to subscribe to the assertions contained in it, such as, that the king was a tyrant, the admiralty courts a grievance, that the king's tyranny justified their withdrawing from his allegiance, &c. His grace maintained that these bills, instead of recovering the affections of the Americans, would sound the trumpet of war to all neighbouring nations—that *the Americans, as a wise and sagacious people, would discover that the bills were merely intended to delude them*—and that it was only the knowledge of the French alliance that had induced ministers to moderate their tone. He stated as a positive and notorious fact, that they had sent over persons to Paris to tamper with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane; and that those envoys of the new republic had rejected their offers, including the two new bills, with scorn. He further stated, as a report or conjecture, that Franklin, whose opinion was absolute with the majority of congress, had forewarned that political body of the insincere and contemptible plan of reconciliation which the British cabinet was now going to offer, and had told them that, since the conclusion of the treaty with the French, it was impossible even to listen to them, or to enter upon any treaty whatsoever with Great Britain. Earl Temple condemned the bills, but upon very different grounds. He execrated them as mean and truckling, and as tending to prostrate the king, the parliament, and people of Great Britain at the feet of Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, to whom, he said, ministers had paid homage in sackcloth and ashes! The people had recovered from the shock occasioned by Burgoyne's reverses; their spirits had been raised by the voluntary offers of regiments, by the new levies, by the assurances that the navy was in a state to maintain its ancient reputation: and now the opposition were going to depress this spirit by succumbing to an arrogant enemy. His lordship now said that America had been aiming at independence from the very beginning; but that a recognition of their claim, though even temporary, would for ever end the glory of England. Lord Shelburne, who obeyed more immediately the dictates of Chatham, opposed the two bills, because their tendency was to separate the two countries. He said that he would never consent that America should be independent of Great Britain! He endeavoured

to explain the grand theory of sovereignty without taxation, coercion, or intermeddling; yet in his vague explanation he could not leave *money* out of the account. If the ministry was wrong so was the opposition. In neither House of Parliament did ever any one member propose a feasible scheme of reconciliation. All insisted—and the whole nation insisted—on the dependence of America, and the Americans were determined to fight for independence. There was, therefore, nothing left to do, but to fight them; and that we fought them so unsuccessfully was owing not more to the blunders of ministers and generals than to the harangues of opposition and the fury of faction. Both bills were passed without a division, and the protest entered against them was signed by only one peer, Lord Abingdon, who evidently thought he had a genius for protesting.

By this time Lord North had received official information of Franklin's success at Paris. On the 17th of March he delivered in the house a message from the throne, stating the receipt of information from the French king, that he had concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with his majesty's revolted subjects in North America; in consequence of which offensive communication the British ambassador at Paris had been ordered home; and that his majesty now fully relied on the zeal and affection of his people to repel the insult and maintain the reputation of the country. The note of the French ambassador—the uncle of La Fayette's wife—was laid before parliament. A more curious or more quibbling document has not often been presented, even in diplomacy. It required some periphrasis to express with a semblance of decency so irregular a proceeding as recognizing the revolt of the provinces of a friendly power, and concluding a treaty with states which were not *de facto* independent, but which were only struggling for independence—a condition they did not arrive at until four years later, and at which they might not have arrived for a quarter of a century if it had not been for this French treaty, and the assistance and co-operation which followed it. Franklin rejoiced at the indirect wording of the ambassadors' notification; and Washington said, that though it was not an actual declaration of war, it must certainly lead to one.¹ After delivering it, the French ambassador went off for Paris—"not," says Gibbon, "without some slight expressions of ill-humour from John Bull." In fact, the people were greatly enraged, and, if the war with America was popular before, it became doubly so after the French had joined the quarrel; and the animosities and antipathies which had gradually been growing stronger and stronger against America now obtained their full height. When

the French notification was read in the house, Lord North moved an appropriate address to the king. The opposition moved an amendment requesting his majesty to dismiss the ministry! But the original address was carried by a majority of 263 against 113. In the course of the debate Governor Pownall pretended to give the history of the origin and progress of the American negotiations with France; but we now know from American documents that the account he gave was widely incorrect. He said, for example, that the idea of the treaty had not existed six months in the minds of the Americans, and that the negotiations had not begun more than three months ago. Now, the idea had been uppermost in the minds of Jefferson, Jay, Morris, Franklin, and the other leaders, for at least two years; it had been proclaimed in congress two years ago; Silas Deane had been at Paris attempting to negotiate, nearly two years; and Franklin had been there with the same object nearly twelve months. It was not owing to the Americans and their agents, but to the scruples and misgivings of the unhappy Louis XVI., who, in signing it, built up part of the guillotine scaffold on which he was to perish, that the treaty had not been concluded *twenty* months earlier. Governor Pownall was, however, perfectly right in stating that the French at the first had tried to drive a very hard bargain in the persuasion that the Americans were deplorably weak; and in saying that it was the news of the surrender of Burgoyne's army that made them lower their demands and hurry on such a treaty as congress desired. Sandwich, who was sorely assailed during the whole of the session, on charges of gross mismanagement as first lord of the admiralty, made an able defence, dwelling on generals, and not descending to inconvenient particulars about money. He said that the British naval force consisted at this moment of 373 ships of all rates, which was a force double what we had half a century before. Some noble lords threatened him with the vengeance of the people, who would rise and tear him to pieces, as the Dutch had treated De Witt.

During this session some laudable measures were adopted for the relief of Ireland, and a committee was appointed to revise the trade laws which affected the sister kingdom. Ireland was much indebted at this moment to the genius and abilities of her eloquent son, Edmund Burke, who, on the 6th of May, laid before the house the great capabilities of his native country, and the injury and injustice she had been made to suffer by English jealousy and anti-commercial regulations. He and his friend Lord Nugent proposed that the people of Ireland should be permitted to export all articles of Irish manu-

¹ Washington's Letters.

facture, woollen cloths and wool excepted, in British bottoms, to the coast of Africa and other foreign settlements, and to import from the same all goods except indigo and tobacco; and that they should be further allowed to export to England, duty free, cotton yarn, Irish sail-cloth, and cordage. Resolutions to this effect having been passed, two bills founded upon them were introduced. Partly through the injurious effects which our commercial restrictions had produced in America, and partly, perhaps, through some trifling progress made in the science of political economy, both sides of the house seemed to agree in the propriety of adopting these measures; but the commercial body took the alarm, and, during the Easter recess, a number of counter-addresses and petitions were prepared in various parts of England. The great trading city of Bristol was furious against Burke, and called upon him, as her representative in parliament, to correct his commercial heresy, and support her views and interests. Burke manfully refused, and continued to co-operate with Lord Nugent in his praiseworthy task. "If," said he, "from this conduct I shall forfeit their suffrages at an ensuing election, it will stand on record, an example to future representatives of the commons of England, that one man at least has dared to resist the desires of his constituents when his judgment assured him that they were wrong."¹ His conduct lost him the next election, the "gentlemen traders of Bristol" not being as yet very liberal and enlightened, or capable of comprehending the axioms which he endeavoured to explain to them—that restriction and monopoly were not so advantageous as free trade, and that the gain of others is not necessarily our loss.²

Other members, who would not so readily forfeit their boroughs and places, took up the jealous cry of the English traders and manufacturers, and swamped the house with their lachrymose petitions. Sir Cecil Wray declared it to be the duty of every independent man to resist the bills, because they were sanctioned by the minister; other members thought it monstrous to give to Irish Papists what was in the hands of good English Protestants; and a strong inclination was shown to reduce the relief to a very minimum. The second reading of the two bills, however, was carried by a considerable majority. The petitioners then claimed to be heard by counsel. This was granted; and such was the weight of the pleadings of the close-trade interest that the supporters of the bills found themselves obliged to enter into a sort of compromise, which considerably diminished the amount of the benefit conferred on Ireland. While these

bills were under discussion, another measure was proposed, in which the majority of the Irish people were deeply interested. A very loyal and flattering address had been presented to the king by the Roman Catholics;³ and the occurrences in America, and the attempts made by Americans to excite insurrection, forced on men's minds the urgent necessity of tranquillizing and attaching the Irish people. Accordingly, when Sir George Saville brought in a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, by repealing certain penalties and disabilities created by the 10th and 11th of William III., entitled an "Act for preventing the further growth of Popery," ministers gave it their countenance, Thurlow spoke eloquently in its support, and it was carried through the house rapidly and unanimously. In the House of Lords the Bishop of Peterborough spoke of the great danger to the Anglican church of removing the law which took away the estate from the elder brother and gave it to the younger, if the younger brother only professed himself a Protestant; but the opposition was slight, and the bill was passed there also.

On the 19th of March, in the committee of the whole house on the state of the nation, Charles Fox moved a resolution of censure on Lord George Germaine, as the chief author of Burgoyne's calamity. This proposition was rejected by 164 against 44; whereupon Fox indignantly tore to pieces a paper containing another proposition, and declared he would make no more motions. The solicitor-general then proposed that the house should specifically exonerate the noble secretary: a vote was carried that the failure of the expedition from Canada was not caused by any neglect in the secretary of state; but the resolution was not reported. By this time Burgoyne himself, who had gone through several campaigns in the House of Commons, and who was no mean debater, was in his place to speak for himself, and this he did both bravely and effectually, not only in the house, but out of doors. The Americans had given him leave to return home upon parole; but in bold defiance of the convention Gates had signed, they still kept Burgoyne's troops as prisoners of war!

In the meantime the great leaders of opposition had rather openly and angrily disagreed as to the course to be pursued in debate with respect to America. Nothing is more clear than that the whole thing was, as it had been all along, a fight in the dark. The Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Rockingham at length took a more decided part, and became convinced that the only possibility of detaching America from France and

¹ Speech in the house.

² Burke's Works, *Letters to Gentlemen in the City of Bristol*.

³ It was signed by nine Roman Catholic peers, by Lord Surrey, heir to the ducal house of Norfolk, and by 163 commoners, of wealth and consideration.

avoiding both wars was by acknowledging the independence of the colonies. In arriving at this conclusion they did not, however, pretend that the independence of America would be anything else than a curse to the mother country. Chatham thought that this curse was to be avoided at all hazards: he remained firm in his old high doctrine; and, to avoid unpleasant collision with his own party, he stayed away from parliament. Lord Shelburne sided with Chatham, as did also Lord Camden, who was of opinion that the granting independence to the Americans, however wise before, would be useless and disgraceful now that the French had joined them. But Camden was not very decided in his opinion, and was much discouraged by seeing how little hope there was of a new Chatham administration. The Duke of Richmond strongly expressed his regret at Chatham's not attending business in the house, and at the appearance of a want of union and confidence between them. His grace endeavoured, by letter, to explain his notion, and to convert the orator. He hoped that the differences of opinion were rather apparent than real, and arose only from want of opportunities to communicate and to explain. This letter was written on the 5th of April. On the 6th Chatham, using the hand of his eldest son, Lord Pitt, returned thanks to the Duke of Richmond for the great honour of the communication of the motion intended to be made by his grace. The rest of the short note ran thus:—"It is an unspeakable concern to him to find himself under so very wide a difference with the Duke of Richmond, as between the *sovereignty* and *allegiance* of America, that he despairs of bringing about successfully any honourable issue. He is inclined to try it before *this bad* grows worse. Some weakness still continues in his hands; but he hopes to be in town to-morrow." On that morning—the 7th of April, 1778—Chatham appeared in the House of Lords for the *last time*. Sickness and age had done their work: he came into the house leaning upon two friends, wrapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose, and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity.¹ The Duke of Richmond made his motion, which was for an address to the king, recapitulating the expense, loss, and misconduct of the war, and entreating his majesty to dismiss his ministers and withdraw his forces by sea and land from America. Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, opposed the motion; and then Chatham replied to the opposition—his own party—with far more effect. He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by

his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day—to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm; I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this house." The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the house was most affecting: if any one had dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in a very low and feeble tone; but as he grew warm, his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever: oratorical and affecting, perhaps more than at any former period.² "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Shall a people, that fifteen years ago were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient, inveterate enemy—'Take all we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error—who, instead of acting in a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!" As Chatham was sitting down, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, who was equally averse to the recognition of American independence, said to him, "You forgot to mention what we talked of; shall I get up?" Chatham replied,

² Seward's *Anecdotes*. These particulars were furnished to Mr. Seward by a friend who was in the House of Lords at the time.

¹ Seward's *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*.

"No, no; I will do it by-and-by." The Duke of Richmond rose again, and, after replying to some of the arguments used by Lord Weymouth, he attempted to answer Lord Chatham. He professed the greatest veneration for the orator, yet was evidently disconcerted and irritated by the line he had taken. Wonders, he said, had been done, when that great man directed the war; but the name of Chatham could not perform impossibilities or restore the country to the state it was in when *he*, in the vigour of his life, was called into office. No person, his grace continued, wished more earnestly than himself for the perpetuation of American dependence; but being convinced of the impracticability, he wanted to retain the colonies as allies, because if they were not gratified and secured in friendship with us, they must throw themselves into the arms of France. When the Duke of Richmond sat down Chatham again attempted to rise, but the violence of his indignation overcame him; his strength failed him, and he fell backwards in a kind of fit or swoon, and he would have fallen to the floor but for the prompt support of some friendly arms. The whole house was agitated—every one pressed round him with anxious solicitude—and the debate was closed without another word. His youngest son, John Charles Pitt, a youth of seventeen, was very active in the assistance he rendered. His lordship was carried to Mr. Sargent's house, in Downing Street, and from thence, on the following day, he was carried home to Hayes, and put to his bed, from which he never again rose. He lingered, however, rather more than a month, expiring on Monday, May 11th, in his seventieth year. On the evening of that day, his friend and disciple Colonel Barré announced the sad event in the House of Commons, and moved for an address to the king, to give direction that the remains of the illustrious statesman should be interred at the public expense in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Rigby, who continued to do the small work of the court in the house, and who probably fancied that a public funeral would not be agreeable to the king, suggested

that a monument to his memory would be a better testimony of the public gratitude or admiration. Dunning caught at the words, and said that what would be best of all would be to have both the monument and the public funeral; and he proposed tacking to the original motion—"and that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty that this house will make good the expenses attending the same."



CHATHAM.—From his monument by Bacon, in Westminster Abbey.

At this moment Lord North entered the house in great haste, and declared his happiness in arriving soon enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would be passed unanimously. The amended motion was carried without one dissenting voice. A funeral and a monument were thus secured to the great orator; but Chatham had been expensive in some of his habits and negligent in money matters, and notwithstanding places and pensions, and the £10,000 left him by the Duchess of Marlborough, and the large fortune bequeathed him by Sir William Pynsent, he had died in debt. On the 13th, Lord John Cavendish made an appeal to the gratitude of parliament and the nation, which he hoped would not stop short at what had been done. The high-sounding and noble-toned trumpet (which had long been considered by his

majesty and by many of the nation as a trumpet of sedition) was now silenced for ever; and, besides, the last *réveillé* it had played was grateful to the royal ear; the king raised no obstacle, and the annuity bill, settling £4000 a-year upon the heirs of Lord Chatham, to whom the title should descend, was carried through the House of Commons without the least opposition, as was also the grant of £20,000 to pay off his lordship's debts. The lords, however, were not so unanimously generous, and the annuity bill was rather violently opposed in the upper house. The Duke of Chandos called it an unwarrantable lavishing of the public money, in times of great distress; and condemned it as a dangerous precedent. Grants in perpetuity, or

to descend from generation to generation, were taxes in perpetuity, and as such ought to be cautiously ratified by parliament. The body lay in state two days in the Painted Chamber, and after that scarcely commendable exhibition it was interred in the Abbey, apparently with less pomp than had been expected. Gibbon, the historian, says—"Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and government ingeniously contrived to secure the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and of doing it, with an ill grace." The death of the great orator seemed to leave a void in the political world, and there were some so enthusiastic in their admiration as to conceive that we had lost, not merely the greatest of our speakers, but the greatest of our statesmen—that in Chatham had perished the last of Englishmen!

The season was now far advanced, yet in both houses motions were made to put off the prorogation. But these motions were lost, and on the 7th of July his majesty terminated the session. In so doing, he declared that his desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had been uniform and sincere; that the faith of treaties and the law of nations had been his rule of conduct; and that it had been his constant care to give no just cause of offence to any foreign power. "Let that power," said he, "by whom this tranquillity shall be broken answer to their subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of war!"

The Americans, and the war party in France, which was highly popular in spite of the miserably impoverished state of that country, exerted themselves to the very utmost to induce, not only Spain, but also Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the other despotisms, to become the allies and protectors of the young and democratic republic. After all, however, the American negotiators of Paris had made little way until the arrival of Franklin. But the avatar of the republican philosopher blew up the French enthusiasm and sympathy into a blaze; and nothing was heard in the French capital but the name of Franklin, and hyperbolic encomiums of his genius, his republican simplicity, and more than patriarchal integrity and single-mindedness. It was what the French call *un engouement—une rage!* Everything about him, from the old-fashioned cut of his wig and coat down to the homely buckles of his shoes, became matter of admiration to the Parisians. All classes ran after him and paid him homage. He was as much courted in saloons and gay assemblies, and by beauty and fashion, as in scientific academies, where there were men who could properly appreciate his philosophical discoveries, or in political conciliabules, where there were other men who already aimed at trying the great American experiment in government in old France.¹ If

these hot Philo-Americans—this mélange of petits-maitres, fashionable ladies, philosophers, and sucking republicans—had been ministers of state, and had only been able to overcome the scruples and cooler judgment of Louis XVI., there would have been a declaration of war at once, without any diplomatic message or prelude whatsoever, and without any attention to the means of carrying it on. But the French ministers, rash as some of them were, were not quite ready for this madness. It was not without long hesitation and evident reluctance that the young king Louis put his hand to the American treaty, which was to recoil so fatally upon his own head. This treaty of union, friendship, and commerce was concluded at Paris on the 6th of February, the French having made it a part of their agreement that the Americans should never, upon any conditions, return to their allegiance to the British crown. By grinding the faces of the French people, who were already bent to the earth with imposts, duties, and *corvées*—by taking the bread from half-famished mouths—means were found to raise armies and equip fleets. Fifty thousand men were collected on the coasts of Normandy and Brittany to threaten England with invasion; arms, money, and men were sent over to America; and the navy of France set out once more to contend with the navy of Great Britain for the mastery of the narrow seas.

On the 17th of June, twenty-two days before the prorogation of parliament, Admiral Keppel, who had been appointed to the command on the first news of the treaty concluded by France with the Americans, and who had put to sea with twenty sail of the line, discovered in the Channel two French frigates, *La Licorne* and *La Belle Poule*, reconnoitring his fleet. There had been no declaration of war, but the conduct of France seemed to call for and to justify extreme measures, and Keppel's instructions were ample. He made the signal for chase, and in the evening the *Milford* came up with the *Licorne* frigate, and brought her into the fleet. Keppel directed Lord Longford, in the *America*, to stay by her all night. The next morning he observed preparations making on board the frigate to get off, and, after some remonstrances with the French captain, he ordered a gun to be fired over her. The Frenchman replied by pouring a whole broadside into the *America*, and he then struck his colours. Fortunately, by this useless discharge for the honour of arms, only four of our men were wounded. In the course of the night the *Arethusa* after a hard chase, in which she lost sight of the rest of the fleet, came up with the *Belle Poule*, and summoned her to come under the stern of the British admiral. The *Belle Poule* answered the summons by a broadside, and a desperate engagement ensued: it lasted for

¹ French *Mémoires of the Revolution.*

two hours; but all the time the French kept edging in for their own coast, and they finally made a small bay, out of which issued a swarm of row-boats that towed them into a place of safety. They left the *Arethusa* with her main-mast over her side, and otherwise so disabled by their shots that she could with difficulty clear the land. On the morning of the following day, the *Valiant* and *Monarch* joined the *Arethusa*, and towed her back to the fleet. The *Alert* cutter engaged and took a French schooner; and in the course of the 18th, a French frigate mounting thirty-two guns was captured. From papers found on board the French ships, Keppel perceived that the Brest fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail of the line and ten or twelve frigates, was ready for sea; and this determined him to return to Portsmouth for reinforcements. On the 27th of June he anchored at Spithead. The reinforcements he wanted were not ready, or were not there. On the 9th of July, the Brest fleet, under the Count d'Orvilliers, put to sea. The *Lively*, a twenty-gun frigate, that had been left by Keppel to watch their movements, found herself, upon the clearing up of a fog, in the midst of the French fleet; she was taken. On the very same day, Admiral Keppel, whose fleet had been augmented to thirty sail of the line, departed once more from Spithead and went in quest of D'Orvilliers. By the 23d, the hostile fleets were in sight of each other. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, showed no inclination for battle. The English continued chasing and manœuvring to windward for four days, but on the 27th a dark squall brought the two fleets close together off Ushant. The signal was instantly made to engage, and a furious cannonade was maintained for nearly two hours, as the two fleets passed each other, going on contrary tacks. D'Orvilliers had thirty-two ships of the line in action to oppose to Keppel's thirty, but a much more considerable disproportion was in the number of the French frigates. The French lost most in killed and wounded, but the masts and rigging of the English were more injured. When the fleet had run the gauntlet, Keppel wore round to renew the engagement; but Sir Hugh Palliser's division, which had been closest engaged, and had much of their rigging loose, could not obey the signal, and thereupon Keppel bore down to join them, and formed his line of battle a-head. During this delay, D'Orvilliers, who claimed a victory because he had not been thoroughly beaten, edged away for Brest. Night fell, and the next morning, when Keppel's fleet were in pursuit, all that could be seen from the mast-head were some of the slowest of the French standing in-shore under a press of sail. Keppel returned to England to get new masts and new rigging.

Vol. III.

On the 18th of August, D'Orvilliers again put to sea to traverse the Bay of Biscay and cruise off Cape Finisterre. On the 23d Keppel sailed, but he stretched farther to the westward, to protect our merchant fleets returning from the two Indies, and to prevent any portion of the French fleet getting to America. Our East Indiamen and our West Indiamen all got safe home, and our privateers and cruisers captured a vast number of French trading vessels; but the two royal



ADMIRAL KEPPEL.—From a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

navies did not again come into collision, and the year ended, to the woful disappointment of the people, without one great naval victory over the French. Before D'Orvilliers put to sea the first time, Count d'Estaing sailed with a squadron from Toulon for North America, and was pursued by the bold but unlucky Admiral Byron, the "foul-weather Jack" of the sailors, who believed that the elements had an antipathy to him, and that he could never go to sea without a terrific storm. This time Byron's ill-luck lay in his not being ready in time; but the tempest and hurricane came afterwards, and his squadron was scattered and crippled between the West India Islands and the Banks of Newfoundland. Having introduced the French to the war, we proceed once more to the great scene of hostilities in the western world.

The first thing to be noticed is the disgraceful infraction of the convention of Saratoga. Congress had scarcely done rejoicing for the wonderful success of General Gates, when they determined to break the bargain he had made. A man of a high sense of honour ought to have prevented the act of perfidy, or to have resigned his command and commission; but Gates did

neither.¹ Boston was mentioned in the convention as the port at which Burgoyne's army was to be embarked for England; but as there was a difficulty, which ought to have been foreseen by the English general, in reaching that port early in the winter, Burgoyne applied to Washington to change the place of embarkation, and substitute Newport, in Rhode Island, or some other place on the Sound. Burgoyne added, that, if any unforeseen objection should be made to this proposal, he must request the indulgence, at least for himself and his staff. Washington communicated the letter to congress, who passed a resolution that General Washington should be directed to inform General Burgoyne that congress would not receive nor consider any proposition for indulgence, nor for altering the terms of the convention of Saratoga, unless immediately directed to their own body. They felt, or pretended an apprehension that the army which had surrendered, instead of sailing for England, would only go to New York or Philadelphia, to strengthen General Howe. Burgoyne and the high-minded British officers serving with him were incapable of so base a design; but there were members of congress fully capable of it, and hence, perhaps, a real fear in some of them. But it appears that this apprehension was very limited, and that the consideration which weighed with congress, and kept faith and honour out of sight, was this—that, though Burgoyne's three thousand and odd men might all keep the compact religiously, their arrival in England would enable the government to send out an equal number of troops employed in the home service, or on some other station, and free from any convention not to serve in America. Making a loud talk about the *uncertainty* of the honour of English officers, to justify or cover their own predetermined breach of faith, they passed a resolution directing their general, Heath, to transmit to the board of war a descriptive list of every person comprehended in the convention, "in order that, if any officer, soldier, or other person of the said army should hereafter be found in arms against these states in North America during the present contest, he might be convicted of the offence, and suffer the punishment in such case inflicted by the law of nations." Burgoyne and his officers bitterly resented these openly implied suspicions of their honour, and would not use their authority to pass the army before the note-takers and personal-description-makers of congress. The ruling and absolute majority of that sovereign body had very little delicacy or consideration for the feelings of a gallant and fallen enemy, and they chose to re-

present that the British officers and men were averse to having an accurate description taken of their persons only because they intended breaking the convention. But after some demur, the natural effect of proud and honourable feeling, Burgoyne waived the objection, and his army was described, man by man, with all the minuteness of a French commissary of police, or of a framer of passports in the most rigid and suspicious of despotisms. Higher things might have been expected from Washington, but in all these matters he went hand in hand with congress. With more faith in American honour than circumstances justified, a number of British transports came round to take Burgoyne and his troops on board. The wonder was that the New Englanders did not take these ships, and hold them as fair prizes; but the attempt, probably, was not made, for want of means to contend on the water with the convoy. Burke was right to the letter when he called all these people dabblers in law, and men prone to chicanery. They now pretended to find several flaws in the clauses of the convention of Saratoga; they pretended that the ships were not sufficient, or sufficiently furnished with provisions, for the voyage to Europe; and that therefore General Howe, who sent them, must contemplate the shorter voyage to Sandy Hook or the Delaware; and they further pretended that some of the British soldiers had secreted "several cartouch-boxes," which, they said, were comprehended in the technical term *arms*; and upon these narrow premises, too contemptible for the stand of a pedler, they built up—using, in their ordinary way, as cement, the law of nations—the conclusion that, as the convention stipulated that the arms should be delivered up, the English soldiers, by secreting the several cartouch-boxes aforesaid, had broken the convention. We copy these facts from an American writer, who says, apparently without a blush, "this was deemed an infraction of the letter of the compact, which, on rigid principle, justified the measures afterwards adopted by congress." The British officers denied, most emphatically, that there had been any attempt to carry off a single thing that could be classed under the denomination of arms; and many of them complained that the Americans had shamefully broken the convention by lightening them of their baggage on their road. If the men had kept a few old cartouch-boxes or gibernes, the same police functionaries that took the men's portraits might have taken and stopped those valuable commodities. The whole subject was referred to a committee of congress, who, in their report, enumerated their suspicions, and dwelt with great force upon these several car-

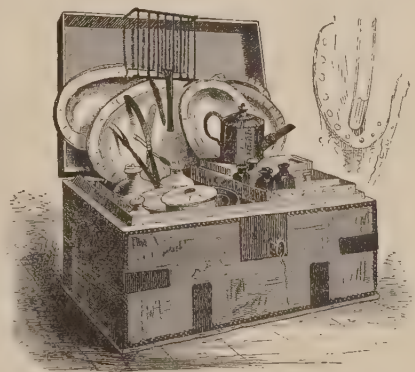
¹ We omitted to mention that Gates was, by birth and education, an Englishman.

² Marshall, *Life of Washington*.

touch-boxes; and thereupon congress resolved (on the 8th of January) that "the embarkation of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, should be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga should be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to congress." As they knew that this ratification could not be made, they threw the men into prison. They sent two copies of their resolution to General Heath, with directions to deliver one of them to Burgoyne, and to order the British transports to quit the neighbourhood of Boston without delay. Burgoyne instantly addressed a letter to congress; but he appealed to the sense of honour and soldierly faith in quarters where that sense was very dull; and he insisted on the embarkation of his army as stipulated in the convention, which was the thing congress had determined all along not to adhere to. His letter was referred to a committee, who reported that nothing therein contained was sufficient to induce congress to alter their resolutions. Burgoyne then demanded that he, at least, might be permitted to return to England upon parole, stating, rather meanly, that his health required it. This request was readily granted; and it was in this manner that Burgoyne had been allowed to come home, leaving his army behind him—a proceeding which apparently inflamed the mind of George III. as much as the blunders of his campaign and its fatal catastrophe.¹

While these ignoble transactions were passing, congress were sitting in the town of York, in an obscure corner of Pennsylvania, and Washington was lying *huddled* at Valley Forge, suffering, with his whole army, beyond the limits of common mortal endurance. Here the great man again, and most indisputably, shows himself. His people were left destitute of provisions, clothes, shoes, and everything necessary; the commissaries of the army, patriots and republicans as they were, were scarcely more honest than the commissaries of King George; and the population of the country round about, who were not very republican in their principles, preferred selling their stock and provisions to the royal army to giving them to their countrymen for little or nothing. At the end of December, when Washington contemplated a movement in force, to prevent the British troops from foraging, and to destroy a large quantity of hay on Derby Creek, he was stopped short by the alarming disclosure that the commissary's store was exhausted, and that the last ration had just been delivered to his half-famishing soldiers. In the course of the day he ordered the country to be scoured, and provisions to be seized wherever found. He then applied to con-

gress, who, as the only support they could give, ordered him to continue to scour the country, to seize provisions wherever he could within seventy miles of his head-quarters, and either to pay for them in paper-money—the only money he and they had—or in certificates, for the redemption of which the good faith of the United States was pledged. It happened, however, rather unfortunately for the credit of this good faith, that, when the first of these certificates were presented, they were dishonoured, as the government had provided no funds to take them up. As for the paper-money of congress, it had risen to the maximum of discount and fallen to the minimum of value; and, as Howe continued to pay in good coined money, and at a liberal rate, for all articles of provisions, the people continued to drive their carts and navigate their boats to Philadelphia, at times overstocking the market to save their property from the sharp hands and stomachs of Washington's scourers and foragers. Setting the congress laws at defiance, and exercising great ingenuity, the country-people concealed their provisions, showing empty house, larder, and store whenever an American soldier presented himself, and contrived for a long while to steal through the lines thrown out to intercept them.



WASHINGTON'S CAMP-CHEST. 2.—From a drawing by B. J. Lossing.

Washington continued to seize what he could reach; but congress thought he was far too mild and considerate, and that he did not seize half enough; and while the people were cursing him for taking forcible possession of their property, and for depriving them even of the bread and meat they wanted for their own mouths, congress actually censured his forbearance, and sent him instructions for the rigorous exertion of the power with which he was invested to "impress" from the people whatever the army wanted. Wash-

¹ Marshall, *Life of Washington*; and Washington's own letters.

² This interesting relic is preserved in the National Institute at Washington.

ington ventured to state that provisions had been *impressed* very extensively, and to suggest that such seizures might be more readily submitted to by the people if executed by the *civil authority*.

He, however, in obedience to congress, issued a proclamation requiring all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out one-half of their grain by the 1st of February, and



FACSIMILE OF THE CONTINENTAL BILLS.—From Lossing's Field-Book of the American Revolution.

the rest by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. But the farmers for some time avoided compliance, and continued to conceal their corn and stock. In many cases they defended their property against the hungry foragers with musket and rifle, and in some cases they burned what they could not defend. Washington saw that this was not the way to make converts to the new republic, and he was disgusted with the rapine and licentiousness to which the practice directly led. He told congress that supplies of provisions and clothing must be procured in some other way, or the army must cease to exist. This squeamishness was not likely to please congress, in which, moreover, a very strong party had been formed directly and personally against the commander-in-chief. This section madly pretended that Washington ought to have captured the army of General Howe, as Gates had captured that of Burgoyne; and that the conduct of Gates proved that he, and not Washington, was the proper man to have the supreme command of the army of the United States. Gates entertained the same opinion, and wrote strongly against Washington to his friends sitting in congress. This correspondence came to the knowledge of Washington, and the hostility of the party in congress could hardly be concealed from him. He, however, retained in a wonderful degree the affection and the admiration of his own army, and he resolved not to abandon

the cause he had embraced from pique or jealousy. In a letter addressed to Mr. Laurens, his own particular friend, and now president of congress, he pointedly explained his difficulties and justified his conduct. He was a proud man, and he spoke contemptuously of "*a malignant faction*," which should not, he said, prevent him from doing his duty: he complained of an anonymous paper exhibiting many serious charges against him, but hoped that that paper might be regularly submitted to congress. Speaking of his generalship, he said, with commendable modesty, that he might very often have been mistaken in his judgment, and have deserved the imputation of error; but no man had endeavoured more to do his best, and had more at heart the public good and the approbation of his countrymen. For the present the voice of his enemies was silenced, but congress did little to remove the hardships under which he was labouring. His men remained with only such food as they could seize, without clothes, without shoes, without blankets to warm them through the long nights of the inclement winter. His consequent ill-humour

¹ "The paper on which these bills were printed was quite thick, and the enemy called it 'the pasteboard money of the rebels.' The vignettes were generally, both in device and motto, significant. The one most prominent in the engraving represents a beaver in the slow but sure process of cutting down a tree with its teeth. The motto, 'PERSEVERANDO—by Perseverance,' said to the colonists, 'Persist, and you will be successful.'"—Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*.

against the comfortably-housed and well-provided gentlemen who were playing the part of suffering patriots vicariously, and who were realizing Lord Barrington's prediction by obtaining the palm of martyrdom without the pain of it, broke out occasionally in forcible or pungent language. "I can assure those gentlemen," said he, "that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either to relieve or prevent."¹ In consequence of the non-importation agreement and of the interruption of nearly all commerce by the war, the quantity of cloth and woollen goods in the whole country was very inconsiderable, and the home manufactures were altogether insufficient to make up the deficiency. The interior of the country was scourged, broadcloth and blankets were impressed wherever they could be found, but still the soldiers remained badly provided. In the New England provinces, where the sea-coast was more extensive, and the art of smuggling and running goods better understood, clothes, arms, and other commodities were abundant; but the New Englanders sought to derive a commercial advantage from the scarcity and distress of the south, and put an enormous price upon their goods, for the want of which Washington's army were absolutely perishing. Congress interfered with a strong hand, broke a contract which had been concluded by the clothier-general of Massachusetts, and ordered the state-government to seize, for the use of the army, at prices to be fixed by the legislature, all such goods as the army wanted! These orders were extended to the other states, and Washington wrote letters to recommend or enforce obedience to them, representing that the very existence of the army and the continuance of the struggle with Great Britain depended upon the supplies. These were circumstances calculated to increase popular discontent; and they were followed by other still stronger measures. Washington saw very clearly that there was little hope of recruiting his forces for the next year's campaign by *voluntary* enlistment, and he recommended the

immediate employment of coercion—that is to say, the defenders of this free and matchless democracy were to be *pressed* into the service, as we at the time impressed a part of our seamen. The proposition startled even congress; but after some debate it was agreed to. Of the recruits thus torn from their homes, many deserted and joined the British forces. Day after day some two or three half-naked, half-famished men stole away from Valley Forge, or from the out-posts, and went over to Howe with their arms. By means of these frequent desertions, the English general must of necessity have been fully informed of the wretched, helpless condition of that army; yet he never moved from his comfortable quarters to crush it, or dissipate it at a blow; and he allowed Washington to molest his convoys and frequently to intercept his supplies. By this time the paper-money of congress was refused by the officers serving under Washington: many of them who had no private fortune threw up their commissions in disgust, and most of those who remained were penniless and in rags. Thus there was at least one kind of equality, the officers being as ragged as the men. As the whole of the country had been actually exhausted, it was necessary to forage, levy, and impress at a great distance. Provisions were secured and brought in; but by this time a terrible putrid fever had broken out in the camp, and the disease carried off many men already attenuated by bad living. While the army at Valley Forge was in this condition, the congress at Yorktown, at the instigation of the board of war, composed of Gates, Conway, Starke, and other personal enemies of Washington, resolved to make another irruption into Canada. The plan was completed without a word of intimation to the commander-in-chief. La Fayette was to have the command of the expedition, and Generals Conway and Starke were to serve under him. It was calculated that a young Frenchman of high rank would have a surprising effect upon the French, or French-descended people in Canada; but it was somewhat singular that such umbrageous politicians as the members of congress should not, from the first moment, have suspected that La Fayette might make the Canadians rise in arms, not to join the thirteen United States, but to restore the ancient sovereignty of France, and that connection with their mother country which had been broken off by the chances of war not twenty years before this period. We believe, however, that the suspicion went close upon the heels of La Fayette's appointment, and was one of the weighty causes which induced congress to neglect this cherished scheme of conquest or enlargement. Washington heard, for the first time, of this expedition on the 24th of January, when he received a letter from his

¹ In the same letter Washington says:—"Soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by congress, we see none of; nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first (soap), indeed, we have little occasion for; few men having more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all. . . . We have, by a field-return this day made, besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account, no less than 2398 men, now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefooted, and otherwise naked."

rival, Gates, as president of the board of war, inclosing another letter to the French marquis, requiring his immediate attendance on congress to receive his instructions. The marquis assures us that all his requests were granted, and that at Gates's own house he braved the whole anti-Washington party, and threw them into confusion by making them drink Washington's health! He was told that 2500 men would be assembled at Albany; that he would find a great body of militia a little farther up the Hudson; and that he should have a little money in specie and 2,000,000 dollars *in paper*; that from the head of the Hudson he must proceed to Lake Champlain, cross that water on the ice, burn the English flotilla at the Isle aux Noix, and then, descending the Sorel and crossing the St. Lawrence, repair to Montreal, there to act as circumstances might require.

The confident young Frenchman set out to execute the plan. On arriving at Albany he found that congress could *mis*-calculate: instead of 2500 men, there were not 1200 there; and as for the militia, it had either not received or not attended to the summons. Clothes, provisions, sledges were all wanting; and he must have found his 2,000,000 paper dollars scarcely worth the carriage. He was quite sure that if proper preparations had been made in time he would have driven the English out of Canada. But congress now could not or would not make any exertions to supply the deficiencies of which he complained; and in the month of March the lakes began to thaw, and intelligence arrived that the English were well prepared to receive him. In his own words—"the enemy were in a good position, and General Carleton was preparing for him another Saratoga. Forced to take a decisive step, he wrote a calm letter to congress, and with a heavy sigh gave up the enterprise. At the same moment congress, becoming less confident, sent him some wavering counsels, which could only have served to *commit him and justify themselves afterwards*." Having nothing better to do, he paid a visit to some of the wild Indians on the Mohawk River, and endeavoured to engage them in the service of congress. He confesses, however, that a few louis d'or, which he distributed, with some stuffs from the state of New York, produced but little effect upon the savages, when compared with the presents they had received from England. He left a French officer among them to build a fort; and then, returning to Albany, he, as a general of the district, administered to the population a new form of oath, which had been devised by congress, and which included a full acknowledgment of the independence, liberty, and sovereignty of the United States, an eternal renunciation of George III.,

and every King of England, together with a promise and vow to defend the said United States, &c.¹ After these performances, La Fayette was permitted to return to the camp of Washington, for whom he always professed the greatest affection and esteem. At this time the commander-in-chief of the American army obtained a much more important coadjutor in Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, who had served for many years on the staff of Frederick the Great. Steuben engaged to teach the raw troops of the republic the system of field exercise which his Prussian majesty had introduced or improved; and, strange as it may appear, considering the military reputation of Washington, the Americans now began, *for the first time*, to adopt one uniform system of field exercise. Washington had interest enough to get him appointed inspector-general of the army in lieu of Conway, who had been intriguing against him; and as Steuben's long lessons were not interrupted by General Howe, the American troops profited by them, so as to present a far more soldierly appearance when they next took the field.² According to every rational calculation, it must have required some very extraordinary exertion of stupidity and misconduct to render Howe and his army as unpopular in Philadelphia, where they had been so welcomed at their coming, as Washington and his army were in the harassed, plundered, and thoroughly oppressed country all round Valley Forge, and all through several of the southern states. It is certain, however, that Howe and his people accomplished this undesired end. They seem to have reversed the standing maxim of Marshal Turenne, and to have thought the more drinking, gaming, and licentiousness in a garrison the better. The whole winter was spent in idleness or in dissipation and revelry. Every regimental mess was a scene of nightly orgies. The men, when opportunity served, followed the example of their officers, and, on duty and off, got most loyally drunk. All this made Franklin say that Howe had not taken Philadelphia but Philadelphia Howe. Both the general and his brother Lord Howe were dissatisfied with the appointment of the new commissioners to treat with the Americans, although their own names were included in the commission; but the sloth and seeming recklessness of the general began long before they could possibly have received intelligence of Lord North's last conciliatory plan, under which the new commissioners were appointed. It appears

¹ "It is singular," says La Fayette—and we must repeat his words, and say it was singular indeed—"that the oath of renunciation of Great Britain and her king, which every one employed in the American service was compelled to take, should have been administered in one-half of the United States by a Frenchman only twenty years of age."

² *Stedman; Marshall; La Fayette; Washington's own letters.*

that they resolved not to act under Lord Carlisle, who was placed at the head of the new commission. The whole sad history of this shamefully conducted war is full of these piques and jealousies; but General Howe's conduct was equally censurable when, to all appearance, he was not influenced by any such feeling.

Early in March, Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, with a detachment from the main army, consisting of two regiments and some New Jersey volunteers, embarked in transports, fell down the Delaware, and landed on the coast of Jersey, near Salem. The objects of their expedition were to procure forage and convey arms and ammunition to the American royalists, who were groaning under the harsh regulations adopted by congress to feed, clothe, and increase Washington's army. Being reinforced by the Queen's Rangers and about thirty cavalry, Colonel Mawhood began to forage in the rear of Hancock's and Quintin's Bridges. At the latter place a slight affair took place. A considerable throng of Americans, partly militia, and in part drawn from the regular army at Valley Forge, were collected on the opposite bank of the creek. Mawhood, by a successful feint and ambuscade, drew them over the bridge, and routed them with loss. Some were taken prisoners, but the greater part were drowned in the creek. Their commanding officer, who proved to be a Frenchman, was among the prisoners. The only man killed on the side of the British was a hussar. Almost immediately afterwards another brush took place at Hancock's Bridge, where about thirty of the Americans were killed. A third attempt was made to surprise another body, but they had been alarmed the preceding night at the approach of a cow, had fired at it, and then fled. The whole American force now retired behind another creek, sixteen miles off, leaving the country to be foraged at leisure by the British detachment. Having procured what he wanted, and distributed some muskets and bayonets to the royalists, Mawhood returned as he came to Philadelphia. Other excursions were made in different directions. They generally succeeded in their petty objects; they sometimes engaged advanced posts and detachments of Washington's army, but they never attempted to make any impression at Valley Forge. The fighting was chiefly for hay, corn, clothes, and blankets. The rancour between the contending parties was now extreme and universal: it was a personal feeling in every breast, and the oldest of our soldiers, or those best acquainted with the rules of war, and the common courtesies and tacit agreements between belligerents, which rob war of many of its horrors, and bring brave enemies to respect one another, were most inflamed against the Americans for their constant insensibility to

those courtesies, and for their continual breaches of all rules or agreements whatsoever. It can scarcely be said that the members of congress were more delicate than the soldiery, militia, and backwoodsmen: they broke nearly every capitulation or convention, large or small. As the Americans had adopted, from the beginning, a systematic retaliation, and as they frequently inflicted the revenge without ascertaining the truth or the amount of the injury said to have been inflicted upon their people, the British prisoners of war, and their auxiliaries the Germans, were made to suffer very severely.

Towards the end of the month of April the greater part of an American brigade commanded by Lacy, general of the Pennsylvanian militia, took post at a place called the Crooked Billet, upon the highroad about seventeen miles from Philadelphia. Lacy was employing himself in *impressing* and foraging, and in stopping the country-people from going to the Philadelphian market, when he was surprised, taken in the rear, and almost surrounded by a British detachment of horse and foot, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie and Major Simcoe, who had effected a combined movement with admirable ability and rapidity. Lacy lost all his baggage and stores and a considerable number of men, but the rest fled by a road still open to them, and far too rapidly to be overtaken by our tired men or worn-out horses. This excursion had the effect of intimidating the militia, who appeared no more near Philadelphia, except in small fleeing parties. On the 7th of May, an expedition was made, by sea and land, to destroy all the American shipping in the upper part of the Delaware between Philadelphia and Trenton. Forty-four American vessels were burned, some of them of value; a considerable quantity of stores and provisions was destroyed; and an inconsiderable number of men killed and wounded.

On the 19th of May, Washington detached La Fayette with nearly 3000 men to take post at Barren Hill, a position seven miles in advance of Valley Forge, but upon the opposite side of the Schuylkill. The movement had no apparent object, and the position was singularly ill-chosen, as the communications between it and Valley Forge were difficult, and easy to be interrupted by an active enemy. We can only suppose that Washington thought nothing was to be apprehended from so dilatory an enemy as Howe, whose intention, moreover, of abandoning Philadelphia was now generally known. But on the night of the 20th of May, Howe sent 5000 of his choicest troops to look after the young Frenchman. General Grant reached the position he was directed to occupy, about a mile in the rear of La Fayette, and between him and Valley Forge,

before sunrise: General Grey, who had pursued a different line of march, took post at Chesnut Hill, between two and three miles from La Fayette's right flank, and rather nearer to Matson's Ford (the only passage across the Schuylkill), than was the French general's position. La Fayette was taken completely by surprise, for he had dispensed with the precaution of throwing out patrols and pickets. There was no utility in his being where he was, and with a little more activity on the part of the English he could never have left the spot. Washington, from Valley Forge, by means of glasses, discovered La Fayette's peril: he would not venture from his own camp, where he had scarcely 4000 men, to his relief; but he began to fire some great guns to warn the marquis of his danger. The Frenchman, awakened from his security, instantly fled pell-mell with his detachment, leaving on his way six field-

pieces. These were the last military operations in America over which the incompetent Sir William Howe presided, and that general was now looking to a speedy return home, and a different sort of campaign in the House of Commons; being fully resolved, like Burgoyne, to join the most clamorous section of the opposition, and to lay all the blame of his miserable failures and gross misconduct upon ministers. Admiral Lord Howe was almost as eager to return home as his brother; but Lord Sandwich had assured him that it would be considered as a very great additional misfortune if the advantage of his able assistance were lost in the present critical state of affairs; and the rumours of the French war, and then the arrival of the French fleet on the coast of America, induced him to stay. Yet it appears he remained reluctantly, and did not alter his determination to give up his command.¹

CHAPTER XII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1778—1780.

GEORGE III.

Commissioners arrive in America with Lord North's conciliatory plan—It is rejected by congress—The British evacuate Philadelphia—They are followed in their retreat by the Americans—They arrive at New York—Arrival of a French fleet to assist the Americans—Its inefficient aid—Quarrels between the Americans and the French sailors—Successful skirmishes of the British—They gain possession of Savannah—Animosities between the American republicans and the royalists—La Fayette returns to France—His reception in Paris—Review of proceedings by Charles Fox in parliament—Trial of Admiral Keppel—Illuminations and riots in London at his acquittal—Trial of Sir Hugh Palliser—His acquittal—Discontent in the navy—Troubles in the war office—Alarming symptoms in Ireland—Threats of Spanish invasion—Endeavours of Spain to recover Gibraltar—British naval operations against the French and Spaniards—Disasters of the combined French and Spanish fleets—Military operations in the West India Islands—Successful expedition of the British into Virginia—British successes on the Hudson—Savannah besieged by the French and Americans—They are compelled to raise the siege—Sanguine expectations of congress disappointed—Thomas Paine made the scapegoat of congress—Character of congress given by its president—The Spaniards overrun West Florida—Spanish aggressions in the Bay of Honduras—Capture by the British of St. Fernando de Omoa—Career of Paul Jones—His daring cruise on the English and Scotch coast—His encounter with the *Serapis*—Further commercial benefits granted to Ireland—Burke's plan for the improvement of public economy—Alarm in Scotland at the indulgences granted to Roman Catholics—Riot in Edinburgh—The Anti-papery spirit adopted in England—Lord George Gordon superintends the agitation—His measures and proceedings—The muster of his followers in St. George's Fields—Their march into London—Their violent proceedings against ministers and members of parliament—Lord George Gordon's conduct in the House of Commons—The petition of his party rejected—The riot commences—Violent proceedings of the mob—Their destruction of Roman Catholic chapels—Their attacks on Newgate and the prisons—Their robberies and conflagrations—An army marched into London—Military execution on the mob—The riot suppressed—Lord George Gordon committed to the Tower—Execution of the chief rioters—Lord George acquitted—He turns Jew.



ON the 6th of June, only a fortnight after General Howe's departure, Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, the new commissioners, arrived at Philadelphia, to attempt to carry into effect Lord North's conciliatory plan. They made application to Washington for a passport for their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, a most high-spirited

and able man, whose name was already advantageously known in the world of letters, and who afterwards devoted himself more closely to historical literature, and left a name which the world will not let perish. Washington harshly refused the pass, which was only to enable Ferguson to lay some overtures of the commission before congress; and he forwarded the letter of

¹ Sir John Barrow, *Life of Earl Howe*.

the king's commissioners to congress by the common military post. Ferguson, who had a most gallant spirit in a martial frame of body, and who was as well fitted by nature to fight battles as to describe them, returned from Washington's outposts in no small disgust. Congress, after deliberating for some few days on the communications, replied to the king's commissioners, through their president, that the act of parliament, the commission, and the commissioners' own letter, all supposed the people of the American States to be still subjects of the King of Great Britain, and were all founded upon an idea of dependence which was utterly inadmissible; that they were ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce not inconsistent with treaties they had previously contracted (Silas Deane had just arrived from Paris with the French treaties ratified, and with abundant assurances of assistance and co-operation), whenever the King of Great Britain should show a sincere disposition for that purpose, the only proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies from the United States. They expressed their full approbation of Washington's conduct in refusing the passport to Dr. Ferguson. They would not have been quite so bold if they had not expected every moment the arrival in the Delaware of the fleet of Count d'Estaing, with a considerable land-force on board. Irritated at what they considered the gross insolence of congress, and encouraged by the well-known weakness of Washington, the British officers looked with impatience for the moment when they should be led on to Valley Forge. But Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe—apparently limited by his instructions from the government at home—was only thinking of evacuating Philadelphia. It was known that Count d'Estaing was at sea, and had the start of his pursuer, Admiral Byron; but it was not known on what part of the coast he might throw his troops, or whether his destination might not be our West India Islands.

Philadelphia was a very bad point from which to watch the new enemy, or to throw reinforcements to such places as might be menaced. New York, too, the far more important position, might be put in jeopardy if the French should appear in great force. These certainly were strong reasons for recommending a retreat to the Hudson; but it appears to us, as it did to most of the officers present, that before beginning the retreat Clinton ought to have made an assault on Valley Forge. Two days would have been enough for the march and the battle, and a day and a half for the return to Philadelphia. If Washington had stayed to fight he must have been thoroughly beaten, and we believe that

his intention was to have stayed and have risked a battle. As it was, the evacuation of Philadelphia was not begun till the 17th of June, or nearly a month after the departure of Howe. What had been done during that interval—in a length of time in which great men have begun and ended a campaign, and with it a whole war? We know not. The disheartened troops were followed by a long and sad train of the inhabitants, consisting of nearly all the royalists of Philadelphia, who carried with them their merchandise and their moveable property. It was a hard fate thus to become outcasts and wanderers with an army which had encouraged them to commit themselves, and which had failed in protecting them in their homes; but the few who ventured to remain suffered worse things at the hands of their countrymen: some were banished and despoiled of all their property, some were thrown into prison and tried for their lives; and two—Roberts and Carlisle, both Quakers and men of respectable character—were hanged as traitors. From the Jersey shore the march of the army was exceedingly slow; for the country abounded with rough roads and difficult passes, and Clinton had very properly judged it necessary to carry with him a heavy supply of provisions and baggage. A detachment of Americans entered Philadelphia at one end as the last companies of the British marched out at the other, and Washington had detached General Maxwell with a brigade into New Jersey, with orders to assemble the militia, break down the bridges, and harass and impede the British troops, until he, with the main army, which was now rapidly receiving reinforcements as the British seemed fleeing, should cross the Delaware to fall upon their rear. But the broken bridges were soon mended, the militia were everywhere driven from the passes they occupied, and, though Washington crossed the Delaware and hung upon Clinton's flank and rear, he did not venture to attack him, and carefully selected for himself such ground, and such a line of march, as prevented his being attacked by the British. Several days passed in this manner, the enemy pursuing or following, being in evident fear of the army that was retreating. Washington, it appears, was for hazarding a general engagement; but, of seventeen generals, only Wade and Cadwallader were decidedly in favour of attacking the enemy. General Lee, the deserter, who, instead of being hanged, had been recently exchanged, as if the British government had consented to the annulling of the rules of war and laws of nations, was most decidedly against hazarding either a general or partial engagement, vehemently maintaining the opinion that, though Washington had now with him from 11,000 to 12,000 fighting men,

and Clinton not more than 10,000 effective men, the Americans must inevitably be beaten. The Prussian veteran, Steuben, concurred with Lee, as also did Du Portail, a French officer of some reputation. Young La Fayette dissented from Lee; but his opinion did not meet with much consideration. Washington, however, secretly determined to fight in spite of the great majority in the council of war, and, by this determination, he once more committed the safety of his army, involved himself in an irreconcilable quarrel with Lee, and lost a great many men. Having sustained this discomfiture, Washington hastened to the Hudson by another route, in order to join an army collected by Gage. Yet congress celebrated the affair of Freehold-court House (it took place on June 28) as a great and glorious victory, and a court-martial suspended from all command General Lee, whose military conduct on that day had been wiser and better than Washington's.

Clinton, with bag and baggage, got safely to New York on the 5th of July. On the 11th of that month the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, arrived off Sandy Hook, where Admiral Lord Howe was lying with a very inferior force. But D'Estaing would not venture upon an attack; and, after lingering eleven days in the neighbourhood of New York, he sailed away for Rhode Island, to co-operate with General Sullivan in an attempt to drive the English from that island. There the Americans and their allies quarrelled violently with one another, and did very little else. Instead of taking Rhode Island, Sullivan was very near being taken; and D'Estaing, having put to sea to meet Lord Howe, had suffered great loss from a storm and a running fight. The Americans fled from Rhode Island in inconceivable disorder. They cleared out just in time; for, on the following day, a reinforcement of 4000 men, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person, arrived at Rhode Island. Sullivan attributed his failure solely to the French, and he published some letters reflecting very severely on the conduct of D'Estaing, and inserted in an order of the day that the Americans had been basely abandoned by their new allies. These animosities rose to such a height that D'Estaing was very badly received at Boston; tumults in the streets followed his arrival; the Yankee seamen hooted the French, and in a scuffle between them M. de Saint Sauveur, a French officer, was killed. Some of the hottest men in congress took up Sullivan's quarrel and complaints; and the French alliance, which had recently been so popular with the revolutionary party, and which was still so useful, was reprobated and reviled with a truly democratic license of language. Nearly at the same moment other riots happened at Charleston, in South Carolina, between American and French seamen, and

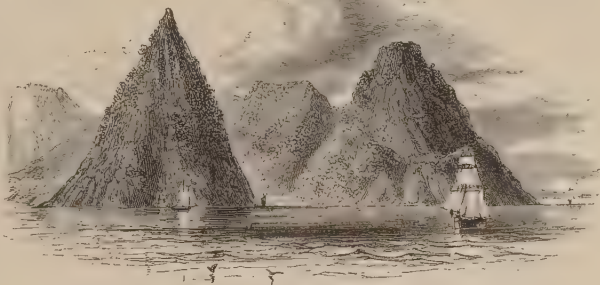
they did not end till several lives were lost on both sides, in a hot fire of artillery and ship-guns.

In the meanwhile the king's commissioners had published certain strong reflections on the perfidy of the French, which they said was too universally acknowledged to require any new proof. La Fayette, like a vapouring coxcomb, challenged Lord Carlisle for these expressions, so dishonouring to his nation; but his lordship declined the duel, not without marks of contempt for the challenger. After relieving Rhode Island, Clinton returned towards New York as far as New London, on the Connecticut coast, where he proposed making a descent for the purpose of destroying a swarm of privateers. But the weather proved unfavourable, and he continued his voyage to New York, detaching Major-general Grey to Buzzard Bay, in Massachusetts, another famous rendezvous of American privateers. Grey performed this duty with rapidity and success. Shortly after, this general, who had enjoyed a great reputation for such enterprises ever since his surprising General Wayne in the wood near Brandywine Creek, made an incursion into New Jersey, surrounded an American detachment at the dead of night, killed most of them, and took the rest, including the commander, Colonel Baylor, prisoners; and a small squadron, under the direction of Captain Collins, with some land troops on board, under the command of Captain Patrick Ferguson, not only destroyed a nest of privateers at Little Egg Harbour, on the coast of New Jersey, but also cut to pieces a part of the legion of Count Pulaski. These petty enterprises were conducted with a very rare combination of secrecy, celerity, bravery, and skill; but it was not by such operations that an end was to be put to such a war. But far more important operations took place on the side of Georgia. Being joined by many Americans of the south, and aided by the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, Colonel Campbell reduced the city of Savannah, drove Robert How, the congress general, before him, and made himself master of the province. A great majority of the inhabitants came in, took the oath of allegiance to King George, and submitted to the authority of the mother country, against which they had half-reluctantly revolted; while the hot dissenting ministers, who had first preached the Georgians into insurrection and republicanism, either fled across the Savannah River, or changed their political principles for the nonce. Colonel Campbell did not hang or banish them, as Washington or congress had banished and hanged royalists and quiet Quakers at Philadelphia. When men's blood was up—when our troops were exasperated by long suffering, and an accumulation of taunts, insults, injuries, and unsoldierly treacheries—savage deeds, no

doubt, were occasionally committed in the field or on the march; but it cannot be said that the arm of government was ever vindictive or cruel; or that the cold-blooded severities of the law were brought in as an appendix to the hot cruelties of the soldiery. The animosities between Americans of opposite parties—between the republicans and royalists—were far fiercer than those existing between the English and the Americans; and a constant irregular war carried on between them at various points was attended with circumstances of the deepest atrocity. The expelled Tories or royalists of the back country had, in many instances, joined the savages of the woods, to lead with them a wandering, precarious life, to nurse their resentments, and to increase their ferocity by force of habit and the example of the Indians. These refugees for political opinions were dispossessed of their property, driven empty-handed from their homes; and they considered it a natural right to adopt all means in their power to recover what they had lost, or, at least, to retaliate on their brethren of the triumphant party who had reduced them to the condition of outcasts and vagabonds. These desperate men always found a ready co-operation on the part of the Indians, eager for spoil, and, like themselves, athirst for revenge; they knew the country they had quitted, and where to lead the Indians directly to spoil and booty, and also how to bring them off without danger; they had a list of houses and villages where their personal enemies resided, or where property was deposited; and they could tell to a nicety what places were strong and prepared for defence, and what places weak and defenceless. If the attack of the royalists and Red Men was ferocious, so was the retaliation of the republicans. The troops of congress rushed upon the Indian settlements, destroyed their corn, burned their villages, exterminated all they could surprise, and forced the rest to retire farther from the frontiers of the states. The Red Men who escaped awaited another opportunity for revenge.

Having seen D'Estaing reduced to a condition in which, for the present, he could not be dangerous, Lord Howe resigned his command to Rear-admiral Gambier, and returned home. When he had refitted, the French admiral, taking advantage of a recent storm which had dispersed the English fleet, stole out of Boston harbour, to

undertake operations for conquests among our West India Islands; which he and his government had at least as much at heart as the success of congress on the American continent. Our island of Dominica was surprised and captured in September; but, in the month of December,



THE PITONS, ST. LUCIA.—From an original drawing by Lieut. Bellairs, R.N.

we conquered by hard fighting the French island of St. Lucia. During the siege of the fortresses in the latter isle, D'Estaing was repeatedly foiled, and once absolutely beaten, by a very inferior force of ships under Hotham and Barrington.

In consequence of the large drafts made upon it for service in Rhode Island, Georgia, and the West Indies, the army at New York did nothing more this year; and Washington, who had his head-quarters at White Marsh, was equally inactive from necessity.

The Marquis de la Fayette came back to France. According to his own account he returned merely to offer his sword to his own sovereign, who was now engaged as a principal in the war, and to induce the French court to send more considerable succours to congress, without any view to the conquest or appropriation of Canada; but congress certainly continued to occupy their minds with a grand Canadian expedition; and, as we believe, both the marquis and his court continued to look with an eager eye to their old colony. Moreover, the conquest of Halifax and Nova Scotia, the occupation of Newfoundland—where in the course of this year the English shipping had destroyed the fishing settlements allowed to the French by the last treaty of peace—was to go hand in hand with the subduing of Canada; so that not a spot of earth in North America was to be left under the British flag. For these great ends Dr. Franklin and the marquis were to request Louis XVI. to furnish a well-appointed army, which was to sail from Brest under convoy of a good fleet, and to commence its operations with the reduction of Halifax and Quebec.

It was not till the month of October that this magnificent plan was transmitted to Washington, who at one glance saw the absurdity and danger of entering upon it. It came to him from congress, with a request or order that he would forward it to Dr. Franklin by La Fayette, together with any observations he might have to offer upon it. Instead of complying, Washington instantly set himself to work to drive the whole scheme out of the heads of the men who had framed it. He knew how inadequate were the means of congress to carry out any extensive plan; and he was wise enough to see the danger of bringing back the French in force as neighbours—neighbours with whom the Americans had never been able to live in peace and amity.

On La Fayette's arrival in France he was enthusiastically received by all the war party. "I had the honour," he says, in his old French style, "of being consulted by all the ministers, and, what was far better, embraced by all the ladies. Those embraces lasted but one day; but I retained for a greater length of time the confidence of the cabinet, and I enjoyed both favour at the court of Versailles and popularity at Paris. I was the theme of conversation in every circle." As a show of royal displeasure for his disobedience in first going to America, he was ordered not to quit Paris for some days, and to avoid those places in which the public "might consecrate his disobedience by their loud applause." But the young queen showed him much favour, and at her intercession he was almost immediately honoured with the command of the dragons of the king's guard.

The commissioners of George III. gave up their hopeless task, and returned to Europe before the French marquis. Thus ended all negotiation with congress. The commissioners, with considerable effect, appealed to the American people, in order, principally, to keep alive their aversion to the French; and the writing-men of congress set themselves to work to counteract these appeals—to prove to the people that the United States could not in honour break their alliance with France; that the British commissioners were attempting to delude, to bribe, and corrupt; and that nothing but what was good and honourable could be expected from the French connection and a manly perseverance in the war.

Parliament had assembled on the 25th of November. The speech from the throne announced the probability of Spain's joining France and America in this unprovoked war. In both houses the address was opposed with all the heat of party. Charles Fox entered into a review of the unsuccessful operations of our grand fleet commanded by Keppel and Palliser, and attributed all the blame—the escape of D'Estaing to Ame-

rica, and the non-destruction of D'Orvilliers—to the disgraceful conduct of ministers and the admiralty, who had sent the fleet to sea too late, and inferior in force to the French. This was a subject which had been universally discussed in the country; but the popular feeling was that Sir Hugh Palliser, who had not obeyed certain signals made by Keppel, had been the sole cause of the capital failure. Impartiality did not pre- side over these discussions either in parliament or out of it: Keppel was a Whig, Palliser a Tory.

A.D. 1779. The memorable trial of Admiral Keppel, upon the disgraceful issue of the sea-fight off Ushant, commenced at Portsmouth on the 7th of January. It lasted thirty-two days. It was said that Burke assisted the admiral in drawing up his defence. The accusation was general and vague—the sentence one of honourable acquittal. Upon this the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated two successive nights, part of the lamps and candles being lighted voluntarily and spontaneously by Whigs, and part, through the intimidation of the mob, by Tories. Many riots, with a great smashing of windows, took place; and individuals in the garb of gentlemen mixed with the rabble and assisted in these performances, which, it was calculated by some, would terrify ministers into a resignation. Effigies of Palliser were carried about suspended by the neck, and afterwards burned. The common council of the city voted thanks, a freedom, and a box made of heart of oak richly ornamented to Keppel.

A day or two after, Sir Hugh Palliser demanded a court-martial on himself, vacated his seat for Scarborough, resigned his charge at the board of admiralty, the government of Scarborough Castle, and his colonely of the marines, retaining only his appointment as vice-admiral. Keppel, though called on by the admiralty, refused to lay any accusation against Palliser; yet, when the court-martial met, Keppel was of necessity a principal witness. The trial lasted twenty one days. The sentence was—that, though his conduct and behaviour in battle had been in many respects highly exemplary and meritorious, they at the same time could not help thinking it was incumbent upon him to have made known to his commander-in-chief the disabled state of his ship, to which he attributed his not joining; but that, notwithstanding his omission in this particular, they were of opinion that he was not in any other respect chargeable with misconduct or misbehaviour, and that therefore they fully acquitted him. The opposition in parliament, a large part of the public, and we believe Keppel himself, considered that Sir Hugh had been let off thus easily through the manoeuvres of ministers; and assumed, as it had been all along, as

a certainty that nothing but misconduct in one or other of the commanders could have prevented a most decisive and glorious victory. It was asked how, after Keppel had been acquitted, Palliser could be declared almost not guilty, and be permitted to escape with so slight a reprimand? At the same time Keppel complained of the cold, dry manner in which he had been ordered to resume the command of the fleet, of the omission in the letter from the admiralty board of parts of the sentence which were most to his honour, and of the sullen reception he had met with at court. His friends in opposition contended that the whole line of conduct pursued by ministers in this affair went to confirm an opinion than which nothing could be more scandalous and disgraceful to government, namely, that the attack upon the admiral's life and honour was the effect of a combination framed under and supported by the sanction of authority. Fox conducted these attacks in the commons, and made a variety of motions, all bearing pointedly and heavily upon Lord Sandwich as the first lord of the admiralty. The effect of all this party heat, not only upon the naval service, but also upon the army (which was otherwise discouraged and disorganized), was in the highest degree prejudicial. Other motions mortally hostile to Sandwich were made in both houses, but they were all out-voted by majorities of nearly two to one, which was now about the relative strength of administration and opposition; and no longer four to one, as in the earlier days of Lord North's government. The resignation of Admiral Keppel was closely followed by those of several distinguished naval officers, who declared that they could not serve under the present system or ministry. Other post-captains threatened to follow the example. In this state of things the surprise was not equal to the alarm when, a few weeks later, symptoms of mutiny appeared among the seamen of the grand fleet now assembled at Torbay—symptoms which were not suppressed without difficulty.

The war-office was scarcely left more tranquil than the admiralty. Lord Barrington had been, at last, allowed to escape out of its troubles, and Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) had been named secretary-at-war in his stead. General Burgoyne, and the two Howes, who had seats in the House of Commons, assailed the perplexed government. Burgoyne imputed not only his own misfortune at Saratoga, but the failure of all commanders, whether by land or sea, to the intermeddling, short-sighted, and incapable ministry. General Howe excused Lord North, but it was only to throw the whole weight of the accusation upon the unpopular Lord George Germaine, who was said to have interfered on

all occasions with the management of the army in America.

During this disturbed and vexatious state of affairs, Ireland was calling for more freedom of trade—and, but for commercial jealousy in England, something more would have been freely granted by government; but two acts were passed for encouraging the growth of tobacco and hemp and the manufacture of linen in Ireland, and a pecuniary grant was made. The boon was insufficient: there were many turbulent spirits in Ireland who would not have been satisfied with any benefit, and some of these ardent politicians resolved to imitate the Americans. A non-importation agreement was set on foot in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, and other places, by which British goods were to be disused until the Irish trade was freed from restrictions. This alarming demonstration was accompanied by circumstances still more alarming: volunteer associations were formed; they armed and accoutred themselves at their own expense; and the rumour of invasion from France seemed to justify and call for such martial preparation. But ministers knew the prevailing discontents—they knew how busy American agents and correspondents had been with the Irish people; they dreaded the national inflammability, and they foresaw that these armed associations could end only in insurrection and civil war.

When Lord North, on the 16th of June, distinctly acquainted parliament that Spain had, without provocation or ground of complaint, joined our enemies, the voice of party seemed, for a moment, to be hushed. Both houses were unanimous in their indignation, and both agreed to support with spirit the war against the whole house of Bourbon. But in the commons Lord John Cavendish, who was out-voted by two to one, moved an address, praying his majesty to withdraw instantly every regiment and every ship from America; and in the lords the Duke of Richmond moved, with the like ill success, to the same effect.

On the 3d of July the king went down to prorogue parliament, for which many of the country gentlemen had shown great anxiety.

The nation was ringing with reports of invasion and of new Spanish armadas, more terrible than that sent against Queen Elizabeth; and, as if to increase the alarm, six days after the prorogation, a proclamation was issued, charging all officers, civil and military, in case of an invasion, to cause all horses, oxen and cattle, and provisions to be driven from the sea-coast to places of security. It had required all the family influence of the greater branch of the house of Bourbon, and all the diplomatic activity and skill of French negotiators, to lead the Spanish

monarch, who had suffered so materially from his last short war with England, into this new and certainly unprovoked contest. Charles III. could not but be alarmed for the tranquillity of his own American colonies, if encouraged by the example of successful rebellion; and he also shrank from what he considered the unkingly action of fomenting insurrection and allying himself with revolted subjects. When led to believe that revolution might flourish in North America without reaching the south; when dazzled by the brilliant offers of co-operation in Spanish schemes of conquest made by the court of Versailles; and when well filled with the credulous hope that the final hour of British supremacy at sea, and consequently of the British empire, was at hand, and that the united house of Bourbon would have little to do but to divide the spoils, Charles III. and his ministers proceeded in a mean and duplex manner, in order to give a pretext to their hostility.

Some time before the rupture, Almodovar delicately hinted to our ministers, that for the restitution to Spain of the Rock of Gibraltar his master would consent to remain neutral; but this price was thought too high for what must have been after all a very doubtful neutrality. The manifesto which Almodovar left behind him was indeed a singular composition, minute in its details of grievances, and most extensive as to time and geographical space, for it ranged over all parts of the world, and it enumerated with arithmetical precision nearly all the complaints that Spain had ever made. The sum total of grievances was put down as *nearly one hundred*. And, as a novel complaint, it was asserted that Great Britain had grossly insulted Spain by rejecting her mediation.¹ The splendid pen of Gibbon, the historian, had been employed by Lord North, or rather at the request of Thurlow, now lord-chancellor, and of Lord Weymouth, to draw up, *in French*, an exposé of the motives of the conduct of Louis XVI.; but to the childish manifesto of Spain no such reply was deemed necessary.

Again, the first thoughts of the Spaniards were directed to the siege of Gibraltar. To facilitate this grand object, and to preserve that other Pillar of Hercules, Ceuta, on the African coast, Florida Blanca, some time before declaring hostilities against England, negotiated with the Emperor of Morocco, and entered into a regular treaty with the Moors. This, he calculated, would be of immense advantage in any attempt upon Gibraltar, as that garrison was accustomed to draw

large supplies from the Barbary coast, and as the Moors, if left in a state of hostility, might have attacked Ceuta, while the Spaniards were trying to get Gibraltar, or by their piratical cruisers in the straits have deranged all measures for the blockade of Gibraltar and the transport of provisions to the Spanish camp. A large army was collected at St. Roque, Algeciras, and the Campo, near Gibraltar, even before the negotiations at Madrid were terminated; and immediately after the declaration of war, this force began its very laborious operations for the reduction of the wonderful Rock. At this time Charles III. had a fleet of forty sail, exclusive of ships destined for the protection of his colonies. Florida Blanca had warmly proposed despatching this fleet to join the fleet of Louis XVI. *during the negotiation*, when no resistance could be offered to the junction by the English, who were wholly unprepared for such a movement, and who were actually treating with Spain as a friendly power, mediating a peace; but some remaining scruples prevented his Catholic majesty from following the advice of his minister.² But when war was declared, one of the earliest measures was this junction of the fleets of the house of Bourbon; and, while 50,000 men and a swarm of transports and flat-bottomed boats were collected on the French coast, to make the English believe that an invasion was intended, and that they must keep their wooden walls close on their own shore to prevent a descent, D'Orvilliers, on the 3d of June, hurried out of Brest with thirty French sail of the line and bore away for the Spanish coast. He met with no interruption or impediment, except from Spanish pride and Spanish laziness: he got to Cadiz Bay, where he was joined by thirty sail, and returning he was joined off Ferrol by eight more Spanish ships of the line. With sixty-eight sail of the line in all, and many frigates and smaller vessels, D'Orvilliers came on our coasts, where our grand fleet, since the resignation of Keppel under the command of Admiral Hardy, did not exceed thirty-eight sail of the line. There were some days of intense anxiety. On the 15th of August, while Hardy was cruising in the soundings, the French and Spaniards appeared off Plymouth, and some French frigates, anchoring in Cawsand Bay, captured a number of coasting vessels. On the 16th, the *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Boteler, standing down the Channel, fell in with the enemy's fleet, and mistaking it for the British, was surrounded and captured within sight of Plymouth. After parading two or three days before Plymouth the combined fleet were driven out of the Channel

¹ Adolphus, *Hist. Geo. III.*: Archdeacon Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon*; Correspondence between Lord Weymouth, secretary of state, and Lord Grantham, the ambassador, as quoted by Coxe.

² Florida Blanca's *Representation of his Ministerial Conduct, &c.*, as cited by Archdeacon Coxe.

by a strong east wind which blew for several days, and prevented Hardy from getting in. On the 31st of August the wind shifted to the westward, and Hardy, with great skill, gained the entrance of the Channel, in sight of, and in spite of the French and Spaniards. If they could have kept him out of the Channel they would have fought him at large; but he had completely out-maneuvred them, and, though they followed him a few leagues, they would not hazard a battle in the narrow sea, where the advantage of their superior numbers might be lost for want of sea-room, and where the navigation would be difficult and dangerous. Hardy anchored the next morning at Spithead, and England was safe. The unmanly panic on shore had lasted but for a moment; the coast was now covered with troops, militia, and volunteers; fresh ships were fitting out with almost magical rapidity, and cruisers at sea were recalled to the Channel. But the growth of this strength was not more rapid than the progress of weakness and decay, and dissension in the combined fleet. A terrible sickness broke out among both French and Spaniards, and their commanders dreaded the equinoctial gales which were now approaching. After cruising a day or two longer about the Land's End, D'Orvilliers made the signal for retiring, and French and Spaniards ran into Brest to perish there of disease. The loss of the *Ardent* was soon made up by the capture of a large Spanish frigate off the Western Islands; another

200,000 dollars in specie, a quantity of bullion and other valuable merchandise; together with an infinite variety of small Spanish merchantmen.

Nor did a gleam of success attend the exertions of the Spaniards in front of the obdurate and impenetrable Rock in the whole course of this year. Charles III. was grievously vexed by the French refusing to co-operate immediately in his plans for reducing Gibraltar and Minorca, for recovering the Floridas, and for re-conquering Jamaica. France had plans of her own: each party was greedy for separate conquest and aggrandizement, and each accused the other of selfishness and disregard of the true principles of the alliance and family compact.

In the western world the earliest movements commenced among the sugar islands. In January D'Estaing fled before the united squadrons of Byron and Barrington; in the month of June, in the absence of Byron, he captured the island of St. Vincent; and in the month of July he made himself master of Grenada. But, in a loose, irregular, undecided action (undecided, because, though stronger in ships, he would not fairly measure his strength with Byron), he sustained a prodigious loss from the fact of his fleet being crammed full of troops. On the American continent the war dragged on, although the troops of congress were defeated nearly every time that they had ventured upon an open field of battle. General Prevost, moving from Georgia, made an incursion into South Carolina, carried off a

great supply of provisions, established a strong garrison at Fort Royal, a commanding position on the coast, and thoroughly beat General Lincoln, who, with a far superior force, attempted to molest him on his march back to Savannah.

Meanwhile Virginia had been sharply chastised by General Matthews, who had been detached from New York, and Admiral Sir George Collier. By the exports of tobacco from Virginia by the Chesapeake, the credit of congress with foreign nations was principally supported; and by the inland navigation of that deep



SPANISH SHIPS OF THE PERIOD.—From a print by Kip.

Spanish frigate off Cape Finisterre; a Spanish register-ship, pierced for sixty-four guns, and carrying a considerable treasure from Lima to Cadiz; a rich Manilla ship—said to be the richest taken since the famed Manilla galleon captured by Lord Anson; another plate-ship, with nearly

bay the produce both of Virginia and North Carolina was conveyed to the middle colonies for the support of Washington's army. Though in very inconsiderable force, our soldiers and sailors ascended the Chesapeake, swept both its banks, explored its tributary rivers, drove the Americans

from all their towns and fortifications, burned all their arsenals, store-houses, and shipping, and returned, loaded with spoil, to New York, after an absence of only twenty-four days. This punishment was as *terrible* as the means of inflicting it were easy; but it was not considered that lenity was now due to a people who had armed or were arming all Europe against us.

A few days after their return from Virginia, Collier and Matthews proceeded up the Hudson, and drove Washington's people from Verplank's Neck and Stony Point, two important positions on the river which they were fortifying; and a flotilla, and 2600 land troops, under the command of Tryon, late governor of New York, inflicted on the coast and many of the towns of Connecticut the same sort of chastisement which had been suffered by Virginia. Many of the republican New Englanders were reduced to poverty by this devastating expedition; and a universal outcry was raised in these states against Washington for not having quitted his strong positions in the hills and marched to their assistance.

Before our garrison left at Stony Point could put that place in order, General Wayne fell upon them, by night and in great force, and recovered the position. But the Americans were foiled and beaten before Fort la Fayette, and were soon compelled to evacuate Stony Point once more. As Washington was not to be tempted from his strong and unassailable ground in the hilly country, Clinton now remained inactive at New York. General Francis Maclean, with only 650 men, proceeded from Nova Scotia to the Bay of Penobscot, in order to form a settlement and establish a military post which might serve to check the incursions of the Massachusetts men into Nova Scotia, and to obtain timber for the use of the king's yards at Halifax. This duty was performed with great heroism and ability. The Americans made every possible effort to dislodge so dangerous a neighbour; but Maclean made good his position against a besieging force of 3000 land troops, and a whole fleet of armed vessels. A fresh regiment of the American line was making for the place, when Sir George Collier sailed into Penobscot Bay and instantly put all the besiegers to flight. The British sailors captured or destroyed nearly all their ships; and in the course of a few hours scarcely a trace was to be seen of the Massachusetts armament. The fugitives, without provisions, had to explore their way for upwards of a hundred miles through a pathless desert; and in their flight a fierce quarrel broke out between the seamen and landsmen, and a battle was fought in that wilderness which cost the lives of fifty or sixty of the number. A great many more perished of fatigue and famine. Having relieved and re-inforced the brave

Maclean, Sir George Collier returned to New York, where he found himself superseded by the arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot. Collier came home, not leaving so good or so active a commander behind him.

Misled by reports that D'Estaing intended a visit to New York, General Clinton now withdrew his troops from Rhode Island, abandoning that place to the republicans. But D'Estaing's great blow was to be struck in Georgia, not at New York.

Early in September, the French fleet, which now counted twenty-four ships of the line and fourteen frigates, having a considerable land-force, and a long train of French and American privateers, appeared off the mouth of the Savannah River, where an English fifty-gun ship, a small frigate, and two store-ships were surprised and captured. As soon as D'Estaing arrived in the Georgian river, Lincoln, with an American army, moved from South Carolina to co-operate in the siege of Savannah, and masses of militia poured in from various quarters, encouraged by the well-known weakness of the English garrison. D'Estaing alone landed 3000 men. At one time the number of the besiegers exceeded 10,000. Yet General Sir George Prevost, who, counting regulars, royalist militia, sailors, volunteers, negroes and all, could not muster above 2500, nobly maintained the almost open town, repulsing French and Americans at every assault, inflicting a terrible loss upon them, and finally compelling them to raise the siege. On the night of the 18th of October, the allies moved from their ground and separated, with no very friendly feelings on either side. The French got on board their ships and made sail for the West Indies; the Americans recrossed the Savannah River into South Carolina. D'Estaing had scarcely embarked ere his fleet was dispersed by a storm; Lincoln was scarcely beyond the river ere all his militia ran home. The campaign to the southward ended with the raising of the siege of Savannah, which was, in every sense, highly honourable to British arms. Next to General Prevost, praise and glory were due to Captain Moncrieff of the engineers, Captain Henry of the navy, and Colonel Maitland.¹

During nearly the whole of this year Washington, in consequence of the great reduction of his forces, had been very inactive, and very much dissatisfied with the conduct and temper of congress. The now exhausted state of a considerable part of the union, with the interruption of trade, and, in not a few places, the interruption of agriculture, must have made any great exertion exceedingly difficult; but it appears that the

¹ Gordon; Stedman; Marshall; Ramsay: *What took place at Savannah*, by a British Officer present; *Ann. Register*.

majority of congress considered that their business was done and finished by the French treaty, and that their independence could no longer be endangered by Great Britain, who would yield to her weakness and necessities. Most of these men sanguinely hoped that the last soldier and the last ship in America would be withdrawn in order to defend England from invasion. Washington, who, in his eagerness for more troops, may possibly have overrated the resources of the union and the power of congress, certainly took a more correct view of the strength of Great Britain; and he continued to represent that the battle was not over—that America had still much to fear—that the French navy was not equal to a prolonged contest with Great Britain, and that it would be very unwise to expect too much from France, or rely solely upon the politics and events of Europe. The leaders of the revolution had not gone thus far without splitting into parties and factions; and their contention was carried on, at times, with a violence and recklessness which greatly alarmed the commander-in-chief, and induced many persons to surmise that the whole fabric of independence would be undermined by it and brought to the ground. Most of the ministers or diplomatic agents of congress in Europe had quarrelled with one another, and had made a series of accusations and recriminations. Some of them were recalled, but this did not end the turmoil, as their conflicting causes were taken up by their respective friends in congress.

Thomas Paine, the great promoter of independence—the unrivalled pamphleteer—the prophet and champion of liberty, as he had been styled three years before, was comparatively a poor and friendless man, and he was made a peace-offering or a scape-goat. His character, his poverty, the history of his life, became themes of declamation in an assembly whose interests or views he had so essentially served. Gouverneur Morris had been treated by the author of *Common Sense* with some contempt; but never in the most aristocratic House of Commons or in the most lordly House of Lords was a poor man of obscure origin treated with more haughtiness than in this democratic assembly was the Suffolk staymaker by the young New York lawyer. Morris' speech is a study for the believers in the doctrine of republican equality. Thomas Paine thought it proper or prudent to send in his resignation. Yet in less than two years we shall find congress again availing themselves of the services of this strange man. At the present moment Paine's retirement was very far from producing calm and union in the body politic: the animosity and bitterness of party grew and spread even under circumstances which seemed to call imperatively for unanimity; so

that Washington found himself obliged to declare that friends and foes were combining to pull down the fabric they had been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure.¹ The storm had been augmented by the publication in a New York newspaper (Rivington's *Royal Gazette*) of an extract from a letter written by Mr. Laurens, the president of congress, to Governor Huiston, of Georgia, which letter had been found among the governor's papers seized by the British invaders. In this strictly confidential letter the president accused no inconsiderable portion of congress of being devoid of integrity and patriotism. "Were I to unfold to you," said the president, "the scenes of venality, speculation, and fraud which I have discovered, the disclosure would astonish you; nor would you, sir, be less astonished were I by detail to prove to you that he must be a pitiful rogue who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who, in the present corrupt time, ought to exert all their powers in defence and support of these friend-plundered, much-injured, and I was almost going to say sinking states." The authenticity of this letter was never for a moment doubted.² It was read everywhere, and failed nowhere in producing comment, doubt, and suspicions, which were strongest in the places where the people had been most harassed and plundered for the support of the armies of congress.

The hopes of that body were revived and their exertions diminished when Spain threw her sword into their scale; for they calculated that the Spanish fleet being joined to the French must inevitably prove too much for the British navy. Their hearts were rejoiced by the intelligence of the junction of the French and Spaniards; and it was not till late in the year that they fully ascertained the miserable failure of that grand armada. In other quarters, however, Spain had given some trouble to England. Soon after the court of Madrid announced their union with France, Don Bernardo Galvez, governor of Louisiana, who had been preparing beforehand, having formally recognized the independence of the United States, made an irruption with 2000 men into our colony of West Florida, which was defended by only 1600 men scattered over the whole country in different forts or posts. Ascending the course of the Mississippi, in one compact column, Don Bernardo, after a siege of nine days, reduced a British fort, garrisoned with 500 men, at the mouth of the Ibbeville. After this success, which was decisive of the campaign, the Spaniards

¹ *Washington Letters*.

² Even the one-sided, enthusiastic Gordon says:—"It was known by several to contain a strong mark of authenticity—the truth."

proceeded up the river as far as the Natches, occupied all the forts and settlements which formed the western barrier of the province, and overran a fertile but very thinly peopled country 1200 miles in extent. The eastern part of the province, with the strong fort of Mobile, remained, however, untouched. At the same moment when Galvez began this campaign in Florida, the governor of Yucatan commenced hostilities against the British settlers and logwood-cutters on the Bay of Honduras, and plundered the principal establishment at St. George's Key. But in doing this the Spaniards got into a hornet's nest. The logwood-cutters, consisting chiefly of sailors and men of the most daring and enterprising spirit, retreated and kept together in an inaccessible place, until the governor of Jamaica (Dalling) despatched Captain Dalrymple with a small party of bold Irish volunteers to the Mosquito shore, to convey to them a supply of arms, and to collect, if possible, a more considerable force for their assistance. At the same juncture Sir Peter Parker despatched the *Porcupine* sloop-of-war to co-operate; and this sloop, having taken on board Captain Dalrymple and his party, presently made the Spaniards evacuate St. George's Key and all that part of the coast. The *Porcupine* was presently joined by a small squadron under the command of the Honourable Captain John Luttrell, who had been cruising to intercept some rich Spanish register-ships, which had, however, escaped him, and taken refuge under the strong fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa. A very little consultation between Luttrell and Pakenham, the captain of the *Porcupine*, Captain Dalrymple, and the chiefs of the British bay-men, led to the bold determination of proceeding immediately to the attack of the fort. They had no artillery that they could land and carry to the spot, but they thought the business might be done by surprise and assault, without any cannon. A motley force of logwood-cutters, sailors, soldiers, and volunteers, not exceeding altogether 500 men, went to St. Fernando de Omoa, which had a garrison of 600 men, with plenty of great guns. The attempt at surprise failed; the garrison discovered the approach of the assailants; yet, nevertheless, the works were carried by escalade, the sailors climbing up their face with single ropes, and going on in spite of a hot fire. One hundred of the Spaniards escaped in the confusion of the assault, and the rest threw down their arms and were made prisoners of war. Sailors and soldiers, logwood-cutters and Irish volunteers, then made straight for the harbour, wherein the register-ships had sought refuge; but the Spaniards had removed the greater part of the treasure, which had been a temptation for the attack, and per-

haps, the occasion of some additional bravery, to a place of safety. This was a disappointment, but still there remained a galleon in the harbour, and an immense quantity of quicksilver; and these, with other objects that fell into the hands of the conquerors, were estimated at 3,000,000 piastres, or nearly £800,000 of British money.

Nearer home the valour of British seamen was tested in a very desperate action, remarkable in all its circumstances. The enemy they had to contend with was the famed John Paul, or, as he called himself, Paul Jones, a native of Scotland and the son of a gardener of Galloway. This adventurer, described by tradition as "a short, thick, little fellow, about five feet six inches in height, and of a dark swarthy complexion," had taken to the sea at a very early age; had acquired considerable nautical skill; had gone to America, made some money, and settled in Virginia in 1773. Upon the breaking out of the American war, he, like so many other natives of Britain of a higher condition, offered his services against his native country. Congress gave him a commission, under which he cruised among our West India Islands, picking up many prizes, and showing very superior address and audacity. In short, he acquired the name of the best of all corsair or privateer captains. In the month of May, 1777, congress sent him to France, where he was appointed by Franklin and his brother commissioners to the command of a French-built ship under American colours. In the course of 1778 Paul Jones sailed upon a cruise to the coast of Britain, and picked up many prizes in places where the American flag was unknown. Sailing round the Land's End he ran along the western coast to Solway Frith, which washes the coast of Galloway, on which he was born. He knew that coast well, and the defenceless state of all its smaller ports. He made a descent at the mouth of the Dee, near to Kirkcudbright, and plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk;¹ and he made another descent by night on the Cumberland coast, on the opposite side of the frith, at the small town of Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns of the fort, and burned one or two vessels. For some time he cruised up and down between the Solway and the Clyde, scaring the whole coast, where his name to this day is mentioned with horror; and then, returning to Brest with 200 prisoners, he boasted that with his single ship he had kept the north-western coast of England and southern coast of Scotland in a state of alarm. In the summer of the present year, 1779, he returned to cruise along our eastern coasts, no longer with a single ship, but with

¹ His men carried off all the plate and other valuable articles. It is said that Paul and his father had formerly lived in the house, in Lord Selkirk's service.

a squadron,' manned by French and Americans, and desperadoes from various other countries, tempted into the service by exaggerated accounts of the enormous amount of prize-money he had made. Some of that class of romance-writers who labour to confound fact and fiction have endeavoured to depict this John Paul, or Paul Jones, as an heroic misanthropist, or as an ardent republican: he was in truth nothing but a vulgar corsair, with money for his bait, with a perfect indifference to all other considerations, with a brute kind of courage, and with some sailor-skill—a ruffian who would have fought under the colours of the Dey of Algiers as readily as under those of his most Christian majesty or of congress. There are accounts which say he had taken his final leave of his own country in order to escape a final exit under the gallows-tree. In his present cruise he alarmed all the defenceless parts of the eastern coast from Flamborough Head to the Frith of Tay; but his great object was to intercept the Baltic trade, which was under the convoy of Captain Richard Pearson, in the ship *Serapis*, of forty guns, and Captain Piercy, in the *Countess of Scarborough*, an armed ship of twenty guns. This fleet had arrived safely off the Yorkshire coast, when the bailiff of the corporation of the town of Scarborough sent off to inform Captain Pearson that a flying squadron of enemy's ships had been seen the day before standing to the southward. About seven o'clock on the evening of the 23d of September, Paul Jones, in the *Bon Homme Richard*, a two-decker carrying forty guns, engaged Captain Pearson in the *Serapis* within musket-shot; and, after firing two or three broadsides, backed his topsails, dropped within pistol-shot on the *Serapis's* quarter, and then filling again attempted to board. Captain Pearson repulsed the corsair in this attempt, and Jones sheered off; but, after one or two manœuvres, and more than one accident, the two ships, the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, dropped alongside of each other head and stern, and so close that the muzzles of the guns touched and grated. In this close contact the action continued with the greatest fury from half-past eight till half-past ten, during which time Jones, who had far more men, vainly attempted to board, and the *Serapis* was set on fire ten or twelve times. Every time the fire was extinguished; and Captain Pearson had, on the whole, the best of the battle, when one of the frigates, after taking part in disabling the *Countess of Scarborough*, came up to the assistance of the *Bon Homme Richard*, and kept constantly sailing round and raking the *Serapis*, till almost every

man on the quarter or main decks was killed or wounded. The calamity was increased by the accidental ignition of a cartridge of powder near one of the lower-deck ports—the flames spread from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, and blew up the whole of the officers and people that were quartered abaft the main-mast. After a desperate and last effort to board Paul Jones, Captain Pearson hauled down his colours. Two-thirds of his men were killed and wounded, and his mainmast went by the board just as he struck. But the *Bon Homme Richard* was in a still more pitiful condition: her quarters and counter on the lower deck were entirely driven in; the whole of her guns on that deck were dismounted; all her decks were strewn with killed and wounded; she had scarcely a fourth of her crew on their legs; she was on fire in two different places, and had seven feet of water in her hold. On the next day Paul Jones was obliged to quit her, and she sank at sea (it is said) with a great number of her wounded men on board. Captain Piercy, who, in his armed ship of twenty guns, had been closely engaged with a frigate of thirty-two guns, a twelve-gun brig, and a cutter, was also obliged to strike; but his defence was equally brave, and the captors suffered most severely. The convoy were enabled to take shelter in the harbours on the coast, and they all escaped. In other naval actions which took place in the course of the year, success was almost invariably in favour of the British. The East India Company built at their own expense, and presented to government, three fine seventy-four gun ships, and offered bounty money for raising 6000 seamen.

Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. Lord North was weakened in the commons by the elevation of Thurlow to the chancellorship and the House of Peers. Some changes had been made in the cabinet which were not at all calculated to increase the ministerial strength; and the whole Bedford party had for some time shown strong symptoms of falling off from Lord North. In his opening speech the king called upon the two houses to exert all their efforts, along with him, in defence of the country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain.

¹ Gordon says:—"The small squadron which the captain commanded in 1779 was fitted out at the expense of his most Christian majesty, who honoured him with a French commission."

was not large enough, and had merely been granted in dread of the bayonets of associated Irishmen, chose to consider the scheme as satisfactory, to receive the acts as a boon, and to express great loyalty and satisfaction.

The Duke of Richmond, in consideration of the enormous expenses of the last few years, and the manifold distresses and difficulties of the country, proposed an address for a notable reduction of the civil list; and, on the 15th of December, Burke first opened that scheme of public economy which afterwards gained him so much celebrity, and did so little good to the country.

Encouraged by the getting up of A.D. 1780. many petitions, in boroughs, great cities, and counties, all praying for the abolition of sinecures, unmerited pensions, &c., Burke persevered in his plan of reform; and after the most violent and personal debates this parliament had yet seen, and the spending of a great deal of time, which might have been far more profitably employed, it was carried that the board of trade, which cost £6000 a-year, and a few sinecures and court places, which altogether did not cost the country much more, should be abolished. Except incidentally, the affairs of America were not debated at any great length during this session; but, on the 5th of May, General Conway brought in a bill for restoring peace to the colonies. This plan pleased neither ministers nor opposition—it was nugatory like every other project of reconciliation that had preceded it—and it was got rid of, without a direct negative, by passing to the order of the day.

The house began to be very thinly attended, and the debates to be but languid, when the proceedings of a madman, and an outbreak of popular fanaticism, called many members back from the country, and gave a new animation to the capital and centre of our politics. The great combustion had begun more than a year ago, in the country beyond Tweed. The Scots took it into their heads that their kirk was endangered by indulgences granted to the Roman Catholics in the act of 1778. A preacher of Edinburgh sounded the alarm in a pamphlet, which was published at the expense of a society calling itself a "Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge." The precious composition was industriously circulated in every city, town, and village in the lowlands of Scotland; and other pamphlets, as hot as the penal fires of Smithfield, were printed and distributed. Not a few of the most popular preachers took up the cry that the kirk was in danger. The synod of Glasgow denounced the curse of God and the hatred and vengeance of the people against all such as should attempt to reverse in Scotland the old sharp statutes against Papists. On the night of the 29th of January,

1779, many copies of the following letter were dropped in the streets, lanes, and odorous wynds and closes of Edinburgh:—"Men and brethren, whoever shall find this letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd, on Wednesday next, in the evening, to pull down that pillar of Popery lately erected there. [Signed], A PROTESTANT. P. S. Please to read this carefully, keep it clean, and drop it somewhere else. For king and country.—UNITT." The summons was obeyed. At the time appointed all the rabble of that ancient city assembled at "the pillar of Popery," which was the habitation of a Catholic priest with a chapel attached to it. Their first operation was to break all the windows; but they soon broke open the doors. The magistrates came to the spot, but they could not prevent the mob from continuing their work of destruction—the furniture and everything in the house was demolished, and then they set fire to the house itself. On the following morning a party of the same champions of orthodoxy repaired to another Catholic chapel situate in Blackfriars' Wynd, and there they broke everything to pieces, and either destroyed as barbarians, or carried off as thieves, a valuable collection of books. This over, they paraded through the streets, breaking the windows of every house that harboured or was supposed to harbour a Papist or a friend to Papists. In the evening they assembled in still greater numbers with the laudable intention of knocking down the house of Principal Robertson, whose labours as an historian had gained for him a European reputation, and whose private virtues had endeared him to all who knew him. Fortunately for that amiable author and divine, a party of dragoons arrived in time to save his house and library; and through this timely arrival, and the assurances of the magistrates that all thoughts of bringing in the bill were laid aside in London, the rabble dispersed and went quietly home.¹ It was shortly after these disgraceful riots that Paul Jones appeared off Scotland, and the people of Galloway and other parts of the coast, held in dread and plundered by that adventurer, applied to government for arms, ammunition, &c., to repel the attacks. Government declined complying with the demand, and were, on that account, bitterly censured by the opposition. Their implied excuse was, that it was not safe to put arms into the hands of men who might, in the fury of their intolerance, make a very bad use of them. Hence the coasts were scourged by a handful of marauders, the Scottish shipping captured, and their fisheries interrupted. The Anti-popery insurrection was too important to escape the notice

¹ *Annual Register: Narrative of the late Riots in Edinburgh; Sketches of Popular Tumults, illustrative of the Evils of Social Ignorance.*

of parliament. Wilkes, in the House of Commons, asked the lord-advocate (Dundas) whether it was intended to keep a promise made to pass a bill for the relief of the Catholics in Scotland? Dundas replied, that, in consequence of the popular violence in all parts of Scotland, it had been agreed to defer any bill of that kind until popular prejudices should have somewhat subsided. Shortly after Burke presented a petition from the Catholics of Edinburgh for compensation for the damages they had sustained, and for future security. Charles Fox, in urging the house to attend to the petition, broadly announced the doctrines of complete religious toleration, maintaining that, undeterred by broils and paltry insurrections, parliament ought to repeal the penal laws *in toto*. By this time the flame of fanaticism had been kindled in England also; and eighty-five Christian corresponding societies, affiliated to that of Edinburgh, were formed in different parts of the country. Lord George Gordon (brother to the Duke of Gordon), who had thrown his straw and rubbish into the fire in Scotland to kindle the blaze, was chief superintendent of the conflagration in England. This noble lord, who was in his twenty-ninth year, had been sitting for some time in the House of Commons, where he was chiefly known by his eccentric habits, strange slovenly dress, and a progressive insanity, which sometimes looked like oratorical inspiration. The fanatics and madmen of England chose this noble Scots madman for their president, and he undertook to raise hand and voice in parliament against the pope, the devil, and Sir George Saville, and all the monstrous men who thought it wrong to imitate the intolerance of the ancient religion. He had accustomed himself for some time to speak of the mighty power of the Protestant Association, and of coming down to the house backed by 150,000 men, and of presenting petitions to the king, to the Prince of Wales, to both Houses of Parliament, with far more and infinitely better signatures than such documents had ever borne. On one occasion he said in the house that he would present a petition long enough to reach from the speaker's chair to the centre window at Whitehall—out of which Charles I. had walked to his execution.¹ The house laughed at him, and apprehended no danger from his threats. He had presented several Anti-catholic petitions from the county of Kent, when he thought proper to make a loud appeal to the fanatics of London, in order to procure a longer and stronger petition from them. Aided by the heads of the Protestant Association, he canvassed the capital and the neighbourhood; and, as president and champion, he advertised in the newspapers for signatures, and for a hearty concurrence against Popery and

a papistically inclined government. As Lord George Gordon was very poor, other less noble fanatics furnished funds to support the necessary expenses. His inflammatory harangues at the meetings of the Protestant Association were printed, published, and scattered far and wide. He told all good Protestants that for his part he would run all hazards, and that if they were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him, they must look out for another president and leader—that, in presenting to the House of Commons a proper Protestant petition, he expected to be backed by a host of good Christians—that if he was attended by less than 20,000 men he would not present the petition at all—and then, like a quartermaster-general of the Protestant world, he appointed the places where they should assemble on the great day, and the lines of march they should pursue in order to concentrate in front of the Houses of Parliament. St. George's Fields was to be the chief starting-place, and every man was to wear a blue cockade. On the 26th of May he had given notice in the house that he meant to present a petition, and to come down to the house with all those who had signed it. On the appointed day—the 2d of June—60,000, or, according to some accounts, 100,000 petitioners and associators, met in St. George's Fields, and arranged themselves in four separate bodies, one of which was entirely composed of Scotsmen. After a stirring harangue from Lord George, the several columns struck off by different roads for Westminster, the largest one marching through Newington Butts and the Borough to London Bridge, and thence through the heart of the city, walking six a-breast, and being preceded by a very tall Protestant, who carried on his head the Anti-papery petition, said to be signed by 120,000 names and *marks* made by such enlightened Protestants as could not write. The columns, as appointed, concentrated near the Houses of Parliament, and filled and blocked up all the streets and avenues leading to them. The honest madmen were by this time joined by all the knaves and cut-purses of London; and while the members of the Protestant Association shouted "No Popery! No Popery!" the members of the fraternity of thieves picked pockets, and did all they could to create a profitable riot.

As the peers and the members of the House of Commons came down, they were compelled to put on blue cockades, and to join the cry of "No Popery!" But many of them were not let off so easily. The Archbishop of York and sundry bishops, the Duke of Northumberland and various temporal peers, were treated with great indignity: the Bishop of Lichfield had his gown torn from his back; the Bishop of Lincoln (brother of Lord-chancellor Thurlow), after having his carriage demolished, fled into a house, and, being

¹ *Wilkes' Letters.*

pursued (though perhaps only by his own fears), went out of the garret-window (some said disguised as a woman) and over the roof into another house; Lord Stormont and Lord Boston fell into the hands of the mob and were most rudely handled. At this very moment the Duke of Richmond, in the lords, was introducing a motion for annual parliaments and something very like universal suffrage. The universal rabble without threatened to rush into the house, but the doorkeepers shut them out. A motion was made by Lord Townshend that the peers should issue forth in a body to rescue their brethren outside; but thereupon there arose a debate whether the mace should go with them or not; and it was determined in the negative, for fear the mace should be broken or stolen, and should never return. Next their lordships indulged in accusations and recriminations: the opposition charged the ministers with being the original cause of all this mischief, by their scandalous and cowardly concessions to the No-Popery rioters in Scotland, and called them loudly to account for not having provided for the present evil, of which so much previous notice had been given. Lord Hillsborough replied that orders had been given on the preceding day for the attendance of the magistrates. One of the magistrates being called to their lordships' bar, declared that he had been able to collect only a very few constables, and that no civil force could put down a mob so immense and so determined. Yet Lord Shelburne and other oppositionists violently reprobated a suggestion to call out the military to act under the magistrates. Nothing was done to stop the progress of the multitude; and the peers retired one by one, until the house was left with no one in it except Lord Mansfield and a few servants. In the House of Commons there was far more excitement and violence, for the noble madman went in as a member to present the petition, while his followers outside the house tore the clothes from the backs of several gentlemen who were known to have voted for Sir George Saville's bill, and kept up a deafening and incessant roar of "Repeal the bill! Repeal!" "No Popery! No Popery!" "Lord George Gordon! Lord George!" And when Lord George had been for some short time within the house, they began to thunder at the doors and to threaten to break them open. Several members threatened him with instant death if the sanctity of the house should thus be violated by the mob he had collected; and it is said that Mr. Henry Herbert, afterwards Earl of Caernarvon, followed Lord George closely with that avowed determination, and that General Murray, brother to the Duke of Athole, and a relation of Lord George, held his sword ready to pass it through the madman on

the first irruption of the mob.¹ When something like order was restored, Lord George moved for bringing up and *immediately* considering the petition; and he was seconded by Alderman Bull. The first proposition was granted as a matter of course; but the second was instantly met by an amendment, to put off the consideration of the petition for four days. During the debate Lord George went more than once into the lobby to harangue the mob, and to encourage them to persevere, inasmuch as terror would be sure to induce the king and ministers to grant the prayer of the petition. He also told the mob what members were speaking against the petition, and gave a false account of what they had said or were saying. When he returned into the house Colonel Holroyd took hold of his lordship, saying that he had hitherto imputed his conduct to madness, but now found there was more of malice than of madness in it, and that if he repeated such proceedings he would immediately move for his commitment to Newgate. His lordship went no more into the lobby, but addressed the mob from the top of the gallery stairs. The frouzy multitude, who said they were assembled for the honour of God, continued to make "a prodigious smell"² in the lobby, and a most fiendish uproar, and to threaten destruction to all who opposed their will and the Protestant interest. But, undeterred by these menaces, the house adopted the amendment; and only six men were bigots or cowards enough to vote with Lord George. Their names and their disgrace should always be recorded: they were—Alderman Bull, Lord Verney, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Sir Michael le Fleming, Sir James Lowther, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Polhill, and Mr. Tollemache. On the other side were 192 members. About nine o'clock in the evening, and not before, Mr. Addington, an active Middlesex magistrate, arrived in Palace-yard with a party of horse and foot guards, who were hissed and hooted by the mob. When, however, Addington addressed them, told them he would order the soldiers away if they would promise to be quiet, and actually sent off the cavalry at a hand-gallop, the mob gave him three cheers, and immediately began to disperse. The house then adjourned. As the associated Protestants returned to their homes, one division of them passed by the chapel of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick Street, Golden Square, broke it open, destroyed what was in it, and set fire to the building; another body did the same by the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Although the following day was a Saturday the lords met; but the commons did not, having adjourned till Tuesday, the 6th.

¹ Sir N. Wraxall, *Memoirs*.

² Sir J. Lowther's examination.

Lord Bathurst, now lord-president, who had been rudely used and kicked by the mob on the Friday, moved an address praying his majesty to give immediate orders for prosecuting, in the most effectual manner, the authors, abettors, and instruments of the outrages committed on the preceding day, both in the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament and upon the houses and chapels of several of the foreign ministers. Everything in London and Westminster seemed perfectly quiet; and their lordships probably conceived that all danger was over. But, whatever was their impression, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne made the subject a party matter, and expressed sentiments calculated to rekindle rather than to quench the fanatic fire out of doors. Richmond criticized the religious part of the Quebec act; and Shelburne said that the Catholics had received more than a Protestant government ought to have given. Lord Bathurst's motion was, however, agreed to; and, after despatching some other business, the house adjourned till the 6th. No lord, spiritual or temporal, received any molestation. But late that night, when men had got their weekly pay and their Saturday's drink, a mob assembled in Moorfields and did some mischief to the poor Catholics living in that neighbourhood. On Sunday morning troops were sent to the spot, but they had strict orders not to fire; and their efforts to seize the ringleaders were badly seconded by the civic authorities, who, for the most part, either partook in the prevailing fanaticism or were afraid of provoking the fanatics. A Popish chapel and several houses occupied by Catholics were completely destroyed; and, while the fanatics were demolishing altars and crosses, the thieves picked pockets, and the more decent kind of zealots looked on. Conspicuous among the fools or cowards that permitted the growth and extension of these disgraceful excesses was the lord-mayor, one Kennet, who did nothing himself, and permitted nothing to be done by others. A single charge by one troop of horse, a few broken heads, would, at this stage of the business, have scattered the mob and prevented further mischief. On the following morning, Monday, June 5th, a privy council was held at St. James's; but nothing was done except the issuing of a proclamation offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of those persons who had been concerned in demolishing and setting fire to the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. In the course of the morning some rioters who had been apprehended were fully committed to Newgate by the magistrates. At an early hour in the morning the house of Sir George Saville in Leicester Fields was attacked and stripped; part of the furniture was burned before the door, a more valuable portion was carried off by the

thieves, and fire was set to the building. A column of the rioters proceeded to the house of Lord George Gordon in Welbeck Street, and regaled his lordship with a bonfire made of materials brought from Catholic houses and chapels in Moorfields. Another party went to Virginia Lane, Wapping, and a third to Nightingale Lane, East Smithfield, where they severally destroyed the Catholic chapels, and committed other outrages. The whole of that night saw the great capital completely in the hands of the mob. On Tuesday the 6th, about 200 members of the House of Commons had the courage to attend their parliamentary duty, notwithstanding the threats of the crowd through which they had to pass. Some of the lords also met. Lord Sandwich, in attempting to reach the house, was dragged out of his carriage, which was broken to pieces, and was then almost torn to pieces himself. Mr. Hyde, a justice of the peace, hastened to his rescue with a small party of light horse, and found his lordship at the end of Parliament Street, in the hands of the mob, and severely wounded on the head. When Justice Hyde had rescued Lord Sandwich, he attempted to disperse the mob by riding among them; but the light horse did not even strike with the flats of their sabres. As the crowd was giving way, a fellow hoisted a flag, and called out, "To Hyde's house, a-hoy!" That gentleman lived in St. Martin's Street; and in a very short time his house was pulled down. Lord George Gordon, who appears to have been alarmed at the effects of his own madness, had issued a hand-bill, in the name of the Protestant Association, to disavow the riots, and had gone down to the House of Commons with the blue cockade in his hat. Colonel Herbert bade him take off that badge of sedition, and threatened to do it himself if he refused. Lord George instantly obeyed, and put the cockade in his pocket. In the course of the debates Burke, Sir George Saville, and other members of opposition left off opposing ministers, and strongly recommended unanimity and defensive associations. Burke insisted that in a moment of such danger the ministers' hands ought to be strengthened, and other political differences forgotten; but his friend Fox still clung to party feeling, refusing to support government, and proclaiming that society and its laws were dissolved by the vices and monstrous follies of the administration. At this moment dreadful news arrived from the city, and, after some talk which came to nothing, about expelling Lord George and committing him to the Tower, the house adjourned in haste and confusion. At a much earlier hour the House of Lords, without entering upon any business, had adjourned till the 19th.¹

¹ *Annual Register.*

The mob, about six o'clock in the evening, marched down Holborn to Newgate, declaring that they would release their brother rioters. When they arrived at the doors of the prison they demanded their comrades, and when the keeper, Mr. Akerman, refused, they began to break the windows of his house, and to batter the gates of the prison with sledge-hammers and pickaxes. But, soon tiring of this hard work, they collected firebrands and whatever combustibles they could find, and flung them into the keeper's dwelling-house. The flames spread rapidly, and the yell of the mob without was joined by the maddening cries of the felons within, agitated in different ways by the hope of escape and liberty, and the dread of being burned to death. The fire spread from the keeper's house to the chapel, and thence to some doors and passages leading into the wards and cells. Part of the mob then rushed in, showing a familiar acquaintance with all the intricacies of the prison, which, no doubt, had been the temporary habitation of many of them, and still held their friends or kindred. Their activity was amazing; they dragged out the prisoners by the hair of their head, by the legs or arms, or whatever part they could lay hold of; and it appears that of three hundred and more delinquents, four of whom were under sentence of death and ordered for execution on the Thursday following, not one perished in that rapid and tremendous conflagration. In the space of a few hours nothing was left of the strongest and most durable prison in England, which had been recently rebuilt at the cost of £140,000, except some bare stone walls, too thick and strong to yield to the force of fire. On the same Tuesday evening the new prison at Clerkenwell was broken open, and all the felons and other prisoners there were turned loose upon society. The decent fools, the real members of the Protestant Association, had retired before this, and were now wringing their hands at the mischief they had made: the rioters were composed of the lowest rabble of London and its populous neighbourhood, who cared more for a pot of beer or a glass of gin than for the whole Protestant interest; but when these fellows were joined by all the highwaymen and footpads, cut-purses, and professional housebreakers—by all the inmates of all the prisons—their excesses became far more frightful. As a proper object of their spite the felons proceeded to the house of Sir John Fielding, the active police magistrate, who had committed many of them to the cells from which they had escaped, and they destroyed or stole furniture, books, papers, and everything in it. At about twelve o'clock at night another desperate gang attacked the house of Lord Mansfield, the venerable lord chief-justice, in Blooms-

bury Square. Having broken down the doors and windows, they flung the superb furniture into the square, where great fires were kindled to destroy it. They then proceeded to his lordship's library—rich in other books besides those of law—and they destroyed many thousand volumes, together with many valuable manuscripts, papers, and deeds. The rich wardrobe of wearing apparel and some very fine pictures they burned; but the wine in the cellar they drank till they were raving mad. Lord and Lady Mansfield made their escape through a back door, a few minutes before the rioters broke in, and they were conducted to a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields by a gentleman, who, returning to Bloomsbury Square, when nearly all the mischief was done, found that a detachment of foot guards had at last arrived on the spot. He requested the officer in command to enter the house with his men; the officer replied that the justices of the peace had all run away, and that, consequently, it was impossible for the military to act.

The scenes which took place on the following day, Wednesday, the 7th of June, were still more dreadful. All the shops were shut, and bits of blue silk, by way of flags, were hung out at most houses, with the words "No Popery" chalked on the doors and window-shutters, in the view of deprecating the fury of the sovereign mob, who now, however, plundered and ill-treated all classes, only giving the Catholics the preference.¹ Fellows armed with iron bars, torn from the railing in front of Lord Mansfield's house, went through the town extorting money from all they met, and shouting, "No Popery!" One fellow in particular, who was mounted on horseback (and who was probably a highwayman by profession), refused to take anything but gold. A party on their way to burn Lord Mansfield's villa at Caen Wood, Highgate, were met and turned back by a detachment of cavalry. The King's Bench Prison, the New Jail, the Borough Clink, the Surrey Bridewell, the Fleet, were all burned to-day, and not a prison was left standing in London except the Poultry Compter. Two attacks were made on the Bank of England, but the assailants were repulsed by a strong body of soldiers, who had now orders to use their arms, and who at this particular point killed and wounded a great many. The Mansion House, the British Museum, the Royal Exchange, and the Tower, were all set down in written lists, circulated among the mob, for attack and destruction. But by this time there were 25,000 men, between regulars and militia, in London;

¹ It was no time for laughter; but ludicrous circumstances were not wanting. The poor foreign *Jews* in Houndsditch, chalked in large letters on their doors, "This house is a true Protestant." An Italian clown—a precursor of the great Joseph Grimaldi—chalked on his door, "No Religion."

and the king taking upon himself, or rather forcing upon them a responsibility which ministers were evidently afraid of, had issued a proclamation authorizing the military to act where necessary, although the magistrates should not attend to read the riot act. Some of the first to act were a party of militia who had marched twenty-five miles during the day, and who proceeded under the command of Colonel Holroyd, from Lincoln's Inn Fields into Holborn, which was then the great centre of mischief. A Mr. Langdale, who lived at Holborn Bridge, was doubly exposed as a Catholic and as a great distiller; his extensive premises were broken open in the evening, and everything was destroyed except the gin and other intoxicating spirits which were drunk by the rioters, many of whom literally drank themselves dead. In one place the kennel of the street ran down with these ardent spirits, and men, women, and children were seen on their knees drinking them as they flowed. Fire was set to the distillery and warehouse, and many, too drunk to move, perished in the flames they had kindled. Mr. Langdale's loss was estimated at nearly £100,000. The fire, according to an eye-witness, mounted in the air like the eruption of a volcano.¹ Six-and-thirty great fires were blazing in different quarters of the town, and nothing but the serenity of the night saved London from destruction. In streets where there were no fires, numbers of persons were seen removing their goods and effects at midnight, and a universal panic prevailed, as no man could know how long the merciful wind would be still, or to what point the mob would next carry their fury. The tremendous roar of the countless rabble was heard at one instant, and at the next the dreadful report of soldiers' muskets as if firing in platoons; and in various places everything seemed to betoken universal anarchy and approaching desolation. Sleep and rest were things not thought of: the streets were swarming with people, and uproar, confusion, and terror reigned in very part.² Some of the respectable inhabitants had, however, recovered from their strange consternation, and had formed themselves into armed associations, which acted with the regular troops and the militia. In some few instances, where the rabble had procured arms, the fire of the troops was returned; but nothing like a determined resistance was made anywhere. A detachment of the Guards soon beat them from Blackfriars' Bridge, where,

with an evident eye to plunder, they had attacked and set fire to the toll-gates; several of them were killed at this point by musketry, and others were thrown, or in their panic threw themselves, over the bridge into the river Thames. The Fleet Prison was set fire to in the course of the night; but the fire was not extinguished, nor was the mob in that quarter dispersed, until the following morning, when the troops discharged their muskets right into the crowd. Among those who were shot here was a young chimney-sweeper, who had forty guineas in his pocket! In the course of this day—Thursday, the 8th of June—various encounters took place, attended with numerous wounds and no inconsiderable loss of life; but before night a mournful tranquillity was restored. The immense rabble, which had so recently appeared irresistible, was scattered like chaff before the wind; and those who, upon the appearance of such a numerous banditti, wondered whence they came, now expressed as much wonder whither they could be gone. The return of killed made to Lord Amherst, the commander-in-chief, amounted to 210, of wounded to 248; but this account was certainly defective, as many of the dead and wounded were removed by their friends; and no list could be taken of those who had perished in the fires or by the abuse of unrectified spirits.

The House of Commons met on the following day, Friday, the 9th; but, although the riot was entirely quelled, the house declined entering upon business, as Westminster was thronged with troops, and as the whole capital had the appearance of being under martial law; and they adjourned till the 19th, the day fixed by the lords. The metropolis, in fact, resembled in many places a city recently stormed and sacked; all business was at an end—the Royal Exchange, and other public buildings, were occupied by the troops, the shops were all shut up, the streets were silent and empty, except where firemen were labouring to extinguish the smouldering fires. On Saturday, the 10th, Lord George Gordon was apprehended upon a warrant from the secretary of state, and after a short examination before several lords of the privy council, in which he is said to have behaved like a driveller and a coward, he was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason.

On the 19th of June, when both houses re-assembled, the king delivered a long speech from the throne, to explain and justify the strong measures which had been adopted, and which, if they had been adopted on Saturday night or Sunday morning, instead of on Thursday, would infallibly have stopped the riot with far less cost of human life. Wilkes, who was now chamberlain of the city, and who had behaved with great

¹ *Wrexall*.

² *A Plain and Succinct Narrative of the late Riots, &c.* This work bears the name of William Vincent, but was really written by Thomas Holcroft, the well-known novelist and dramatist, author of the *Road to Ruin*, &c., and of one of the most interesting fragments of autobiography that ever proceeded from the pen of man.

spirit and judgment during the riots, vehemently attacked a petition from the city which had been brought up by Alderman Sawbridge; and he also reprobated the conduct of the lord-mayor and Alderman Bull, declaring (and with perfect truth) that if the chief magistrate had done his duty, the riot would have been suppressed in its beginning at Moorfields. But the lord-mayor, who was afterwards prosecuted by the attorney-general for his negligence, and convicted, had done worse than nothing: and Alderman Bull, an intolerant bigot himself, had permitted the constables of his ward to wear the blue cockades of the Protestant Association, and had paraded through the streets at the very height of the riot linked arm in arm with Lord George Gordon. Several of the zealots in the house spoke in favour of the petitions, but not one of them had the face to move for the repeal of the bill complained of. Alderman Bull and Sir Joseph Mawbey were the chief speakers on the side of intolerance; but Lord North, Lord Beauchamp, Sir George Saville, Wilkes, Burke, and Fox spoke for the first time all on the same

side, and supported the doctrine of toleration on grounds much larger than those on which Sir George Saville had framed his bill. Burke declared his detestation of everything like persecution and intolerance, and moved five resolutions in favour of freedom of conscience and in reprobation of the late disgraceful excesses, which had begun in bigotry and ended in a sink of all the vices that disgrace humanity. These resolutions were all agreed to.

In the course of the month of July, the vengeance of the laws fell upon the rioters: fifty-nine were capitally convicted, more than twenty were executed, and the rest were transported for life. The trial of Lord George Gordon was delayed till the month of January, 1781, when it appeared to the jury that his case did not amount to high treason, and he was acquitted. He was ably defended by Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine; but the best excuse he had to plead was the fact of his insanity. Of this he soon after gave many indubitable proofs, his last and strangest freak of all being to *turn Jew*.

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1780—1781.

GEORGE III.

Continued siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards—Lord Rodney sent to relieve it—His victory over the Spanish fleet at St. Vincent—The “armed neutrality” to oppose the British claim to right of search—Quarrels and negotiations occasioned by the claim—Continuation of the war in America—Sir Henry Clinton takes Charleston—The Americans defeated in a skirmish at the Waxhaws—Insurrection of the American royalists in North Carolina—General Gates defeated by Lord Cornwallis at Camden—Privations of Washington’s army—Its hopes revived by the promise of aid from France—Rodney’s indecisive encounter with a French fleet under De Guichen—Discord between the French and Spanish allied fleets—Arnold’s plot to desert and betray the Americans—His correspondence to that effect with the British commander—Major André sent by Sir Henry Clinton to negotiate with Arnold—André’s perilous return and arrest—Arnold’s escape—Examination of André at American head-quarters—He is tried and condemned as a spy—Washington’s refusal to pardon him—Execution of Major André—Arnold’s reception from the British army—Hostilities declared by Britain against Holland—New parliament assembled—Proceedings of the opposition—Proposals for a treaty of peace with America—They are negatived—The French attempt to capture Jersey—They are defeated—Relief sent to Gibraltar.



OUR notice is now recalled to the mixed and complicated story of war and foreign policy. As the Spaniards persevered in their siege of Gibraltar, and as their treaty with the Barbary states stopped the supplies of provisions, the garrison began to feel the approaches of want, and it became necessary to send out supplies from England. Sir George Rodney, who had recently been appointed to the chief naval command in the West Indies, was ordered on his way thither to relieve Gibraltar, which was blockaded by sea as well as

by land. Rodney had a fine squadron, and more good fortune than had of late attended our navy. On the 8th of January, when he had only been a few days at sea, he fell in with a rich Spanish convoy going from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, a fine new sixty-four, four frigates, and two other armed vessels, every one of which was taken. The greater part of these vessels were laden with wheat, flour, and other provisions, much wanted by the garrison of Gibraltar: these he took with him, sending the rest to England. On the 16th of January, being off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in

with a Spanish fleet of eleven ships of the line under Don Juan de Langara, who had fancied he would be strong enough to intercept the supplies which he knew the English were sending to Gibraltar. But when the Spaniard discovered that Rodney was far superior in force, he attempted to escape. He was favoured by a rough gale, a terrible sea, and a dangerous coast; but Rodney, with great daring, and still more ability, got between him and the shore, changing the signal for a line of battle abreast to that for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up by rotation. The headmost ships came up with the Spaniards about four o'clock in the afternoon, and began the engagement with fury. Night soon fell, and it was a dark one; the tempest increased, and the shore under the lee was one dreaded by sailors, being the shoal of St. Lucar. Nevertheless, the action was continued, and the Spaniards, unable to

avoid a close engagement, fought for a long time with the greatest bravery. Rather early in the action the *San Domingo*, of seventy guns and 600 men, blew up, and nearly involved in her ruin the English ship with which she was engaged. It was two hours after midnight before the battle was over. The Spanish admiral's ship of eighty guns was taken, and three other ships of the line also struck to Rodney, and were carried safely into port. Two other seventy-gun ships ran upon the breakers and were totally lost, and of the whole Spanish fleet only four ships escaped into Cadiz. From this terrible blow the Spanish navy did not recover during the war. Rodney proceeded triumphantly to the relief of Gibraltar, and after lying there for some weeks, and sending up the Mediterranean supplies for our garrison at Port Mahon, made the best of his way to the West Indies with a part of the fleet, while the other ships, under the command of Admiral Digby, returned to the Channel. On his way home Digby captured a French ship of the line, and two or three vessels laden with military stores. The battle of St. Vincent raised the spirit of the country; but it was soon succeeded by a very serious loss. Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, was apprised

by his spies in England that the united fleets of East and West Indiamen were about to sail under a very weak escort; and he detached Admirals Cordova and Gaston, with every ship he could spare, to intercept these fleets at their point of separation off the Azores. So successful was this operation that scarcely a vessel escaped except two English ships of war that were giving con-

voy. In this way nearly sixty British sail, and stores and merchandise worth £2,000,000 sterling, fell into the hands of our enemies.

There was now manifested in nearly every country in Europe a decided intention of overthrowing, along with our maritime power, the whole code of laws which we had established for the regulation of maritime affairs in times of war. The Spanish cabinet claimed the merit of being parent to the system of "armed neutrality;" and though that idea had long before presented itself to the minds of various

continental statesmen, it must be admitted that Florida Blanca was now most active in recommending it, and putting it in actual operation. In consequence of the large shipments of ammunition and other materials of war made to the revolted American colonies by neutral and *professedly* friendly powers, and more particularly by the Dutch, England had from the beginning of the war exercised the right she claimed of stopping and searching neutral vessels at sea. She had also acted upon another established principle—established at least by her own admiralty courts—that a neutral flag could not cover or protect the cargoes, goods, or property of subjects of a state with which she was at war. Hence she had involved herself in many quarrels with neutral powers, who pretended that a neutral flag ought to exempt the ship from search or detention, and cover whatsoever cargo or property was embarked in her. The most violent quarrel was with the Dutch, who had certainly infringed the law of nations, and pursued a line of conduct wholly incompatible with neutrality. They not only permitted the exportation to America of articles contraband of war, but they also gave open encouragement to the American privateers, which sold in the Dutch



ADMIRAL RODNEY.—From a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

West India Islands the English prizes they made.

Having already enemies enough on their hands, Lord North's government tried the effects of gentle remonstrance and friendly negotiation; but France wanted to draw Holland into the league, and the French party in the States-general proved stronger than the party friendly to England or to peace. At this juncture Catherine, the Empress of Russia, forgetting that it was owing only to the friendship and assistance of England that she had been enabled to create a navy, entered, with her usual warmth, into the project for abridging our naval power; and proposed drawing up a maritime code of her own, for the rule and benefit of all trading neutral nations. The basis of this code was to be the principle that "free bottoms make free goods," or, that neutral states were to carry on commerce with belligerent powers, and even to convey from one port to another of a belligerent power all goods whatsoever, except what could be deemed contraband in consequence of previous treaties. But before Catherine put forth her manifesto in favour of the armed neutrality, or on the 1st of January, 1780, the Dutch admiral, Count Beyland, fired upon some boats which Commodore Fielding sent to search ships under his convoy, poured a broadside into Fielding's flag-ship, and then, upon receiving a return of the ugly compliment, struck his colours. The English commodore seized seven of the Dutch vessels under convoy, which were crammed with military and naval stores for the use of the French. In reply to the remonstrances of the Dutch ambassador the British cabinet stated, that as the Dutch not only refused to England the aid they were bound to give, but also continued to assist the enemy with naval stores, they could no longer expect the benefits of friendship and alliance. They were also told, that if the house of Bourbon succeeded in their present endeavours, the ruin of Holland and of all the united provinces would speedily follow the ruin of Great Britain. But by Russia, Prussia, and other neutral powers, the affair with Count Beyland was held to be a violent and unwarrantable aggression that justified and called for an immediate concert among nations; and, backed by Frederick the Great of Prussia, by Sweden, and by Denmark, and eager for the glory of giving maritime laws to Europe, Catherine, on the 26th of February, published her manifesto. Then followed an interchange of angry manifestoes between London and the Hague; but ambassadors were not as yet recalled. In the course of the summer, Denmark and Sweden joined the armed neutrality, and Prussia was, rather reluctantly, included in that league. Frederick endeavoured to engage Catherine in a treaty to

guarantee the possessions of the Dutch in every part of the globe, in case England should declare war against them. The czarina shrunk from this proposition; but it became nevertheless certain that Holland would soon be included, not merely in the armed neutrality, but among the open enemies of England and close allies of the United States of America. If the great Frederick had been able to control the personal caprices of the Empress Catherine, there would have been a general war or crusade against England.

In America the British army had for once attempted an active winter campaign. Sir Henry Clinton sailed away from New York for South Carolina, with 5000 men, in the last days of December, 1779. The voyage was long, tempestuous, and unfortunate. A ship foundered with all the heavy siege-artillery on board; other vessels, with troops and stores, were lost; and it was not until the 29th of March that Clinton got to Charleston Neck. Charleston, wherein was the congress general, Lincoln, in great force, was immediately invested, and every attempt made to relieve the place was defeated, chiefly by the cavalry corps of Colonel Tarleton. After two parallels had been successively completed by the besiegers, a third was formed so near the American outworks, that the town was completely girdled in, and the citizens dismayed by the prospect of immediate assault and storm. Sir Henry Clinton then invited a surrender by the offer of favourable terms; but though the townspeople were willing to accept them, the garrison persisted in holding out. The assault was therefore renewed; a fire was kept up by the British for two days almost without intermission; and on their advance to the walls, the townsmen utterly lost heart, and urgently petitioned General Lincoln to surrender upon the terms that had been previously offered by Clinton. This was on the 12th of May; and finding that he had no alternative, on account of the repeated discomfitures of his troops, and the clamorous importunity of the citizens, Lincoln surrendered on Clinton's conditions. The British loss during the siege amounted only to seventy-six killed and 189 wounded: the besieged, who had made on the whole but a spiritless defence, lost about an equal number. But the prisoners presented a very imposing total: there were the deputy-governor, half the members of the council of the province, seven generals, a commodore, three battalions of artillery, and 5000 men; to which remain to be added about 1000 American and French seamen. Nearly 400 pieces of ordnance were taken, and the whole naval force collected there was either captured or destroyed. The blow completely paralyzed all the southern states, and carried doubt and dismay to every part of the union. Congress had ex-

pected assistance from the Spaniards in Florida, and also from the French fleet in the West Indies; but these allies were too much occupied with schemes of conquest for themselves to bestow much thought on Charleston.

Three expeditions were now undertaken with the object of clearing the country of all the remaining forces of congress—the first and most considerable, under Lord Cornwallis, towards the frontiers of North Carolina; the second to the



GENERAL VIEW OF CHARLESTON—From a painting by Thomas Leitch, 1774.

district called Ninety-six, on the south-west side of the river Santee; and the third up the Savannah River, towards Augusta, where Lincoln had left a garrison. Lord Cornwallis had not gone far when he received intelligence that Colonel Buford, who had arrived too late to be able to throw succours into Charleston, had taken post on the banks of the Santee, with a considerable body of horse and foot. His lordship instantly detached the active and daring Tarleton, who made a march of 105 miles in fifty-four hours, surprised Buford at the Waxhaws, on the borders of North Carolina, surrounded him, and summoned him to surrender, offering the same terms which had been granted to Lincoln at Charleston. Buford refused the terms, and then sustained one of Tarleton's fiercest charges, which broke his ill-prepared and dispirited corps to pieces. The American colonel fled headlong from the field with a few cavalry; about 100 infantry, who were in the advance, escaped also; but nearly all the rest were killed on the spot or taken prisoners, together with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage. After this sharp affair at Waxhaws there was scarcely the semblance of opposition anywhere in South Carolina and Georgia: the troops of congress were prisoners, were scattered, or destroyed; the spirit of resistance seemed broken, and the people in almost every part of that wide country appeared ready and willing to submit.

On the 5th of June Clinton re-embarked for

New York, having received information that a French armament was expected on that part of the coast to co-operate with General Washington. He left behind him about 4000 men under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who kept up a correspondence with the royalists in North Carolina, requesting them to attend to their harvest, collect provisions, and remain quiet until he could enter their province with the king's troops, which on account of the hot and unhealthy season, and other circumstances, he could not do till the beginning of September. In spite, however, of this prudent warning, some over-eager royalists assembled in arms towards the end of June, and were immediately attacked and dispersed by the militia of the province. This premature insurrection brought on a frightful persecution of the royalists in every part of North Carolina: they were thrown into prisons, their property was seized, and many of them were tried and hanged as traitors. For some weeks not a day passed without an execution. To escape this extreme fate, or the insupportable persecutions, 800 of the North Carolina royalists, instead of waiting for Cornwallis, assembled under a Colonel Bryan, and, marching by an indirect road, joined a detachment of the British army stationed at the town of Camden, in South Carolina. At the same time extraordinary exertions were made by the republican party in Virginia to reinforce their brethren in North Carolina: and congress ordered Washington to detach a considerable

part of his army—the troops of Maryland and Delaware, and the 1st regiment of artillery, all under the command of Kalb, the German—in that direction. With this encouragement, and with a total disregard of their paroles or oaths of allegiance, the republicans of Charleston and South Carolina began to concert measures for overwhelming Cornwallis, and driving every British soldier and every American royalist out of the country. And when intelligence was received that Kalb had reached the heart of North Carolina and united his force with 3000 militia, and that the government of Virginia had voted 5000 men, several American officers, who had been employed by Cornwallis, began to desert. One Lisle, who had taken the oath of allegiance, and obtained rank and command, waited until his battalion of militia was supplied from the royal stores with arms and ammunition, and then decamped with all his men to join the republicans. On the 25th of July, Gates reached the camp in North Carolina to take the supreme command of the republican army. With 6000 men he soon advanced to Camden, where Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon were posted with only 2000. Instead of waiting



LORD CORNWALLIS.—From a fine print by Bartolozzi.

to be attacked, the king's generals advanced to meet the republican; and, on the 16th of August, Gates was most thoroughly and ignominiously defeated. He fled from the field, with only a few friends, before the battle was lost. On the side of the Americans none fought like men except two brigades of regular troops who were left under the German, Kalb, without support and without orders what to do. Kalb had some artillery, of which he made good use when Lord Rawdon advanced to charge him: he kept his ground for nearly three quarters of an hour, and sustained more than one bayonet charge without yielding

an inch; but Kalb himself fell covered with wounds, and then his men broke and fled in all directions, being pursued by Cornwallis' cavalry, who followed them all the way to Hanging Rock, or nearly twenty-two miles from the scene of the action. Never was victory more complete. All Gates's corps were broken and scattered, and of his 6000 men it would have been difficult that evening to have collected sixty on any one point except as prisoners in the British camp. The American prisoners and wounded were treated with the greatest humanity. Congress, who had despatched Gates with the confident assurance that the "conqueror of Burgoyne," as he was called, would prove the saviour of the south, were greatly cast down, and, in their dejection, began to discover that Gates was not a very wise or very great general, and that Washington was right in affirming, as he still continued to do, that militia regiments were not to be depended upon in a contest with regular troops. But not even Washington could have expected such shameful pusillanimity as had been shown in this affair. Lord Cornwallis now prepared himself for North Carolina, where he was anxiously expected by the suffering royalists. But before he began his march he gave some examples of severity. The estates of all those who had broken their parole or their oath were ordered to be sequestered; instant death was denounced against those who, after taking protections and accepting service under the British government, should desert; and, to show that this would not remain, as it had hitherto done, an empty threat, he hanged some few of the South Carolina militia who had been taken in the battle near Camden with arms in their hands and British protections in their pockets; and, as by letters found upon some of the officers of Gates's army, it was discovered that sundry persons of superior condition, who had been prisoners upon parole in Charleston, had been corresponding with the enemy, he ordered them to be put on board the prison-ships. Although the Americans nowhere ventured to show themselves in front of the British, Lord Cornwallis' expedition into North Carolina proved a failure, for Major Ferguson, who was co-operating with a corps of American loyal militia, was overwhelmed and cut to pieces.

On the side of New York a variety of unconnected petty enterprises had been undertaken during the absence of Clinton at Charleston. They generally ended favourably to the king's troops. Meanwhile Washington's distresses and the loss of credit of congress continued on the increase. There were whole days on which that general had no bread or biscuit to give his men; the supplies of forage had failed, and a great proportion of his horses had perished or been rendered unfit for service. There were no funds or

credit to procure others, and his quartermaster-general was unable to transport provisions from remote magazines. For a long time Washington's earnest remonstrances met with little attention from the civil patriots sitting in congress, who, suffering no positive privations themselves, seem to have entertained a notion that the power of endurance of the soldiery was boundless: but at last a committee of three was sent to Washington's camp, and these civilians reported that the army had received no pay for five months; that everything was wanting; that every department of the army was penniless, and had not even the shadow of credit left; and, finally, that the patience of the soldiers, tried by long and complicated sufferings, was on the point of being wholly exhausted. Two Connecticut regiments mutinied in camp; and Washington now declared that without the pecuniary and other aids expected from France the hope of congress was altogether forlorn. He carefully avoided an action; but being completely deceived by some movements made by Clinton after his return from Charleston, he had the mortification to see Greene, his second in command, completely defeated, and the town of Springfield taken and burned almost under his eyes. In the meantime the Marquis de la Fayette, the forerunner of good news, had arrived at Washington's headquarters with the assurance that his most Christian majesty was really sending a considerable land force as well as fleet to co-operate in the United States. The intelligence gave new life and hope to congress and the several state legislatures, and extraordinary efforts were made to raise and procure money, in order to give the army some appearance of respectability before the arrival of their French allies. There were no longer any jealous murmurs as to the admission of these foreign troops, for nearly every man felt that without their assistance the struggle was, at least for the present, next to hopeless. Bills were drawn on Franklin and Jay at Paris, and ten millions of dollars were demanded from the states of the union within thirty days. On the 13th of July, the anxiously expected French armament arrived at Rhode Island: it consisted of seven ships of the line, some frigates, and a number of transports, having on board 6000 veteran troops; the fleet being commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau, an experienced officer, who had served with distinction in the Seven Years' war, and who had fought in the battle of Minden. But as the British fleet was reinforced, and the French under De Ternay blockaded, and as Washington's army was not in a condition to take the field, the war on the continent languished.

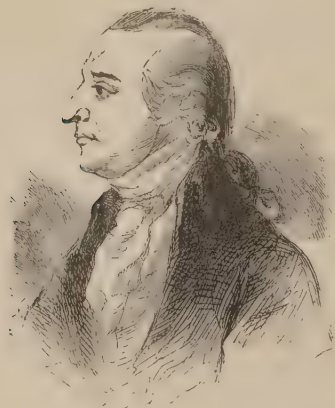
In the West Indies, where the French were still hungering after our sugar islands, Admiral

Rodney, with twenty-two sail of the line and six frigates, contended successfully with the French admiral, De Guichen, who had twenty-three sail of the line, and a number of frigates and smaller craft. On the 17th of April, there was an indecisive engagement between the two fleets, which might have been made decisive and destructive to the French if all our captains had done their duty. But several commanders who had not behaved very well in the battle off Cape St. Vincent did not obey the admiral's signals; the spirit of political party reigned in the fleet; Rodney was hated or envied as a Tory and a friend of ministers, and other feelings of jealousy or irritation checked the efforts of men who did not want courage, but who were sufficiently destitute of principle and patriotism to permit these base motives to interfere with their duty. In the course of the summer, De Guichen was joined by the Spanish admiral, Solano, who brought with him twelve sail of the line, several frigates, and a swarm of transports, containing from 10,000 to 12,000 land troops. Before this vast superiority of force Rodney was obliged for a while to retire. But soon a terrible sickness broke out in the over-crowded ships of the Spaniards, and extended its ravages to the French fleet. Moreover, fierce dissensions and old national animosities broke out between these incompatible allies, whose commanders could never agree as to the line of operations to be pursued. Sorry that they had ever met, the two admirals separated; De Guichen returning to Europe, and Solano proceeding to the Havannah. Thus, not one of our islands was lost.

The news of the approach of Admiral Rodney to New York, and of the retreat of De Guichen, overthrew all the plans of Washington, De Ternay, and Rochambeau. To concert some new scheme of operation, these commanders had a personal interview, on the 21st of September, at Hartford, in Connecticut. But, under circumstances so discouraging, neither Washington nor Rochambeau knew what to propose; and the American general concluded that his campaign must this year, as the last, end inactively and ingloriously.

During his absence at Hartford a plot was matured which had well nigh multiplied to a fatal extent his embarrassments and difficulties. Benedict Arnold, who from the condition of a horse-dealer had raised himself to the rank of a major-general, and who had displayed much real military genius and inspiration, together with the most undaunted personal courage, had conceived himself ungratefully and harshly used by congress, and had opened a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, for the purpose of passing over to the king's service with some of the troops

he commanded, and placing in the hands of the British the strong and important post of West Point, on the Hudson, about sixty miles above New York, which he was then occupying. Some time before obtaining this important command he had written a letter to Colonel Robinson, an officer on Clinton's staff, to intimate that his political principles had undergone a change, and that it was now his heart's wish to restore himself to the favour of his king by some signal service. This letter, of course, opened the way to a correspondence with the British commander-in-chief, who, as every other commander would have done, encouraged a disaffection by which he was



BENEDICT ARNOLD.—From a rare print.

to profit. The officer of most literary acquirements on the staff of Sir Henry Clinton, and at the same time one of the most elegant and amiable men in the British army, was Major John André, adjutant-general and aide-de-camp to Sir Henry. Poor André, who had not been born and bred a soldier, seems not to have been aware that such services, however useful or necessary, are not coveted by officers who pique themselves on their honour. It is to be noted, however, that he was bound by strong ties of gratitude and affection to his commander-in-chief, and that in so dangerous an enterprise Arnold would naturally require the agency of an officer of high consideration, and in the close confidence of Clinton. After corresponding for some time with the American general under the disguise of mercantile language and feigned names, André undertook to confer personally with Arnold in order to bring the negotiations to a conclusion. On the night of Friday, the 22d of September, André and Arnold met outside of the American lines, and arranged everything for the delivery

of West Point to the British on the Monday following. Before the conference ended daylight appeared; and, to avoid exciting suspicion, Arnold proposed that André should remain concealed until the return of darkness. André agreed; but, it is said, refused peremptorily to be carried within the American posts. They continued together the greater part of the day, during which Arnold placed some necessary papers in the hands of André. At night when André went down to the bank of the Hudson to get on board the *Vulture* sloop, the American boatmen who had brought him on shore refused to carry him back: according to one account their suspicions were excited—according to another, they objected, because the *Vulture* had shifted her anchorage during the day, in consequence of a gun which had been brought down to the shore to bear upon her without the knowledge of Arnold. Under these circumstances André resolved to travel to New York by land; and Arnold, who still lingered at the house, insisted that he must lay aside the British uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and put on plain clothes, in order to avoid detection. André very reluctantly assented; and then, with a pass from Arnold, authorizing him, under the name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, and with a Mr. Smith for his guide, the major took the road for New York. When he reached the next American post he found himself obliged, in order to prevent suspicion, to follow the advice of the commanding officer, and to remain there for the night. Next morning he continued his journey, and Smith, having conducted him within view of the English lines, left him a little below Pine's Bridge, a village on the Croton. André rode on alone, and by virtue of Arnold's pass he had gone through the last of the American posts, and was about entering the village of Tarrytown, on the neutral ground between the lines of the two armies, with the agreeable feeling that all danger and necessity of disguise were over, when three men, who had been lurking behind some bushes, rushed out upon the road before his horse's head, and took hold of the rein. The unfortunate André either fancied, from the locality and its nearness to New York, that they were royalists, or lost his presence of mind altogether: he hastily asked the men whence they were, and being answered "From below," which in the language of the district signified from New York, and suspecting no deception, he answered "So am I." This was quite enough for the Americans, who instantly began to search his person for papers. Finding out his mistake too late, he offered them a purse of gold and his watch to allow him to pass on:

but the bribe was rejected, and no attention paid to his more tempting offer of getting them promotion in the British army, or an immense reward in money from government if they would accompany him to New York.¹ They found concealed in his boots the various papers which Arnold had written, and which contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, &c. The three men, who belonged to the republican New York militia, immediately carried him before Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties, or the outposts. André's great anxiety was not for himself, but for Arnold: and we are inclined to believe that André, or some other person interested in the fate of Arnold, found means to give him quick notice of his danger. But, however warned, Arnold certainly received intelligence on the morning of the 25th just in time to permit him to make his escape, and only a few hours before Washington arrived at West Point from Connecticut. He instantly took a hurried leave of his wife and infant child, left his wife in a swoon, mounted the horse of his aide-de-camp, which was ready saddled, galloped down to a part of the river where he had a barge in readiness, and rowed off to the *Vulture* sloop. As soon as André thought Arnold was out of danger, he announced his own name and rank in the British army; and with more anxiety for his military honour than for his life, he wrote a letter to Washington, to secure himself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest. "The request I have to make to your excellency," said he, "and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that, in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable; as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor." He then mentioned the condition of the American gentlemen at Charleston, who, being either on parole or under Lord Cornwallis' protection, had engaged in a conspiracy against the British. "Though," said he, "their situation is not similar to mine, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive may affect." The letter concluded with expressions of confidence in the generosity of Washington's mind. After reinforcing the garrison of West Point with a strong detachment from his army, and adopting various precautions which he deemed necessary, as he knew not how far Arnold's disaffection might have extended, and strongly suspected some officers on that general's staff, Washington at-

tended to the case of André, and appointed a board of general officers to inquire into it. Sir Henry Clinton, as soon as he was aware of André's arrest, wrote a letter to Washington, stating that he had permitted Major André to go to Major-general Arnold at the particular request of that general officer; that he landed with a flag of truce sent by Arnold; and that he trusted Washington, under these circumstances, would immediately liberate him. In Clinton's letter was inclosed a note to him from Arnold, in which the latter affirmed that he had sent Major André a flag of truce, and finally given him passports for his safe return; all which, he said, he had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, and commanding general at West Point and its dependencies. Washington did not reply to Clinton's letter, which was written on the 26th, until the 30th, when his board of general officers had already declared André to be a spy. That court had consisted of Major-general Greene, president; Lord Stirling, major-general; La Fayette the Frenchman, Steuben the Prussian, ten other American generals, and John Laurens the judge-advocate. André, though he confessed that it was impossible for him to suppose he could be protected by Arnold's flag of truce, pleaded that his being in disguise and within their lines at all had arisen out of a train of accidents which he could neither foresee nor prevent. He did not attempt to conceal anything concerning himself, but he would divulge nothing which might involve others. His whole behaviour, candid, open, and manly, impressed with admiration the very men who had made up their minds to put him to an ignominious death.² It is said that some of the general officers were overcome by their feelings, and that the sentence of the board was *not* unanimous. Sir Henry Clinton instantly wrote to Washington, that he was persuaded that the board of general officers to whom he had referred the case could not have been rightly informed of all the circumstances; and that he thought it of the highest moment to humanity that his excellency should be perfectly apprised of the whole state of the matter before proceeding to put the sentence into execution. And to this end he said he was sending Lieutenant-general Robertson, the Hon. Andrew

¹ The names of these men were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert.

² "He was an important person," says La Fayette, writing at the moment, "the friend and confidant of General Clinton. He behaved with so much frankness, courage, and delicacy, that I could not help lamenting his unhappy fate."—Letter to Madame La Fayette, in *Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.*, published by his family. But, if La Fayette lamented, he did nothing to avert the fate of the brave and accomplished man. Some of the American generals, too, lamented, but kept twisting the rope that was to hang him all the while. There are accounts which say that the deep sympathy and regret was all a farce; and that André, who was a wit and a poet, was most cordially hated by the Americans on account of some witticisms and satirical verses at their expense.

Eliot, lieutenant-governor, and the Hon. William Smith, chief-justice of New York, to wait upon his excellency, to give him a true state of facts, and to declare his own sentiments and resolutions. When this deputation went up the Hudson with a flag of truce, Washington refused to permit any one to land except General Robertson; and, instead of meeting that general himself, he deputed General Greene to hold the conference. To Greene, General Robertson represented that he could prove, by the evidence of the officers of the *Vulture*, and by General Arnold's own letter, that Major André went on shore with a flag of truce, with the knowledge and under the protection of the general commanding the district; that he had taken no step while on shore but by the direction of General Arnold, under whose direction he necessarily was while within his command. Using a much better argument, General Robertson represented the conduct of his commander in a somewhat parallel case, showing that a *Captain Robinson of the American army had been delivered up to Sir Henry Clinton as a spy, and undoubtedly was such; but that, it being signified to Sir Henry that General Washington was desirous the man should be exchanged, he had ordered him to be exchanged as a prisoner of war, instead of allowing martial law to have its course.* As General Greene was unmoved by arguments, facts, and appeals to his feelings, Robertson proposed that two foreign gentlemen, acquainted with the laws of war and of nations, might be asked for their opinions on the subject; and he named as proper referees the German general, Knyphausen, on the part of the English, and the French general, Rochambeau, who had not been invited to attend Washington's board of general officers. General Robertson further told Greene that he wished that an interchange of such civilities as the rules of war admit of might be allowed to take off many of the horrors of war; that Major André had a great share of his commander's esteem; that Sir Henry Clinton would be infinitely obliged by his liberation, and would in return liberate any person whom Washington might please to name. "I added," says Robertson, "*that Sir Henry Clinton had never put to death any person for a breach of the rules of war, though he had and now has many such persons in his power.*" The evident truth of this assertion, which was equally applicable to Sir William Howe, Clinton's predecessor in the chief command, and the notorious irregularities and breaches of the rules of war which the undisciplined Americans, partly through ignorance, partly through heat and a contempt for all such regulations, had been guilty of all through the contest, ought by Washington and his brethren to have been allowed some weight in favour of their in-

teresting prisoner—but they were allowed none. The day before that fixed for the execution of the victim of his plot, Arnold wrote a long and earnest letter to Washington to avert the doom. He gave a certificate of facts, tending to exculpate the prisoner; he declared that it was at his pressing instance, and with much reluctance, that Major André had changed his uniform; that he had furnished him with a horse and saddle, and pointed out the route by which he was to return; and he insisted that he had an undoubted right to do all this at the time. Arnold further told Washington, that if the board of general officers adhered to their former opinion after this candid representation, he must suppose their conduct proceeded from passion and resentment; and that if Major André suffered the severity of their sentence, he should think himself bound, by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on such unhappy persons of Washington's army as might fall within his power. But Washington, who had not bated a jot of his resolution through the representations of Sir Henry Clinton, General Robertson, and others, was not likely to be moved by the appeals and menaces of Arnold. The day before his execution, the unfortunate André, in a letter which brings tears to the eyes, implored that the degrading part of his sentence might be changed, and that he might be shot as a soldier instead of being hanged. To this touching appeal Washington returned an evasive answer; but he held, with a most unseasonable sternness, that the practice and usage of war were against granting the request; and when, on the following morning—the 2d of October—André was led forth to suffer, *it was under a gibbet.* He exclaimed in an agony, "Must I then die in this manner?" but, soon recovering his composure, he added, "It will be but a momentary pang," and he gave no further expression to his feelings. He died nobly, and tears are said to have been shed by those who, without any great stretch, might have saved his life, or lessened the anguish of his last moments. Washington reported in a letter to a friend that he met his fate "with that fortitude which was expected from an accomplished man and a gallant soldier;" and Washington's military secretary, Colonel Hamilton, employed his pen on a brief record of the virtues, abilities, elegance of mind and manners, and rare accomplishments of their victim, who was only in his 29th or 30th year, when he fell a sacrifice to the plots of Arnold and the obduracy of Washington.¹

¹ Correspondence, as given in *Ann. Register*, *Reminiscences*, and other publications of the time; *Washington's Letters*; Miss Seward's *Letters and Notes to her Monody on the Death of Major André*; art. "André," in *Penny Cyclo.*; *Marshall's Life of Washington*.

André had begun life in the peaceful calling of a merchant.

Five days after André's death, or on the 7th of October, Arnold, who had received the rank of major-general in the king's service, issued what he called "An Address to the Inhabitants of America," to account for his conduct, and to invite others to imitate it. He was employed during the remainder of the war, because it was considered that he possessed some peculiar advantages of local knowledge and connections, and because his great military skill and his bravery remained equally indisputable; but the British officers shunned his society, and the British soldiers on guard, bound to salute his uniform and respect his rank, generally whispered as he passed, "There goes the traitor Arnold." Notwithstanding the threats held out when it was hoped that they might stop the execution of Major André, no reprisals were made after his death—not one of the many Americans in the power of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis was condemned by a military tribunal for their flagrant, and, in some instances, *repeated* breaches of the laws of war. In the course of the autumn, congress found itself compelled to listen to the complaints of the American captives of war, and an agreement for a general exchange of prisoners was finally settled, towards the close of the year, between Major-general Phillips of the British army, who had been prisoner ever since the convention of Saratoga, and Major-general Lincoln of the American army, who had surrendered at Charleston. But even now the release of the privates of Burgoyne's army was refused; congress would not depart from their former ungrounded and equivocating resolutions; and those poor fellows were kept in captivity during the remainder of the war. Washington continued to press congress for more troops. He declared that the resources of Great Britain were

still wonderfully great; that, notwithstanding her numerous open and secret enemies, she was still in a state to prosecute the war, so that a speedy peace was not to be expected in America. He repeated that in several instances nothing but the infatuation of the British generals had saved the whole cause of independence from ruin.¹ All the belligerents went early into quarters, and, with the exception of a few paltry expeditions for forage and plunder made by each party, Clinton's army during the winter remained at New York and its dependencies doing nothing; Washington continued to occupy his old station on the high lands above the Hudson, doing nothing; and the French troops under Rochambeau stayed at Rhode Island, doing nothing.

The Americans had never for a moment relaxed their endeavours to induce the Dutch to declare war against Great Britain; and the affair with Count Beyland had greatly favoured their efforts. In the month of October, Lord North's government accidentally discovered that a treaty was in progress between the States-general and the United States. As the Dutch would return no answer to the remonstrances of our ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, his majesty, on the 20th of December, issued a manifesto, declaring that Great Britain had issued letters of reprisal against the Dutch, and justifying her conduct in taking this hostile step. The stadtholder approved neither of the treaty with the United States nor of the war with England; but his limited power was completely borne down by a busy and potent faction. It appears, too, that the States-general had no sooner thrown the die than they were visited by apprehensions and misgivings, and something like a foresight of the loss and degradation that awaited their country in this war.²

The parliament, prorogued on the 8th of July,

but an unfortunate attachment induced him to quit his profession and his country. The lady of his love, the beautiful and accomplished Honora Sneyd, the bosom friend of Anne Seward, became the second wife of that man of many wives, R. L. Edgeworth, Esq., the father (by his first wife) of Miss Edgeworth, the admirable novelist; but she died of consumption, on the 30th of April, 1780, five months and two days before the execution of André, who appears to have been ignorant of the sad event. When taken and stripped of everything by the Americans, he concealed a small miniature portrait of the lady in his mouth. On the 25th of December of the same year—just seven months and twenty-five days after the death of Honora—Edgeworth married her sister, Miss Elizabeth Sneyd.

André excelled in painting and music. As a poet he was above the mediocrity of his day.

¹ *Washington's Letters.*

² Speaking of this period, a great Dutch statesman remarks:—"The detriment caused by false doctrines fall right under our view, when it is considered how prosperous the Dutch nation was previous to this period. Hardly can one form an idea of the well-being of the inhabitants, until, in the disastrous year 1780, the rupture with England took place. Abundance universally prevailed, and every one enjoyed in peace the fruits of his labour, and the blessings of a mild government, whose authority was very much tempered by manifold franchises and rights. 'But was

there to be no removal of many abuses? Were not those abuses the cause of a discontent, leading inevitably to an ever-increasing pressure, and at last to a violent convulsion? They who put such questions forget that the abuses in the commonwealth arose in a great measure from the ambition of those of whom the stadtholder, who became the object of attack, from the nature of the case, was the opponent; that the constitution underwent important improvements at the installation of William IV.; that henceforth the gradual removal of abuses became less difficult than ever, and that the healthy condition of the republic, the indispensableness of the stadtholdership, and the advantages of the existing form of government, were lauded and demonstrated even by a Simon Styl and a Peter Paulus. There was no reason for the abuses causing a revolution, far less a revolutionary system. But the principles of the sovereignty of the people, of liberty and equality, and of the inalienable rights of man, were at work. The states-party, kept down with difficulty and already covetous of more power, employed this weapon, which proved ere long fatal to itself. The States regarded themselves as representing the sovereign people, to whom all authorities in the state, including that of the stadtholder, must be in all respects subordinate. They knew not that in the struggle they had begun, success would have to be obtained not only with the aid, but also for the benefit of a wholly revolutionary party."—*Niederlandsche Gedachten.*

was dissolved on the 1st of September by a sudden and unexpected proclamation. Several of the most popular members were thrown out of their seats; and the elections went, upon the whole, much in favour of the court. One hundred and thirteen new men obtained seats. The new parliament assembled on the 31st of October. On the following day the king delivered his speech, in which he complained again of the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, who were exerting all their power to support the rebellion of his colonies, to destroy the commerce and give a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain; but he added that the bravery of his fleets and his armies had enabled him to withstand their formidable attempts; and that he hoped the late successes in Georgia and Carolina would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. The army and navy estimates were carried by triumphant majorities, which served to remind Lord North of the earlier years of his administration, and to efface the recollections of the narrow divisions and occasional minorities of the latter part of the last parliament. On the 13th of November, upon the proposition being made that 91,000 men, including marines, should be the naval force for the service of the ensuing year, Fox pledged himself to the house to move, after the Christmas holidays, for the dismissal of the Earl of Sandwich, and afterwards to bring him to condign punishment. The debate was conducted in a fierce party spirit, ill calculated to remove from the navy those dissensions which every one complained of, and which had recently frustrated the valour and skill of Rodney. The only immediate result was a resolution that a copy of the minutes of the trial and sentence of the court-martial held upon Palliser should be laid before the house.

A.D. 1781. The opposition, though weakened in numbers, had lost little of its heat or eloquence. Fox and his friends still spoke of the invincibility of the Americans, and regarded our brilliant victories in the field with scornful incredulity. They raised a storm against the employment of the military for the suppression of the London riots; they blamed the government for declaring war against the Dutch; and they endeavoured to thwart Lord North in his financial arrangements, which were neither better nor worse than those which had been usually allowed.

On the 30th of May, Colonel Hartley, who fancied that some kind of conciliation was still possible, moved for leave to bring in a bill vesting the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces of North America; but this motion, after a grand display by Fox and Burke, was rejected by 106 against 72. A few days afterwards intelligence had arrived from

North Carolina which showed that, in spite of Cornwallis' victories, we were losing ground in that quarter. This gave additional encouragement to the opposition; and, on the 12th of June, Fox moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war: and he gave notice that he intended to move in committee—"That his majesty's ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies." The origin of the dispute, the whole history of the war was gone over by the orators on both sides, without much novelty of remark. One great object of the opposite parties was to throw blame upon each other; the oppositionists blamed the ministerialists for having first provoked the war like tyrants, and for then having conducted it like fools; the ministerialists blamed the oppositionists for having encouraged the spirit of revolt in America and everywhere else, and for having done their best, or their worst, to prevent that strong national unanimity which would have given success to the war, or made the burden of it more endurable; and they did not forget their old argument—that the quarrel with America had not been begun by themselves, but under the administration of their opponents. At midnight the house divided, when Fox's motion was rejected by 172 against 99.

On the 18th of July the king prorogued parliament, thanking them for their long attendance, their loyalty, and good affection. As the prospect of brilliant successes had opened in India—as there was already a promise that the enterprise of the British would build up in the East a vaster empire than any we had ever possessed in the West—his majesty dwelt at some length upon the subject of Indian affairs, and warmly applauded measures adopted or in progress for checking abuses in those distant possessions, and for making our conquests equally advantageous to the natives and ourselves.

At the beginning of the year, the French, under the Baron de Rullecourt, had made another attempt upon Jersey, and had captured by night its little capital, with the lieutenant-governor, Major Corbet, who too hastily signed a capitulation of surrender for the whole island. Fortunately there were braver men than Corbet in Jersey. Major Pierson, collecting all the force he could, fell upon the invaders in the market-place of St. Heliers, and, being assisted by the townspeople, who kept up a warm fire from the houses, he killed a part of them and compelled the rest to surrender. But the gallant young Pierson was himself killed by almost the last shot that was fired by the French. The Baron de Rullecourt, at an earlier part of the action, received three or four wounds, and died almost immediately after

THE DEATH OF MAJOR PIERSON
AT ST. HELIERS.

During the long wars which raged between Great Britain and France in the reign of George III. two unsuccessful attempts were made by the Frenchmen to gain possession of the island of Jersey. A third effort was made in December, 1780, when the Baron de Rullecourt contrived to disembark 700 men, occupied St. Heliers, made the governor a prisoner, and frightened him into signing a document surrendering the island. The British soldiers and the people, however, were strongly opposed to this cowardly capitulation, and this patriotic spirit was shared by Major Pierson, the second in command. Refusing to accept his chief's authority, he summoned all the troops into the market-place of St. Heliers, and at once attacked the French. The engagement was sharp and decisive; many of the invaders were killed; and when their leader, the Baron de Rullecourt, was mortally wounded the Frenchmen surrendered. *The triumph of the British was complete, but unhappily their gallant young commander was killed in the moment of victory by one of the last shots fired by the French.*



THE DEATH OF MAJOR PEARSON AT ST. HELIERS.
AUG. 1741

the surrender. Nearly 800 French were either killed or taken. They had begun their expedition with nearly 2000; but their vessels had been scattered by a terrible storm, and a great many had been driven back to their own ports.

In the meantime the besieged garrison of Gibraltar were again reduced to great straits by the persevering Spaniards; the supplies which Rodney had thrown in the year before were nearly exhausted, and the only hope of receiving succour was to get it direct from England. To this important service Admiral Darby was appointed. After escorting the East and West India trade to a certain latitude, Darby, about the middle of April, arrived off Cadiz, and, looking into the harbour, saw the grand Spanish fleet gathered there, and lying peaceably at anchor. Cordova, the Spanish admiral, had talked of meeting the English fleet at sea; but he now considered his force not sufficient to risk an engagement, and he determined to remain where he was. Darby for-

warded the convoy with provisions, stores, &c., to Gibraltar, with some ships of the line and frigates to cover them, and remained with the rest of his fleet cruising between Cadiz Bay and the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, watching Cordova and preventing the passage of any hostile ships. The 100 vessels, with the staff of life on board, were hailed with transports of joy by the half-famished British soldiers stationed on the rocky heights; and, as they became discernible to those below, a shout of joy and three good English cheers ran from battery to battery—from the old Moorish castle and the Devil's Tongue battery to Europa Point. The brave fellows did not much fear the Spaniards, but they had a true English aversion to reduced rations and short commons. Darby's convoying captains presently scattered the swarm of Spanish gunboats that attempted to sink the transports, and the succours were landed with very little difficulty.

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1781—1782.

GEORGE III.

Mutiny in Washington's army—The mutineers in a body quit the army—Congress obliged to recall them by treaty—General Arnold's successful expedition into Virginia—Attempts of the Americans to capture him—Events of the war in North Carolina—Major Craig's expedition to Wilmington—Arrival there of Lord Cornwallis—His march through North Carolina—Skirmishes—La Fayette defeated—The Count de Grasse arrives in the Chesapeake with reinforcements to the Americans—Washington concentrates his forces against Yorktown—Arnold's expedition into Connecticut to retard his march—Washington advances and invests Yorktown—Gallant defence of it by Lord Cornwallis—His unsuccessful attempt to withdraw—He is obliged to capitulate—British aid too late in arriving—Lord Rawdon's movements to protect Charleston—Further proceedings of the South Carolina campaign—Colonel Hayne hanged by the British at Charleston—Defeat of the Americans at Eutaw—Lord Rodney captures St. Eustatius—Attempt of the Spaniards to reduce Minorca—The French join them—Impudent attempt to bribe General Murray to surrender—His indignant reply—He holds out Fort St. Philip against the French and Spaniards—Proceedings of the combined French and Spanish fleets in the mouth of the Channel—Sir Hyde Parker's naval victory over the Dutch off the Dogger Bank—Joseph II. of Spain joins the armed neutrality—Speech from the throne recommending the continuation of war with America—Opposition to it in parliament—The opposition fails only by a small minority—Minorca reduced by the Duke of Crillon—Reverses, and growing desire of peace with America—Lord George Germaine raised to the peerage—Motion in parliament to discontinue the war with America—The vote to continue it carried by a majority of one—Further proceedings in the question—Resolution to make peace with America finally carried in the House of Commons—Altercation between Fox and Lord North—Resignation of the North administration—New administration with Lord Rockingham for its head—Distribution of places—Political jealousies of the parties—First satisfactory proceedings of the new administration—Motion of William Pitt for the abolition of rotten boroughs—It is set aside by a small majority—Burke's plan of economical reform recommended by the king to the attention of parliament—Mutilations inflicted upon the original plan—It is carried—The insolence of the Americans increased by the pacific overtures of Britain—Fox's disappointments in negotiating for peace—The Marquis of Rockingham dies, and is succeeded by Lord Shelburne—Consequent changes of office—Fox, Burke, and Townshend refuse to act with Shelburne—Complaints against large pensions—Lord Rodney sets out against the French fleet—His signal naval victory over the Count de Grasse.



BYOND the Atlantic the earliest events of the year seemed altogether unfavourable to the American cause. On the night of the 1st of January, an open and almost universal revolt broke out in Washington's lines. For some months all dis-

cipline had been relaxed; the officers were almost as dissatisfied as the men, and all had been condemned to a near approach of starvation, notwithstanding the resolutions passed by congress. In an attempt to suppress this mutiny, Captain Billing was killed, and several other officers were wounded. General Wayne drew his pistol and

threatened some of the ringleaders; but, with a bayonet presented to his own breast, he was soon compelled to retire and leave his people to their own courses. With six field-pieces, and with most of the stores, the Pennsylvania line, 1300 strong, marched away towards Princeton. On the 4th of January, Sir Henry Clinton, fully informed of all that was passing, sent from New York to Princeton three emissaries with very tempting offers to the revolted troops, and with the suggestion that they should immediately take up a position behind the South River, where he would soon cover them by detachments from the royal army in New York. But, whatever was the amount of their dissatisfaction with congress, the mutineers were not prepared to enter into any compact with the English general. They seemed, however, to have determined, with their usual national adroitness, to make something by Clinton's overtures: they seized his three emissaries and communicated their proposals to General Wayne, with assurances of their utter detestation of the idea of going over to the common enemy, the British; but at the same time they kept the emissaries in their own hands; they refused to cross the Delaware, or to march out of Princeton; they refused to permit any of their former officers to enter their camp; and they ordered La Fayette, General St. Clair, and Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, who had presented themselves as mediators, to quit Princeton immediately. Affairs were in this state when a committee of congress, the governor of Pennsylvania, and a part of his council, arrived in the neighbourhood of Princeton, to negotiate with the revolvers. If the army of the republic had been composed of materials like those which had been dreamed of at the first breaking out of the revolution, the proceeding might not have worn quite so humiliating a character; but these mutineers, who defied the powers of the government, and assumed to treat on a footing of equality, through their sergeant delegates, with the delegates of the sovereign congress, were in fact nothing more than men raised by the usual processes of enlistment, bounty money, and conscription. A conference took place outside of Princeton between the sergeants and the committee. After due deliberation the mutineers agreed to march from Princeton to Trenton, with their sergeants for their officers and commanders. At Trenton they accepted the terms offered by congress, but not until the committee agreed that three commissioners, appointed by the soldiers, and chosen from the line, should constitute part of the board authorized to settle their claims. And when this bargain was concluded, but not before, the mutineers gave up Sir Henry Clinton's three emissaries, *who were all hanged as spies*. The sergeants

retained the entire command until the board decided what men were entitled to their discharge. As this state of things alarmed and embarrassed the government, and tended to commit the character of the whole republican army, the board proceeded with the utmost haste to liberate all such as chose to swear that they had enlisted for only three years. Even before the rolls of enlistment could be brought to Trenton, nearly the whole of the artillery and of the first five regiments of infantry of this Pennsylvanian line were discharged upon their own oaths. When the enlistment rolls were produced it was found that far the greater part of these men had preferred perjury to future service, having been enlisted, not for three years, but absolutely for the whole war. There was, however, no remedy, no power of correction—the discharges given remained good, and the few men who were too scrupulous to forswear themselves, received furloughs for forty days.

In the meantime, the Americans had to sustain the war without the foreign money and additional assistance for which they were constantly importuning the French, the Dutch, and the Spaniards. On the 1st of January, when the Pennsylvanian line were beginning their revolt, General Arnold appeared in Hampton Road, on the Chesapeake, to carry devastation into Virginia. He had with him about 1200 men, partly Americans like himself, but who, unlike him, had always been steady to one side. With this small force Arnold proceeded up James River, and landed at Westover, only twenty-five miles from Richmond, the capital of Virginia. His expedition was attended with complete success and with scarcely any loss of men. Of 50,000 enrolled Virginia militia, only a few hundreds could ever be collected at one point to oppose him; and these men generally ran away so soon as Arnold appeared. Jefferson, now governor of that state, fled from Richmond by night and with the greatest precipitation. All the public buildings and all the tobacco-stores, as well at Westham as at Richmond, were burned, together with a great heap of Jefferson's papers. On the 20th of January, Arnold returned to Portsmouth, where he was joined by about 800 more men, and where it appeared that he intended to establish himself in order to command the navigation of the Chesapeake. If an effectual blockade of the great rivers and outlets had been established, and if no troops had been risked in the interior of the country, the American confederacy might have been broken up, in spite of French, Spaniards, and Dutch.

The surprise and capture of Arnold was attempted in various and not very honourable ways by the republicans; but he was as cunning as the cunningest of them; and with 2000 men and a good position at Portsmouth, he feared

no open force. The French Admiral de Ternay had been so long blockaded by the English in Rhode Island, that his death, which happened about this time, was attributed to grief and chagrin. He was succeeded by M. Destouches, who, availing himself of a recent tempest, which had scattered and somewhat damaged our blockading fleet, sent Commodore de Tilley to the Chesapeake, with a ship of the line and two frigates, to recover Portsmouth and capture Arnold, with the assistance of La Fayette, who was to descend the river and make an attack upon Portsmouth from the land side. The attempt proved a downright failure; but on his way back De Tilley met with an accidental success; for, near the Capes of Virginia his squadron fell in with and captured an English fifty-gun ship. The great scheme for capturing Arnold was not, however, abandoned. In the month of March the whole of the French fleet ventured to sea, in order to escort to the Chesapeake the greater part of Rochambeau's army. Admiral Arbuthnot soon followed them, and on the 16th of March he brought them to action off Cape Henry. After fighting for about an hour, the French ran to leeward. Next day Destouches called a council of war, wherein it was resolved neither to risk another action nor attempt ascending the Chesapeake, but to return instantly to Rhode Island. On the 26th of March, General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth, and took the command of the troops there, over Arnold. The defence of the interior of Virginia was now intrusted to La Fayette, who attempted to check the prevailing desertion by giving the republicans money which he raised on his own private bills, payable in France, among the patriotic merchants in Baltimore. In spite of the approach of La Fayette, Generals Phillips and Arnold made excursions up the river, and far into the country, destroying the ship-yards, arsenals, all public property, and all the tobacco at Williamsburg, Yorktown, Petersburg, Chesterfield Court-House, Osborne, Warwick, and Manchester. They then fell down the river to Hog Island, where they remained until Lord Cornwallis gave them notice that he was about marching into Virginia from the Carolinas and expected their co-operation.

General Greene now commanded the troops of congress in North Carolina, having his headquarters at Charlotte-town. On the 17th of January, Tarleton was defeated in one of his rapid and daring expeditions, at a place called the Cow-pens. On the 1st of February, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Catawba River to attack Greene. The North Carolina militia was presently beaten and put to flight. Greene then retreated to the Yadkin, where his rear was almost sacrificed. From the Yadkin the American

general retired to the river Dan, intending to give up North Carolina, and to march into Virginia without risking a battle. Cornwallis proceeded to Hillsborough, then the capital of North Carolina. For a moment the whole of the provinces seemed at his feet; but Greene, who had been unexpectedly recruited on the Virginian frontier, soon returned, intending to keep the field, but to avoid a general engagement against an enemy "who had demonstrated his capacity for rapid movement and hardy enterprise."¹ Lieutenant-colonel Lee recrossed the Dan on the 21st of February, and Greene followed with the rest of his army the next day. Lee's first exploit was to surprise in a long hollow lane, and to butcher in cold blood, from 200 to 300 North Carolina royalists. Quitting Hillsborough, which was destitute of provisions, Lord Cornwallis crossed the river Haw, and encamped on Allamance Creek, in order to afford protection to the great body of American royalists who resided between the Haw and Deep rivers. Being strongly reinforced, Greene, on the 15th of March, ventured to give Cornwallis battle in the neighbourhood of Guildford Court-House. The Americans not only outnumbered the British by nearly two to one, but occupied an excellent position; and on account of these advantages, Greene was at one time apprehensive that Cornwallis would shun the offered encounter. But instead of waiting to be attacked, the British, numbering only 2400 bayonets, after a short cannonade, advanced in three columns with such spirit, that a great part of the first line of the Americans fled without waiting the charge, and left their choice position to the assailants. The Virginian militia, who composed the second line, made a more gallant resistance, and kept up a spirited fire until they were ordered to retreat; but this act of courage was partly owing to the precaution of their commander, General Stephens, who had posted forty riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every one who attempted to run away. But the chief brunt of the battle was with the third American line, composed of the continental troops, who stubbornly maintained their ground for an hour and a half, until their resistance was found unavailing against British valour and discipline. Attacked in flank and rear, and all but enveloped, the American army retreated to Reedy Fork, and crossed the river about three miles from the scene of action, after having lost all their artillery and two ammunition-waggons, with a large amount of killed and wounded. This victory, however, was not obtained without considerable loss to the conquerors, whose killed and wounded amounted to 600 men, and among the latter, was the brave

¹ Marshall, *Life of Washington*.

Colonel Tarleton. "No battle in the course of the war," says an American writer, "reflects more honour on the courage of the British troops than that of Guildford. On no other occasion had they fought with such inferiority of numbers or disadvantage of ground."¹



THE BATTLE-GROUND OF GUILDFORD COURT-HOUSE.—From a drawing on the spot by B. J. Lossing.

But when the extent of his loss was fully ascertained, Cornwallis felt that he was not in a condition to follow up his victory; and, as he could obtain no provisions where he was, he was under the necessity of retreating to a quarter where supplies could be obtained. Before advancing into North Carolina, his lordship had detached from Charleston a small force under Major Craig, to take possession of Wilmington, a town at the mouth of Cape Fear River, about 100 miles below the settlement of Cross Creek, which lies upon a branch of the same river. Craig proceeded by sea, made himself master of Wilmington with very little fighting, and fortified that post as well as his limited means would permit; and he had extended his authority several miles up Cape Fear River, in the direction of Cross Creek, which had now become Lord Cornwallis' head-quarters. As there was a friendly settlement of Scottish Highlanders in that neighbourhood, and many other known royalists, as the situation was healthy and central, and as he hoped to establish his communications with Major Craig by means of the river, his lordship, who arrived at Cross Creek towards the end of March, resolved to remain there for some time to recover his sick and wounded. But he was disappointed in all his hopes as to the position of Cross Creek. Provisions and forage were scarce; the river, narrow and running between high banks, could not be converted into a means of communication with Craig at Wilmington, as nearly the whole population, on both sides, were inveterately hostile. Nothing therefore remained to be done but to march with the whole army

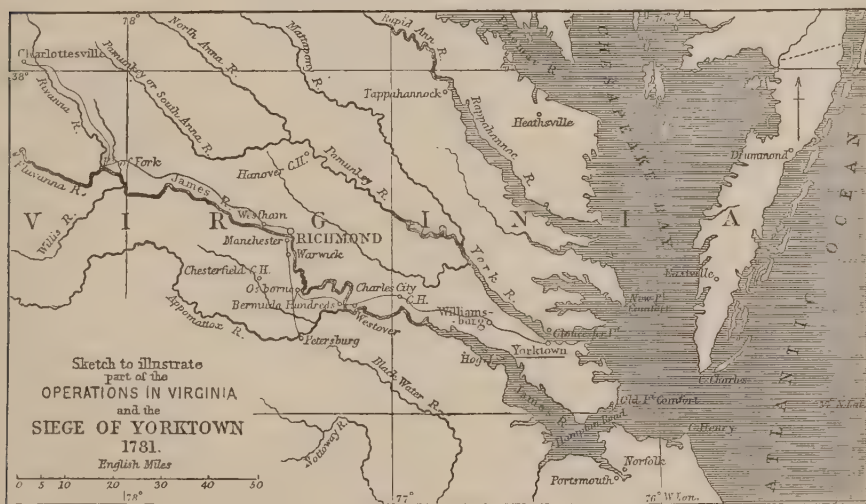
to Wilmington, which was open to the sea, and could be supplied at all times by those who had the naval superiority. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington on the 7th of April. General Greene, who had been slowly moving in the rear of Cornwallis as far as Ramsey's Mills, two or three marches from Cross Creek, with an army as badly provided as the British, no sooner learned that Cornwallis had descended towards the sea-coast, than he resolved to carry the war into South Carolina, which, he calculated, would compel his lordship either to follow him, and thus evacuate all North Carolina, or to give up all his important posts in the upper parts of South Carolina. Cornwallis, aware of this movement, sent an express to Lord Rawdon, whom he had left in command in the upper parts of South Carolina, and who was occupying cantonments, with the town of Camden for his centre. But Greene reached Camden before this express, and Lord Rawdon was left to act entirely on his own judgment. By calling in his detachments, and by arming every man in the garrison, drummers, musicians and all, Rawdon mustered an effective force of about 900 men. Greene, although he had never been able to collect a fourth part of the militia that had fled from the battle at Guildford, had about 1500 regular troops, and some corps of new militia. He did not, however, venture either to storm Camden or even to invest it; but he took up a position on Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from the British lines, and encamped there in the expectation of being joined by Lieutenant-colonel Lee and the independent

¹ Marshall; Holmes; Gordon.

partisan Marion, each with a considerable force. Lord Rawdon, who knew or guessed Greene's expectations, resolved to sally forth before they should be realized; and, seizing his opportunity when some of the militia were sent from Hobkirk's Hill to bring up some heavy baggage, his lordship, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 25th of April, marched out from Camden with his whole force, drove the Americans from the hill, and gave Greene another signal defeat.

In the meantime Lord Cornwallis had resolved to march from Wilmington right through North Carolina (which Greene had quitted to invade the south) into Virginia, to join his force with those serving under Arnold and Phillips. Many considerations induced him to adopt this bold and hazardous plan: to remain where he was would be useless; to return to South Carolina by land would be accompanied with many hazards; to return by sea would probably be attended with the loss of all his horses, and, besides, there were no transports ready to convey him. His whole force was reduced to 1435 men, and was thus far too weak to act offensively by itself; his advance into Virginia would, he thought, induce Greene

to follow him, and leave North Carolina again clear; and he felt assured that long before Greene could get near him he could effect his junction with Phillips and Arnold, and be in a state to defy him and whatever other American force might be collected in Virginia. He had only a choice of difficulties, and it seems to us that he chose wisely. He instructed Phillips and Arnold to ascend the James River and await his coming at Petersburg; and on the 25th of April, while Lord Rawdon, unknown to him, was fighting Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, he began his long and laborious march from Wilmington. Cornwallis traversed the whole of North Carolina, and the southern parts of Virginia, without encountering any opposition, and on the 20th of May he reached Petersburg. General Phillips had died of sickness on the very day he led his troops to Petersburg, so that the chief command of them had again fallen to Arnold, who had displayed his usual activity and skill. He had compelled Governor Jefferson and the assembly of Virginia to flee from Richmond to the village of Charlottesville; and he had driven La Fayette along James River to a post a few miles below Richmond.



Notwithstanding his laborious march, Lord Cornwallis allowed himself only three days' rest, marching from Petersburg on the 24th of May, and crossing James River, at Westover, about thirty miles below La Fayette's encampment. The river, where he crossed, was more than two miles wide, and the passage was effected by swimming the horses over a part and wading through the rest. At his approach La Fayette decamped with all possible speed, and retired towards the

back country, inclining his route to the northward, in order to effect a junction with General Wayne, who was marching through Maryland with 800 men of the Pennsylvania line.¹ On the banks of James River, Lord Cornwallis was reinforced by the 43d regiment, sent by Sir Henry Clinton from New York; and the same convoy conducted another British regiment and two battalions of Anspach troops, who were landed at

¹ La Fayette's letters, in *Memoirs; Marshall; Stedman*.

Portsmouth, and left there to strengthen that garrison. As the Virginia planters had a great love for horses, and had succeeded in obtaining some excellent breeds, Cornwallis, by seizures, was enabled not only to remount his cavalry in a very superior manner, but also to have horses for mounting his infantry destined for rapid expeditions. With a force of 180 dragoons and seventy infantry, mounted in this manner, Tarleton was detached to beat up Jefferson and the assembly, who were busy in Charlottesville voting taxes and making more paper-money.

Having performed this service with his wonted ability and success, so that seven of the members were captured, and having destroyed a great quantity of warlike stores, Tarleton proceeded down the river to co-operate with Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who had been detached with 500 infantry to destroy the military stores deposited at the Point of Fork, fifty miles above Richmond. But Baron Steuben, having received some warning, removed the stores to the other side of the river Fluvanna, and when Simcoe reached the Point of Fork, he found that Steuben's whole force had followed the stores, except about thirty men, who were made prisoners on the bank. By some ingenious stratagems Simcoe made the Prussian believe that the entire British army were advancing against him; and upon this Steuben left the bank of the river opposite to the Point of Fork covered with arms and stores, and retreated in disorder. Steuben joined La Fayette, who fled so fast across the Rapid Ann River that no pursuit was attempted. He effected his junction with General Wayne and the Pennsylvania line; and he then retraced his steps to the Rapid Ann. Lord Cornwallis had no intention of fighting a general battle, and he had just received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to send part of his troops back to New York, as the British commander-in-chief had learned, by intercepted letters written by Washington to congress, that the Americans and the French were contemplating a joint attack upon New York so soon as the Count de Grasse should arrive with a fresh fleet. Cornwallis, therefore, slowly retired to Richmond, and afterwards to Williamsburg, being cautiously and timidly followed by La Fayette and Wayne, who, although they were reinforced nearly every day by militia corps, had no intention of risking an action. On the 4th of July, Cornwallis marched from Williamsburg to a ford across James River, and sent part of his army to the opposite bank in the direction of Portsmouth. On the following day these operations were continued, and the wheel-carriages were transported to the other side. On the 6th the bat-horses and baggage were all passed over. La

Fayette, who fancied that nothing was left on his side the river but the rear-guard of the British army, now came on by forced marches to strike a blow. Cornwallis, warned of his approach, ordered his pickets to allow themselves to be driven in, in order to confirm the Frenchman's belief. Some of our outposts were attacked by four in the afternoon; but La Fayette did not make his appearance till near sunset, when he and Wayne came down to the bank with 900 regulars, 600 militia, and some artillery, and began to form in front of the British camp. When they found out their error, and that, instead of a rear-guard, the main body of the British were there, drawn up in two lines, and ready to receive them, they would gladly have been gone; but it was too late. La Fayette was routed, his cannon were taken, and his people fled in great confusion behind a morass. He retired up the river, and on the following day Cornwallis crossed it and repaired to Portsmouth.

At Portsmouth Lord Cornwallis embarked the troops that were required at New York; but before they sailed he received fresh orders from the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to keep them where they were, as he had no longer any fear of Washington or Rochambeau. Sir Henry also directed Cornwallis not to think of quitting the Chesapeake, but to occupy a good defensive post, and one capable of protecting ships of the line, somewhere on the neck of land on which Williamsburg is situated, suggesting that probably such a post might be found either in Old Point Comfort or Yorktown on York River. Clinton, moreover, intimated that as soon as the season permitted he might probably send more troops to the Chesapeake. His lordship resolved to proceed to, and fortify Yorktown on York River; and the evacuation of Portsmouth having been completed on the 20th of August, his lordship's entire force was concentrated at York and Gloucester on the 22d. Eight days after, the Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake, with the new French fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, having on board 3200 land troops brought from the West Indies. Sir George Rodney had not been able to intercept De Grasse; but he despatched Sir Samuel Hood to New York with fourteen ships of the line, which, with the fleet then at New York, it was thought, would be a match for any force the count could bring. Hood arrived at Sandy Hook on the 28th of August, and found only seven ships of the line in the harbour at New York, under the command of Admiral Graves, Arbuthnot having returned to England a short time before. Of these seven ships only five were ready for sea, the other two being under repair; but, as it was now ascertained that De Grasse

was in the Chesapeake, or making for it, Admiral Graves came out, joined his five ships to Sir Samuel Hood's fourteen, and, taking the command as senior officer, sailed from Sandy Hook on the 31st of August, with sanguine expectations of first cutting off the French Rhode Island squadron, now under the command of M. de Baras, who had ventured out to sea, and then beating De Grasse, whose force he believed to be far weaker than it was. But in all this Graves failed, and after fighting a partial and not very spirited battle with De Grasse, he returned to New York.

As it had been previously concerted that the whole united power of the Americans and their allies was to be directed against Yorktown, Washington determined to intrust the defence of the Hudson to Gen. Heath, and to take himself the chief command of the army collected and collecting on the Chesapeake and York River. All the French under Rochambeau, and a detachment of 2000 men from the army of the north, were destined for this service. For some time Sir Henry Clinton thought that Washington was not going to the south at all, but was intending once more to make an attempt upon New York, while La Fayette and the naval force of France were blockading Lord Cornwallis. But this latter blockade, however successful it might be, was not likely to gratify the great revenge of the Americans by putting Arnold in their power; for that general had left Virginia shortly after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and was now safe at New York. And when Sir Henry Clinton became at last aware of the real intentions of Washington, he thought no man more likely to perform a service that might induce Washington to retrace his steps towards the north than Benedict Arnold. On the 6th of September, Arnold landed in Connecticut—the country of his birth—with two British regiments, a battalion of New Jersey volunteers, a detachment of German rifles, and some artillery; and very soon set the whole country in a blaze. Fort Trumbull, Fort Griswold, and other American works were stormed, taken, and destroyed, together with a vast number of cannon, muskets, pikes, &c., and large supplies of ammunition. New London was reduced to ashes; and all the shipping in that

port was burned. But terrible as was this blow, it did not check the southward march of Washington. He went on to the head of the Elk River, which falls into the Chesapeake, and there embarked his troops.

While fleets and armies—Frenchmen from Rhode Island and the West Indies, and Americans from north, south, east, and west—were thus gathering round him, Lord Cornwallis continued to fortify his positions as well as he could, and to indulge in the hope that Sir Henry Clinton would be enabled, by means of the arrival of Admiral Digby, to co-operate with him and bring round to the Chesapeake such a force of men and ships as would turn the scale entirely in favour of the British.

Yorktown, as it was called, was nothing but a small village on the south side of the river York, standing where the long peninsula between the York and the James is only eight miles wide. The southern bank of York River is high; and on the opposite shore, on a tongue of land projecting far into the river and narrowing it to the space of one mile, stands Gloucester, another village, which Cornwallis



VIEW ON YORK RIVER.¹—From a drawing by B. J. Lossing.

had also occupied and fortified. The communication between these two posts, and that passage of the river which was deep enough to admit the largest ships of the line, was commanded by batteries which his lordship had erected, and by a squadron of British ships, unfortunately very small, which lay under his guns. The main body of his army was encamped on the open grounds round about Yorktown, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works, calculated to command the peninsula and impede the advance of the assailants, but both too weak and too extensive to be defended by such an army: and Lieutenant-colonel Dundas held the post at Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the water, with a detachment of 600 or 700 men. It was on the 28th of September, that the combined army of French and Americans appeared in sight, having marched from Williamsburg that morning. In the evening an express arrived with despatches from Sir Henry Clinton at New York,

¹ This view is from the site of the redoubt, looking north-west up the York River. The first headland on the right is Gloucester Point, and upon the high bank on the left is situated the village of Yorktown.

bearing date the 24th of September, and informing Cornwallis that, at a council of war held that day, it had been agreed that upwards of 5000 troops should be embarked on board the fleet, and that every exertion should be made both by the army and navy to relieve his lordship. The despatch further stated that the fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line, might be expected to sail by the 5th of October; and a postscript was added to state that Admiral Digby had really arrived a few hours before. But, instead of six ships of the line, Digby had brought only three; so that the inequality of force remained very great, Graves having only twenty-six ships to carry to the Chesapeake against the thirty-five ships of De Grasse and De Barras. After receiving those despatches, Cornwallis, under cover of night, withdrew his army from the outer works. On the next day, September the 30th, the works he had evacuated were occupied by strong detachments from the combined army; and 2000 men, French and Americans, the former under the Duke de Lauzun, the latter under General Weedon, took up a position in front of the British at Gloucester Point. As De Lauzun approached the lines there, Colonel Dundas sallied and made a brilliant charge, which cost the duke a good number of men. In the course of the same day Yorktown was regularly invested; and in the course of the following night the enemy began to break ground, the French making their approaches on the right of it and the Americans on the left. Six days were spent in landing from De Grasse's ships the heavy artillery, military stores, and other materials, which seem all to have been as complete as if Yorktown, instead of a mere post, had been a first-rate fortress. There was no want of any kind of means—there was no longer any want of money, for Lieutenant-colonel Laurens and Thomas Paine had induced the French court to grant the Americans a subsidy of six millions of livres, and also to guarantee a loan for ten millions from the Dutch. On the night of the 6th of October, the French and Americans began making the first parallel within 600 yards of Cornwallis' lines. By the afternoon of the 9th their well-garnished batteries were completed, and an incessant cannonade was commenced against the town, accompanied by the fire of many mortars throwing shells in showers. On the next day, the 10th of October, still more batteries were opened; and the shells and the red-hot balls set fire to the *Charon*, a British ship of forty-four guns—one of the small force posted to defend the passage between Yorktown and Gloucester Point—which was consumed, together with three large British transports. In the night of the 11th the combined army, which, exclusive of the seamen from the French fleet, was 14,000

strong, commenced their second parallel, within 300 yards of Cornwallis' works. It took them three days to complete this second parallel, during which time they suffered more loss than at any other period of the siege. But the situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate: his works were sinking and crumbling; nearly all the guns on his left were silenced, even before the second parallel was finished. To retard its completion he directed a sortie of 350 men, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, who gallantly led this column against two of the enemy's batteries that seemed in the greatest forwardness, and that were guarded by veteran French troops. The assault, made a little before daybreak on the 16th of October, was impetuous and irresistible; the French, after losing above 100 in killed and wounded, were driven out of both batteries, the guns were spiked, and Abercromby returned within the lines, with very little loss. But, unluckily, the men who spiked the guns did not, in their hurry, perform the work effectually; the cannons were soon made again fit for use; and before evening the batteries opened, and the second parallel seemed complete and unassailable by any further sorties. On the next day Lord Cornwallis could scarcely show a mounted gun on the side of attack; and his shells were nearly expended. As a completion to his calamities, sickness had broken out in his camp, and a considerable portion of his men, besides the wounded, were laid up in the hospitals. Nothing was seen or heard of the fleet and troops from New York, which he had been led to hope would have sailed on the 5th of October, and have made their appearance in the Chesapeake before the 15th. But the brave are slow to despair. He looked across the York River and to the wide-spreading country beyond it; and he yet indulged the hope that he might save at least part of his army by a bold manœuvre and a rapid movement. The French blockading force on the Gloucester side, now commanded by De Choisi, lay at some distance from the front of the works. Cornwallis resolved to attack them before break of day; and, after cutting to pieces or dispersing this force, to mount his infantry on the horses taken from the French, who had a considerable cavalry corps, and on other horses to be collected on the road, and then, by a rapid march, to gain the fords of the great rivers, and force his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to New York. This plan, of course, implied the sacrifice of artillery, stores, and baggage, together with that of the sick and wounded, and that of the rear-guard; but it would be something to save even half the men and escape the mortification of a surrender. On the night between the 16th and 17th of October, the light infantry, the greater part of the

Guards, and part of the 23d regiment, were embarked in boats and transported to Gloucester Point, without being discovered either by the French on that side, or by the Americans and French on the Yorktown side. But they were scarcely landed when a violent storm arose, which prevented the boats from returning, and deranged the whole scheme. At break of day the enemy's batteries were opened on Yorktown, and, in the divided state of the British force, there were not people enough to man the lines. Lord Cornwallis recalled the troops which had been embarked in the boats, and, as the wind moderated, they got back in the course of the forenoon without great loss. In the meanwhile the British works were knocked to pieces, so that not a gun could be fired from them, and the last of the bombs and shells were counted, and found not to exceed 100. After consulting with his engineers and other officers, who were all of opinion that the place was assailable in many places, and that it would be madness to stand an assault with a garrison exhausted by incessant fatigue, and reduced by sickness even more than by the heavy fire of the French and Americans, Cornwallis, about the hour of noon on the 17th, beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, in order that commissioners might meet in the rear of the first parallel to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester.

On the 18th, Washington dictated the terms of capitulation. By those articles the army, artillery, money-chest, and stores of every denomination were surrendered to General Washington for the United States; but the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse, for his most Christian majesty Louis XVI. On the day previous to the surrender, the rank and file of the British garrisons amounted to 5950; but of these only 4017 were reported fit for duty. They had lost about 500 men in killed and wounded during the siege. The French and Americans had lost about an equal number; but, owing to the constant arrival of recruits, volunteers, and militiamen, they had at the end of the struggle nearly 18,000 men under arms.¹

In the meantime Sir Henry Clinton had embarked 7000 men of his best troops to succour Cornwallis; but owing to sundry delays, the causes of which do not seem to be sufficiently explained, the fleet did not leave Sandy Hook until the 19th of October, the very day on which the capitulation was completed at Yorktown; and it was the 24th before it reached the Capes of Virginia, where Clinton received some vague accounts which led him to suspect the sad truth.

¹ *Stedman; Gordon; Ramsay; Marshall; Letters of Washington and La Fayette.*

Admiral Graves, who had now twenty-five ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eight frigates, to oppose to De Grasse's thirty-six sail of the line and nine frigates, did not venture up the Chesapeake, but lay off the mouth until the 29th, when he and Clinton agreed to return to New York, it having been fully proved to them that they had come too late to be of any service to Cornwallis. Soon after the surrender of Cornwallis, Count de Grasse, contrary to the wishes of Washington, hastened down the Chesapeake and then made all sail for the West Indies. He however left the French troops he had brought, who continued in Virginia with Rochambeau's army from Rhode Island. Greene's reinforcement, under the command of General St. Clair, were marched off by land, with orders to capture Wilmington on their way. In that direction Lord Rawdon had continued to make a good stand, though the British posts were assailed simultaneously by Greene's army, and by strong bodies of militia and volunteers from the mountains. After gaining the victory at Hobkirk's Hill, Lord Rawdon saw himself under the necessity of abandoning Camden and concentrating all the forces in South Carolina, except the garrison of Charleston, within a narrow compass. Fort Watson, a post on the Santee River, with a small garrison without any artillery, was compelled to capitulate on the 23d of April. But, after an extraordinary march, 500 men succeeded in joining Rawdon, who then went in pursuit of Greene, who was encamped behind Twenty-five-mile Creek. Greene was warned of his approach, and retreated to a greater distance and to a much stronger position, where Rawdon could not attack him. About the middle of May his lordship stationed himself at Monk's Corner, considerably nearer to Charleston than was his old post at Camden; for the garrison of the capital of South Carolina was numerically weak, more than half of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were again taking up arms against the British, and it was necessary to cover and protect the part of the country from which alone forage and supplies could be drawn. In consequence of this retreat several small forts on the rivers were reduced by Colonel Lee, Sumter, and Marion. Extending his operations, Greene detached a considerable part of his army to lay siege to Augusta, in Upper Georgia, and marched himself to reduce Ninety-six.

The opportune arrival of three regiments from Ireland enabled Rawdon to strengthen the garrison of Charleston and his own little army; and he was soon coming on, with all the expedition that the intense heat of the weather would permit, with about 1800 foot and 150 horse. General Greene determined not to wait his arrival, unless he could carry Ninety-six by assault previously

Abandoning therefore the scheme of regular approaches, he, on the morning of the 18th of June, began a heavy cannonade, and at noon sent out two parties to make a lodgment in the ditch and storm the works. But both these parties were repulsed with dreadful loss, the besieged sallying forth and bayoneting them in the ditch. After this failure Greene, who had already sent off his baggage, and who knew that Lord Rawdon must be near, abandoned the siege and retreated with great expedition towards the river Saluda. He had lost more than 150 men, besides militia, in his fruitless attempt upon Ninety-six, where the garrison had twenty-seven killed and fifty-eight wounded. Rawdon arrived early in the morning of the 21st of June, and finding Greene gone, he resolved to pursue him in spite of the scorching heat, and the fatigue he had already gone through in his rapid advance to Ninety-six; and that same evening the trumpet sounded boot and saddle, and the small cavalry corps set off and was closely followed by the infantry. His lordship conducted them as far as the river Ennora, but he could not overtake any part of Greene's army. He then returned to Ninety-six and ordered the evacuation of that post, as being too remote to be supported. Dorchester was abandoned before their approach; but Monk's Corner, which Lord Rawdon intended to maintain as a part of his new line of posts, was gallantly defended by Colonel Coates, and Lee was there foiled and defeated. In that sultry climate, war, as we have seen, is suspended by summer heat, as in other climates by winter cold. It was now the middle of July, and neither army could any longer support active operations. Moreover, Lord Rawdon's own health seemed seriously affected; and in this interval of inactivity he availed himself of a permission obtained some time before to embark for Europe. At his departure the command of the small army in the field fell to Colonel Stuart, who had only recently arrived in the country with the 3d regiment, called the Buffs. During the rest of the month of July, and the whole of the scorching month of August, nothing was done or attempted by the regular army; but there was no cessation to the fierce hostilities carried on between the inhabitants, who were waging war in its most savage forms, and really making it a war of extermination. "The whole country," said General Greene, "is one continued scene of blood and slaughter."

At this moment the British authorities of Charleston resolved to proceed against one Colonel Hayne, who, after subscribing a declaration of allegiance, and accepting British protection, had taken up arms as soon as there was a chance of so doing with success, had penetrated within seven miles of Charleston, and had captured one Wil-

liamson, a colonel of loyal militia. This Hayne had been overtaken by some British cavalry, with Williamson as his prisoner and with arms in his hands, and he had been carried into Charleston and consigned to the provost-marshal for having resumed his arms after accepting British protection. The court of inquiry maintained that, having been taken in arms, he was liable to be hanged *instantly*, without any other form of trial than what was necessary to identify his person, and all the mercy that could be obtained was a respite for forty-eight hours. Hayne then petitioned to be shot as a soldier, instead of being hanged; but it was determined to refuse to him the last prayer which had not been granted to the unfortunate André. On the 4th of August he was led forth to the gallows with his arms pinioned behind him. Lord Rawdon, whose whole character and disposition was generous, humane, and chivalrous, was held up to execration, not merely by the republicans in America, but also by the leaders of the opposition in England, for having permitted the hanging of Hayne; but his lordship, in a letter addressed to Colonel Lee, upon the publication of that American officer's book,¹ exonerated himself by showing that he was at the moment about to sail for Europe; that Lieutenant-colonel Balfour commanded at the time in Charleston; and that he (Lord Rawdon) had really been desirous of saving Hayne's life.²

During the intense heats nothing took place but a few skirmishes between the cavalry who met by accident in their foraging excursions. The two armies were within sixteen miles of each other; for Lieutenant-colonel Stuart had again advanced the British to the Congaree, and had encamped them near the point where that river joins the Wateree. As the cooler season approached, Greene prepared to recommence active operations; and at the beginning of September he broke up his camp on the high hills of Santee, crossed the Wateree near Camden, and marched towards Friday's Ferry. On his advance Lieutenant-colonel Stuart retired to Eutaw, about forty miles from the Congaree, to meet a convoy of provisions and some slight reinforcements that were on the road from Charleston. Greene followed the British towards Eutaw, but by very slow marches, in order to give time to Marion, who was returning from one of his flying expeditions, to rejoin him. Marion came up on the 7th of September, when Greene was only seven miles from Stuart. It was instantly determined to risk a battle; and at four o'clock on the following morning Greene began to march with his whole

¹ *View of the Campaign in the Carolinas.*

² *Gordon; Stedman; Ann. Register; Marshall, Life of Washington.* Marshall seems to admit that Lord Rawdon's letter was unanswerable.

force upon the British positions at Eutaw. The advance of the Americans was unexpected and very rapid; and their approach was concealed by the hilly and thickly wooded nature of the country. Nearly one-third of Colonel Stuart's force had been sent out, without their arms, to search for roots and vegetables; they were surprised, and cut to pieces or made prisoners almost to a man. This disaster was followed by some others, and at one moment victory seemed to declare for Greene. But after a tremendous struggle, Colonel Stuart drove the Americans from the field with great loss, and Greene retreated to a strong position seven miles off. The battle of Eutaw was our farewell greeting to the Americans, for no other considerable contest took place during this war. It proved at least that the spirit of our troops was as high and as good as ever; and in this light only was it of any importance.

Farther to the south, beyond the limits of the Carolinas and of Georgia, the Spaniards, after suffering some tremendous losses, had succeeded in destroying the British dominion; and Florida, which, next to Canada, was the principal acquisition made during the last war by the British, remained to the Spaniards—an uneasy possession, which was speedily coveted, and eventually secured by the United States. Such were the main events of the year on the American continent, whence we proceed to the islands of the West Indies.

Early in the year, Admiral Rodney, with a land force commanded by General Vaughan, made an attempt to recover the island of St. Vincent, which had been taken by the French the year before. This was not attended with success; but almost immediately afterwards they captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, which, though small, and by nature unfertile, was a place of great wealth and commercial importance, being a free port and general dépôt of West Indian and American produce, the property of different nations, neutrals as well as belligerents. The value of the capture was immense; the goods and merchandise of all descriptions were estimated at more than £3,000,000 sterling; and about 250 vessels, many of them with rich cargoes on board, were taken in the port. Moreover, two ships of the line and a frigate, which Rodney detached in pursuit of a fleet of thirty Dutch West Indiamen that had just left the island for Europe under convoy of one ship of the line, overtook and captured every vessel of them. General Vaughan kept the Dutch colours flying at St. Eustatius, and thus decoyed into the harbour a considerable number of Dutch, French, and American vessels, traders or privateers, who were all taken without any trouble. The small neighbouring islands of St.

Martin and Saba were also captured, and the Dutch settlements on the rivers of Demerara and Essequibo, in Guiana, after losing all their shipping and most of their property, submitted to the governor of Barbadoes. In order to check Count de Grasse, whose arrival in the Chesapeake had been attended with such serious consequences, Rodney detached Hood and Drake from St. Eustatius with seventeen sail of the line; but this force, after a partial action, retreated in the night from De Grasse's twenty sail of the line; and, while the count pursued his course, the Marquis de Bouillé suddenly appeared off the island of St. Lucia, and landed some troops. In this attempt the marquis failed; but he was fully successful in an expedition against Tobago, which, though bravely and ably defended by Governor Ferguson, capitulated in the month of July.

In another direction the Dutch suffered somewhat severely, though far less than had been anticipated by the British cabinet, who already aimed at dispossessing them of the Cape of Good Hope, and of all their factories in the East Indies.

In Europe the Spaniards not only continued—at times with a glimmering of success—their siege of Gibraltar, but also undertook the reduction of the island of Minorca. The court of Versailles, though not with very good will, consented to co-operate, and the Duke of Crillon, a Frenchman, was appointed to the chief command of the expedition, which was prepared with great skill and caution, in order to take the British garrison by surprise. On the 22d of July the grand united fleets of France and Spain sailed out of Cadiz Bay; and, while the mass of this great force stretched out into the ocean as if with the intention of making a descent upon England, two ships of the line, several frigates, and a swarm of transports with 8000 land troops on board, and with stores and ordnance, hurried through the straits and appeared unexpectedly on the coast of Minorca. On the 19th of August the troops, favoured and openly assisted by the islanders and unopposed by the British, effected their landing, occupied all the posts round Port Mahon, and compelled General Murray, with his weak garrison of two British and two Hanoverian regiments, to retire into Fort St. Philip, the principal defence of Minorca. The Duke of Crillon, in pursuance of instructions from the court of Madrid, impudently offered General Murray a bribe of £100,000 sterling, and rank and employment in the French or Spanish service, if he would surrender the fort and save him the loss, labour, and delay of a siege or blockade. The high-minded Scotsman indignantly replied, "When your brave ancestor was desired by his sovereign to assassinate the Duke

of Guise, he returned the answer which you should have done when the King of Spain charged you to assassinate the character of a man whose birth is as illustrious as your own or that of the Duke of Guise. I can have no other communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, pray send clothing to your unfortunate prisoners in my possession; leave it at a distance, to be taken up for them; because I will admit of no contact for the future, but such as is hostile in the most inveterate degree." Crillon soon found that his men and materials were insufficient for the reduction of Fort St. Philip; but in the course of the autumn he was reinforced by 4000 French troops despatched from Toulon, with good artillery and engineer officers, more ordnance, and other requisites for the siege. Yet, notwithstanding this great accession to the strength of the besiegers, General Murray held out most manfully; and the year ended without seeing the Spanish flag hoisted on Fort St. Philip.¹

In the meanwhile the grand combined fleets which had come out of Cadiz Bay, and which consisted of thirty Spanish ships of the line, commanded by Cordova and Gaston, and nineteen French ships of the line, commanded by De Guichen, De Beausset, and De la Motte Piquet, accompanied by a number of frigates and smaller vessels both French and Spanish, had continued their course to the English coast, and occupied the mouth of the Channel. Admiral Darby had sailed from Spithead on a cruise to the westward with the Channel fleet about a month before the arrival of the French and Spaniards; but, on the 26th of August, he returned and got safely into Torbay, while the enemy were chiefly engaged in picking up prizes and capturing a number of the English ships that were bringing home part of the money and property seized at St. Eustatius. Darby had only twenty-three sail of the line, twelve frigates, and six fire-ships, yet the French and Spaniards would not venture to attack him in the bay. De la Motte Piquet, with six sail of the line, returned to Brest with the prizes which had been made in the Channel; sickness and dissension again broke out in the rest of the ships of the combined fleets; and they all returned to port in a short time without performing any deed worthy of notice. But there had been harder fighting between the English and Dutch, who had never met at sea without a stern contest. On Sunday, the 5th of August, Rear-admiral Sir Hyde Parker fell in with Admiral Zoutman, with a convoy of Dutch traders, off the Dogger Bank. This action, though upon a small scale, was conducted and fought in such a manner as to recall afresh to the memory those

dreadful sea-fights between England and Holland which had been witnessed in the last century. Not a single gun was fired on either side until within half musket-shot. The *Fortitude*, Sir Hyde Parker's ship, being then abreast of the *De Ruyter*, Admiral Zoutman's ship, the action began with a deadly steadiness, which was never relaxed during three hours and forty minutes. At the end of that time the two fleets fell asunder in a most shattered condition, and lay to for a considerable time in order to refit. They were close to each other, and Parker expected a renewal of the action; but, as soon as his ships were made manageable, Zoutman wore round, and with all the sail he could carry bore away for the Texel. Parker could not pursue him with any hope of success; but the next day his frigates discovered the *Hollandia*, a sixty-eight gun ship, which had been ruined in the battle, sunk in twenty-two fathoms water, with her top-gallant masts above the surface, and her pendant still flying; and the rest of the fleet were with difficulty kept above water till they reached the nearest port. In this dreadful action the English had 111 killed, and 318 wounded; the Dutch 116 killed, and 382 wounded; and it is said that most of the crew of the *Hollandia* sank with her when she went down.

Having failed in some overtures of negotiation with Spain, Lord North's cabinet endeavoured to purchase the friendship of the Emperor Joseph II., by offering to open to him the navigation of the Scheldt, and to secure to him other advantages, commercial and political. But Joseph, who had paid another visit to Paris, conceived different notions as to the strength of France, or the weakness of England: he consented to enter into several views and projects of the French cabinet, and, forgetting his former answer to those who urged him to acknowledge the *republic* of the United States—"I am a *royalist* by profession"—he began to testify a desire for the triumph of the Americans; and, after some subterfuges and affected concealments, he openly declared his accession to the armed neutrality. After this no reliance could be placed on his mediation, which he continued to offer even while binding himself to the most active enemies of Great Britain.

Thus negotiation seemed hopeless, and the ministry falling to pieces, when parliament reassembled on the 27th of November.² The speech from the throne, however, was in the same determined language as at the close of the last session. The opposition vehemently opposed the address; and

² The official intelligence of Lord Cornwallis' surrender had reached the cabinet on Sunday, the 25th, at noon. It is said that Lord North's firmness gave way for a short time under the awful disaster.

¹ Coxe; Florida Blanca's *Representation*, as quoted by Coxe; *Ann. Register*.

Mr. Fox expressed his horror and astonishment at the audacity of ministers in attempting to prolong a war which they had all along grossly mismanaged. Lord North urged in reply that the American war was prosecuted not to aggrandize the crown, not to make the subjects slaves, but to preserve entire our empire and our venerable constitution; and he again told the house that the American quarrel had been begun, not by the king, but by the parliament; not under the present ministry, but under the administration of his adversaries. "A melancholy disaster," said he, "has indeed occurred in Virginia; but are we therefore to lie down and die? No, it ought rather to impel, to urge, to animate; for by bold and united exertions everything may be saved; by dejection and despair everything must be lost." On the 30th of November, in the debate on the army estimates, the opposition had adopted the bold measure not resorted to since the revolution of 1689, of moving that no supplies whatsoever should be granted until the ministry had given the people some proof of their repentance and amendment—which meant some pledge that the American war should go no further. In this extreme measure they had been defeated by a majority of considerably more than two to one. But, on the 12th of December, Sir James Lowther, in an uncommonly crowded house, moved two resolutions:—1. To declare that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken. 2. That it was the opinion of the house that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual and injurious to the true interests of this country. Some twenty or thirty ministerial members spoke or voted with the opposition on this occasion. Lord North declared that it would neither be wise nor right to *prosecute the war in America on a continental plan; that is, by sending fresh armies to march through the colonies.* But he urged that the posts we held in America must be defended; that the British trade must be protected against American privateers; that to adopt Sir James Lowther's resolutions would be to advertise all our enemies of our weakness, and to encourage the Americans beyond measure; and his lordship moved the order of the day, to get rid of the motion altogether. Lord George Germaine, who, next to the king, had been the main manager of the war with the colonies, declared that if the house adopted a motion which went to give up our sovereignty in America, he would instantly retire from office, as he could not but consider the independence of America as another word for the ruin of Great Britain. Nor was this opinion confined to the stanch Tories and personal friends

of the king: even now it was held by nearly the whole of the Shelburne section of the Whig opposition; and Dunning, one of the leaders of the Shelburne party, though approving of Sir James Lowther's motion, declared it to be his opinion that the man who should dare propose the recognition of American independence would be guilty of a crime little short of high treason! Nor did even the Rockingham party consider that recognition otherwise than as a terrible though unavoidable calamity—a sure beginning of the end of the night, wealth, and glory of their country! At a very late hour Lord North's motion for the order of the day was carried, but by a majority of only forty-one, the numbers being 220 to 179.¹

A.D. 1782. During the Christmas recess bad news came flowing in from all quarters; and soon after the re-assembling of parliament, intelligence was received of the entire loss of Minorca. After cutting off all supplies from Fort St. Philip, the French and Spanish commanders, impatient at the long resistance made by General Murray, began to assail the works with numerous batteries. Several spirited sorties were attempted by the garrison, and one of them was so successful that Crillon's head-quarters were penetrated, and for a short time kept by the British. But their numbers were insufficient; and for want of vegetables, that dreadful disease, the scurvy, added its horrors to those of dysentery and putrid fevers, until the garrison was reduced so greatly that it could no longer furnish the ordinary guards. On the dawn of the 6th of January, the birthday of the dauphin (the unfortunate child of a hapless father), the Duke of Crillon had opened a tremendous fire on the works from 150 pieces of heavy artillery. Yet General Murray held out till the 5th of February, when he capitulated upon honourable terms.

To this discouraging circumstance were added rumours of the greatly increased danger of Gibraltar, and certain intelligence that St. Eustatius had been taken from the English, not by its old masters the Dutch, but by the French. Even before all these things were known, great popular meetings had been held in London and Westminster, in Surrey and in other towns and counties, to deprecate the continuance of the war, and to draw up petitions and remonstrances. The West India planters resident in London drew up a particularly strong petition, representing their total ruin as inevitable if an end were not speedily put to hostilities.

The king at last reluctantly consented to accept the resignation of Lord George Germaine. Undeterred by his great unpopularity, and by the stigma of the court-martial in his grandfather's time, his majesty, who was well pleased with his

services, or, at the least, with his community of sentiment on the grand question of American independence, determined to gratify Lord George with the peerage; and Lord George was created Viscount Sackville. Lord North's speeches now became shorter and more languid; but, down to the very last moment, he retained his most enviable good-humour and exercised his ready wit.

On the 20th of February, Fox renewed his attack upon Lord Sandwich. He extended his censure to the whole board of admiralty, and was warmly seconded by William Pitt. He was again outvoted, but this time by a majority of only *nineteen*. At the very next sitting, on the 22d of February, General Conway moved an address to implore his majesty "to listen to the advice of his commons, that the war in America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and to express their hopes that his majesty's desire to restore the public tranquillity might be forwarded and made effectual by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies." Upon a division at two hours after midnight, ministers had still a majority; but this time it was a majority of only *one*, the votes being 194 to 193. This night's debate may fairly be said to have terminated the American war. On the 27th of February, General Conway moved—"That the further prosecution of offensive hostilities for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force would weaken the efforts of Great Britain against her European enemies, increase the mutual enmity so fatal both to Great Britain and America, and, by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, frustrate the desire expressed by his majesty of restoring the blessings of peace and tranquillity." Upon this occasion Lord North could scarcely obtain a hearing from the impatient and triumphant opposition, who had ascertained their strength and felt confident of a majority. The attorney-general observed that there were many obstacles to be removed before any government could treat of a peace with America; that several acts of parliament in existence must prove great bars to such an attempt; and he recommended as the first necessary step a truce between the two countries. He further declared his intention of bringing in a bill for this purpose; and he moved that the present debate should be adjourned until the 13th of March. Upon this proposition, at about two o'clock in the morning, the house divided, when ministers were defeated by a majority of *nineteen*, the numbers being 234 against 215. The original question, and an address to the king founded upon the resolution, were then carried without a division; and it was ordered that the address should be presented by the whole house. On the

Monday following, General Conway rose again, and moved a resolution—"That the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all those who should advise, or by any means attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." Neither Lord North nor any other member of the shattered administration offered any great resistance, and the resolution was allowed to be carried without a division. On the very next day, the 5th of March, the attorney-general introduced his plan of a truce with America. Fox—who, in common with the whole opposition, whether Shelnburnites or Rockinghamites—was astonished and exasperated at North's still remaining on the treasury bench, declared that the scheme was a farce; that ministers had no wish for peace; and that nothing but force and punishment would ever make them renounce their old policy. He asserted that there were persons in Europe¹ fully authorized by congress to conclude a peace between Great Britain and America, but that those persons would not treat or negotiate with the present administration. Lord North told Fox that he would not quit office to gratify his impatience; that he remained to prevent confusion, and the introduction of mischievous, unconstitutional principles; and that he would not resign until it pleased the king to order him, or until the house clearly proved that he must retire. Fox said that the house had already given sufficient proof. The attorney-general's motion was, however, agreed to without a division. In the House of Lords the ministerial majority had apparently lost little of its strength. On the 8th of March, North found a small majority even in the commons.

The interval between the 8th and the 15th of March is supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts to divide the two great parties in opposition, and to form a coalition with one, or a section of one of them. But, on the 15th, Sir John Rous moved—"That the house could no longer repose confidence in the present ministers." Lord North now let fall that his only anxiety was for the formation of a prudent, wise, and united administration; and that he would gladly see a coalition of parties for that end, and for the arrangement of a cabinet in which he should have no place himself. Sir John Rous's motion was rejected, though only by a majority of *nine*, the votes being 236 to 227. Some of the country gentlemen, who, though anxious for peace, preserved a lingering affection for their old good-natured chief, were completely puzzled to guess what would follow these protracted struggles and narrow divisions. The capital and

¹ He meant more particularly Franklin, with whom several members of opposition were maintaining a correspondence.

the country, and the court perhaps more than all, were excited and anxious. On the 20th of March, the minister had a long and private interview with the king at St. James's Palace, whence he drove down in his full court-dress and with his blue ribbon over his coat to the House of Commons. It was five o'clock; the house was crowded, and Lord Surrey was only waiting the arrival of the minister to make a motion to the same effect as that which had been made and lost by Sir John Rous on the 15th, and of which notice had been given after the defeat on that day.

As North proceeded up the house there was an incessant cry of "Order! order!—places." As soon as he reached the treasury bench he rose and attempted to address the chair; but Lord Surrey was on his legs, and insisted on his right (conferred by the notice of motion) to speak first. The opposition, not knowing what melodious notes were about to flow from the lips of the prime minister, cried out "Lord Surrey, Lord Surrey—no adjournment!" North's friends increased the uproar by contrary cries, and great disorder and confusion prevailed for some time, in spite of every effort made

by the speaker to enforce silence. As soon as some order was restored, it was moved—"That the Earl of Surrey be now heard;" and, as this gave North a right to speak to that question, the opposition was silent while he spoke. He calmly told the house that, if he had been suffered to proceed before, he might have saved them much unnecessary heat and disorder; that he meant no disrespect to the noble lord, but that the object of the intended motion was become unnecessary: and he could now assure them, with authority, *that the present administration was no more*; that his majesty had come to a full determination, and it was for the purpose of allowing time for new arrangements that he was going to move for an adjournment. At first the opposition seemed to hesitate and doubt: but, after a little delay, it was agreed that Lord Surrey's mo-

tion, which they had counted on as a *coup de grâce*, should be dropped, and that the house should adjourn for five days. And then, with a smile and a *bon mot*, Lord North quitted the house, in which he had sat for twelve years as the supreme personage. He left office a poorer man than he came into it; and as his father, the Earl of Guilford, was still living, his income would have been insufficient for the education and maintenance of his six children, and for the support of "his habitual, though unostentatious hospitality," but for the office of lord-warden of the Cinque-ports,

in which the king had secured him.¹

On the day after Lord North's resignation the king desired the attendance of the Marquis of Rockingham.² His majesty was desirous that two of his late ministers, the Chancellor Thurlow and Lord Stormont, should be continued under the new administration. Rockingham consented as to the first, but put a decided negative upon Lord Stormont. The king could do nothing but submit to the terms proposed by the marquis, who, on his side, was obliged to gratify the Shelburne party as much as his own. He himself became premier as first lord of the treasury;

the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; the Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was also created a viscount, first lord of the admiralty; General Conway, commander-in-chief of the forces; the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; and Dunning, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. In the distribution of places, Burke, without a seat in the cabinet, got the pay-office, which, with its then prodigious emoluments, had



CHARLES JAMES FOX.—From a picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

¹ See some very interesting communications from Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the youngest and only surviving daughter of Lord North, in Lord Brougham's *Statesmen of the Times of George III.*

² According to many accounts the king sent, in the first instance, not for Rockingham, but for Shelburne, and offered the latter the premiership.

been held by Rigby for nearly fourteen years; Colonel Barré was gratified by Welbore Ellis's snug place of treasurer to the navy; Thomas Townshend became secretary-at-war in lieu of Jenkinson; and Kenyon was made attorney-general. The Earl of Carlisle was replaced as Lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of Portland; and General Burgoyne, in virtue of his parliamentary exertions and connections, and in despite of the surrender at Saratoga, was appointed to the chief command of the troops in Ireland. Sir William Howe, who had so mismanaged the early and hopeful stages of the war on the continent of America, was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and his brother, Lord Howe, who was more deserving of his appointment, got the command of the grand Channel fleet. All the changes that it was then usual to make took place in the royal household. Nearly all these changes were exceedingly unpalatable to the king. William Pitt, whose eloquence and abilities were worth a high price to any administration, and who had indisputably contributed to the overthrow of Lord North, remained without post or situation. It appears that he was offered the place of a lord of the treasury, and that he rejected it with disdain.

There were also strong personal jealousies and dislikes between the members of the two confederating parties: the Marquis of Rockingham, who knew that the king, of the two, preferred Lord Shelburne, complained even before the arrangements were completed; and Fox, and still more Burke, who ruled Rockingham, entertained feelings of absolute aversion towards Shelburne, and apparently took little care to conceal them. There were five Rockinghamites and five Shelburnites; the eleventh member of the cabinet, Lord-chancellor Thurlow, being the king's man, and obnoxious alike to both parties. Thurlow alone, with the known disposition of the king, would have been enough to destroy the harmony of the cabinet. It was with great reluctance that Fox consented to take office with Thurlow. Fox, moreover, could not help perceiving that the king on all occasions treated him with great coldness; and Burke, no doubt, thought that he had reason to complain in not obtaining the rank of a cabinet minister, although, in fact, by the great influence he exercised over Lord Rockingham, he became a sort of vice-premier.

On the 28th of March, the new arrangements were announced to the house; and, the writs having been moved for new elections to replace such members as had vacated their seats by accepting office, the house adjourned for the Easter holidays, without proceeding to any other business. It was on the 8th of April, that the new administration began to try their strength in parliament.

The business first brought before them related to the affairs of Ireland, which still continued in a stormy and threatening state. The measures adopted by ministers, and by them carried through both Houses of Parliament with little opposition, and without a single division, were of a liberal and enlightened kind. It was at this favourable juncture—on the 3d of May—that Wilkes succeeded in getting the resolution of the 17th of February, 1769, and all the subsequent proceedings founded upon it, expunged from the journals. He made the motion himself, and was seconded by Mr. George Byng. Fox opposed it upon the ground that the house ought to have the privilege of expelling such representatives as they thought unworthy of a seat. For this conduct, and for some slighting expressions uttered elsewhere, Wilkes never forgave Fox, of whom he continued to speak with great bitterness till his dying day. A few days after the very rotten borough of Cricklade, in Wiltshire, was disfranchised, though not without a hard struggle, particularly in the House of Lords.

The fate of Cricklade and the strong petitions for parliamentary reform got up by the livery of London and the county associations, which still continued their exertions, seemed to give some encouragement to William Pitt in moving, on the 7th of May, for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report to the house their observations thereon. Pitt did not adopt the prayer of the petitions for doing away with the septennial act; but he demanded, as something vital to the constitution and indispensable to the well-being of the country, the sweeping away of all rotten boroughs, and the establishing an equal representation. Fox supported the motion, and so did Sheridan, Sir George Saville, and other Whig orators; but it was very apparent that the Whig aristocracy now in power were as anxious to quash it as the Tories themselves could have been; and either through their bounden allegiance to that party, or through higher motives of conviction, Burke, Thomas Townshend, and others, were not merely lukewarm, but altogether adverse to the present scheme of reform. The question was met by moving the order of the day, which was carried, though only by a majority of *twenty*, the numbers being 161 against 141.

As early as the 15th of April, the king, as bound by his engagement to Lord Rockingham, sent down a message to the houses, to recommend Burke's plan of economical reform. Burke called this the best of messages to the best of people from the best of kings. In the beginning of May, Burke, as chairman of the committee appointed to take the scheme into consideration, was directed to move the house for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to pay off the debt

on his civil list, to prevent the like in future, and to legalize the retrenchments which his majesty had graciously proposed to make in his household. The bill was accordingly produced, but so mutilated, so changed from the form it wore when presented from the opposition benches, that it was scarcely to be recognized as the same. In the words of Prior, his biographer, Burke had "found what most reformers in time discover, that it is easier to propose public correctives when out of office than to carry them into effect when in." Instead of £200,000 a-year, the calculated amount of the saving he recommended in 1779, the whole of the saving he now proposed amounted only to £72,368: many places proscribed before were now allowed to remain as necessary or expedient, or decorous to the state: the duchy of Lancaster, the duchy of Cornwall, the separate jurisdiction of Wales were left as they were; the scheme of supplying the royal household by contract, as barracks and hospitals are provided for, was dropped; the ordnance office was declared to be safe for the present in the patriotism and economy of the Duke of Richmond, &c. In the lords the pillars of the law bent their weight upon the bill as if to crush it. Lord Mansfield, Lord Loughborough, and Chancellor Thurlow gave it a decided opposition. It was nevertheless carried, and received the royal assent.¹ Burke showed his own disinterestedness by bringing in a bill immediately after for regulating the office of paymaster to the forces, which he then held. Up to his time balances amounting occasionally to the enormous amount of £1,000,000 sterling had been allowed to accumulate in the hand of the paymaster; and not only was the interest lost to the public, but the money itself was risked and employed by the paymaster for his own private benefit in stock-jobbing and other speculations. It was this charm of the place which had kept Fox's father, the first Lord Holland of the name, so long in it; and whenever a man had a turn for money-making it was the best of all places! It should be noted that few men ever held it so poor as Burke, who, but for the munificence of the Marquis of Rockingham, would have had for years a hard struggle to live. The bill passed, not, we suspect, without a sigh from some who knew by how frail a tenure Burke held the place, and who might hope, in another shifting of the cards, to get it for themselves or their friends. He also, as treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, gave up the profits upon clothing the pensioners, amounting to some £700 a-year.

Shortly before he became foreign secretary, Fox had more than once insinuated in the com-

mons that he possessed the means of detaching the Dutch from the French; but when he came to try his powers, his overtures were received by the States-general with coldness, if not with contempt. But a more mortifying circumstance still, and one which Fox had time to know before quitting office, was that the Americans, whose moderation and magnanimity he had so often applauded from the opposition benches, met his overtures for pacification with a coldness even greater than that of the States-general. The predictions of Lord North were fulfilled; the Whigs had made the enemies of England bold and insolent, by votes in parliament that she could and would no longer fight them. Fox found himself obliged to submit to the humiliation of courting the half-offered mediation of the Czarina Catherine and the Emperor Joseph, who literally insulted England while pretending a desire to serve her. In the first place, however, Fox despatched Mr. Thomas Grenville to Paris, to open, in a private capacity, a direct negotiation with the court of France, and he then empowered Sir Robert Murray Keith to commence a negotiation under the auspices of the emperor and the czarina, instructing him, however, to avoid making Vienna the real scene of treaty. The chief terms which Fox proposed were the recognition of the independence of the thirteen American colonies, and for the rest a *status quo ante bellum*. Though France was on the very verge of a national bankruptcy, and Spain almost drained to her last dollar, they would not at present listen to these terms; for they first expected prodigies from their great fleet in the West Indies under Count de Grasse, and the Spaniards, after nearly four years' perseverance in the siege, fancied that Gibraltar must be theirs at last.

No progress had been made in these negotiations, or towards that peace which had seemed of such easy attainment to ministers when they were on the opposition side and Lord North on the treasury benches, when the death of the Marquis of Rockingham put an end to the cabinet. The marquis, whose health had been for some time declining, died on the 1st of July, while parliament was still sitting. The king instantly sent for Lord Shelburne, who still scrupled about recognizing American independence, and placed him at the head of the cabinet. Fox, though almost in a desperate state of poverty, instantly threw up his place; and Burke, Lord John Cavendish, and Lord John Townshend followed his example. Fox, indeed, had declared, even before Rockingham's death, that he would not long consent to act in a situation in which he was hampered and thwarted. The king received his resignation with very apparent satisfaction, and appointed Mr. Thomas Townshend,

¹ The court places, &c., abolished by Burke's bill were about twelve in number. Some of them were the merest sinecures, and they could all be held by members of parliament.

soon after created Lord Sydney, to succeed him as foreign secretary. Lord Grantham got the other secretaryship, which had been held by Shelburne; and William Pitt, who had so recently



LORD SHELburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne.
From a picture by T. Gainsborough, R.A.

been offered a mere lordship of the treasury, was raised to the eminent post of *chancellor of the exchequer*. Colonel Barré, the old satellite of Chatham, was made paymaster of the forces instead of Burke, and Dundas took Barré's place of treasurer of the navy. The promotion of Thomas Townshend to be one of the secretaries of state made way for Sir George Yonge to the secretaryship-at-war. Other substitutions were made in the boards of treasury and admiralty: Mr. Lee was succeeded as solicitor-general by Mr. Pepper Arden; and the Duke of Portland, resigning the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, was succeeded by the Earl of Temple, formerly George Grenville, the nephew and heir of Chatham's brother-in-law, who died in 1779. The first and most obvious reflection suggested by these changes, was, that Lord Shelburne's ministry was not likely to have strength enough to stand in face of the enmity and opposition of the displaced Rockinghamites; and that therefore a return to a Tory system of government would not be a very remote event. Hence Fox, Burke, and their friends were accused of heat and precipitancy, and of having committed the whole Whig cause by their animosities against Lord Shelburne and their sudden resignation. On the 9th of July, Fox defended his conduct in the House of Commons, alleging that it was impossible to act with honour and benefit to the country either under or in conjunction with Lord Shelburne. The matter which opened this debate was of a sufficiently striking and irritating kind. It had been discovered that the late administration, though so loud for eco-

nomical reform, had conferred upon that rough-tongued patriot, Colonel Barré, the disproportionate and enormous pension of £3200 a-year, and upon the wealthy Dunning, now Lord Ashburton, a pension of £4000 a-year. These things were the more remarked, as the same administration had voted Rodney for his great victory over De Grasse only £2000 a-year. Fox declared that Lord Shelburne had opposed, and would still oppose, the independence of America, without which there could be no peace; and in the flow and dash of his eloquence he predicted, that, in order to maintain the power he had now acquired, Shelburne would be base enough to *enter into a coalition even with Lord North*. The new chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt, arraigned the conduct of the late secretary, Fox, in severe terms, accusing him of being more at variance with men than with their measures, and of having resigned in pique and without any good public ground.

Two days after—on the 11th of July—the king prorogued parliament.

While the French fleet under De Guichen, which Admiral Kempenfelt was too weak to intercept, was proceeding to the West Indies, Rodney, who had the start of them by a few days, was making with all haste for the same quarter. Rodney arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, and soon after put to sea with the intention of joining Sir Samuel Hood, who had been attempting the relief of our island of St. Christopher, assailed by the Count de Grasse and a land force under the Marquis de Bouillé. On his passage Rodney met Hood returning from St. Christopher's, which had surrendered in spite of his efforts to save it. In making these efforts, Hood, with only twenty-two ships of the line, had gallantly risked an action with De Grasse, who had thirty-three sail of the line; had skillfully dispossessed the French of their anchorage ground, and had repulsed, with terrible loss to them, two attacks made to regain it. But having no land troops, Hood could not dislodge De Bouillé from St. Christopher's, the fall of which was immediately followed by that of two more of our islands—Nevis and Montserrat. Upon Hood's information that De Grasse had proceeded to Martinique to prepare for a grand attack on Jamaica, almost the last of our islands, and the richest of them all, Rodney ran with the whole British fleet to St. Lucia, and threw out his frigates to watch the French in Martinique. On the 5th of April, intelligence was received that De Grasse was embarking troops, and on the 8th, at daybreak, a signal announced that his fleet was coming out from Port Royal Bay. Upon this the whole British fleet weighed anchor, and proceeded with a press of sail in pursuit. Although it was obviously the design of De Grasse

to avoid an engagement, and to seek the junction of a Spanish fleet, then at Hispaniola, which was to co-operate in the reduction of Jamaica, and which would have raised his force to nearly sixty ships of the line, he was tempted, on the 9th, by the separated, exposed position of the British van, and he bore down upon Hood with his whole force, hoping to destroy him before the centre and the rear, which were becalmed, could come up to his assistance. At one time—at about nine o'clock in the morning—Hood's ship, the *Barfleur*, had three sail of the line firing upon her, and nearly every ship of his division was exposed to the same unequal contest; but they all behaved nobly, their steady fire, apparently, inflicting more mischief than they received; and as soon as the other divisions of the British fleet got the wind, and the centre came up, De Grasse withdrew, and, having still the advantage of the wind, he was enabled to baffle all the efforts of Rodney to bring him to a general action. Rodney lay-to, the night after the action, to repair the damages which some of the van had suffered, and the next morning made all sail in pursuit. In the course of that day he kept De Grasse in sight, but on the morning of the 11th the French were scarcely visible. Rodney began to despair of coming up with them, when, about the hour of noon, two of their ships of the line which had been crippled in the late action were discovered far to the leeward of the rest. The signal was made for a general chase, and was immediately obeyed by the whole British fleet. It was blowing a fresh and steady gale, and the *Agamemnon* and some others of the headmost ships would have cut off the two Frenchmen, if De Grasse had not hastened to their relief with his entire force. This brought the enemy so far to leeward that Rodney once more hoped that he might force them to battle. But as it was now evening the British admiral called in the foremost ships, and forming a close line of battle, he plied to windward all night. On the following morning—the 12th of April—the two fleets were near each other, and at about seven o'clock they met on opposite tacks. The action was begun by the *Marlborough*, the leading ship of Rodney's van, and it soon became general from van to rear. About the hour of noon Rodney broke the French line; and about sunset he secured his glorious victory. Scattered, and for the most part crippled, the French fleet went off before the wind in small squadrons and single ships. De Grasse, in the *Ville de Paris*, had struck, and was a prisoner.

On the following morning, when the British had repaired their damages, the French fleet were out of sight. Rodney attempted to pursue, but was becalmed for three whole days under Guadeloupe. Hood, however, on the 19th, overtook and captured in the Mona Passage, between Hispaniola and Porto Rico, two ships of the line and two large frigates. Thus, in all, the loss of the French amounted to seven ships of the line and two frigates. Their loss in killed and wounded was terrific, for many of their ships had fought at the closest quarters, and at times each with two English line-of-battle ships upon it, and they were all crowded with land troops, who might have done good service on shore at Jamaica, but who only served to swell the carnage on board. Jamaica was saved, the power of the allied fleets in the West Indies was ruined, and the dominion



ADMIRAL HOOD.—From a painting by Northcote.

of the ocean was once more restored to the British flag.¹

The news of Rodney's victory reached London about the middle of May, just after the rejection of Pitt's project of parliamentary reform. It threw the country, so long accustomed to reverses, into a delirium of joy; and if it had happened two months earlier, it might have prevented the overthrow of Lord North's administration and the passing of the pacific votes of the commons. The admiral was raised to the peer age, with an additional pension of £2000 a-year.

¹ Schomburg, *Naval Chron.*: Mundy's *Life of Lord Rodney*.

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1782—1784.

GEORGE III.

Dismay of the Americans at the defeat of De Grasse—Arrival of the pacific offers of the British government—The Americans reject them—Helpless condition of their army at this period—Events in the West and East Indies—Naval exploits of Lord Howe—The Duke of Crillon arrives at Gibraltar to superintend the siege—The immense force brought against the fortress—The floating batteries constructed by the besiegers—The batteries brought into action—They are set on fire by the British and destroyed—British humanity in saving the survivors—Lord Howe comes to the relief of Gibraltar—He throws in abundant supplies—His successful resistance to the French and Spanish fleets—The European powers desirous of peace—Double-dealing of the French minister Vergennes—The king's purpose announced in parliament of declaring America free and independent—The declaration made, and the preliminaries of peace signed—Conditions of the agreement with America—Conditions of the agreement with France, Spain, and Holland—Debates in parliament upon these preliminaries—Coalition between Charles Fox and Lord North—Objections proclaimed against it—Fox's answer—Lord Shelburne resigns—Difficulty of forming a new cabinet—Attempts of the king to exclude Fox—The coalition successful—A new ministry formed—Pitt brings forward his three resolutions against bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections—First petition presented for the abolition of the slave trade—Peace signed with Holland, France, Spain, and America—Fox's India bills submitted to parliament—Keen debate on the first bill—It is carried in both houses—Fox and North required by the king to resign—The coalition cabinet broken up—A new one formed by the king with William Pitt at its head—Pitt's new India bill—It is thrown out—Unsuccessful attempts to effect a coalition between Fox and Pitt—Motion that the ministers should resign—It is carried in the commons—Counter-resolutions in the lords—Ineffectual negotiation with the Duke of Portland to form a new administration—Addresses and motions for the removal of ministers continued—The king persists in his refusal—The motion for removal carried in the commons by a majority of one—Parliament dissolved—Success and popularity of Pitt—Public demonstrations in his favour—First proceedings of the new parliament.



On the American continent the news of the defeat of De Grasse, without whose aid they could never have reduced Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, filled the whole republican party with dismay, and no inconsiderable portion of them with despair. Even Silas Deane confessed that they were apparently as far from peace and independence as ever, and that nothing could be done unless France sent them more assistance and more money. Early in May, Sir Henry Clinton was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, formerly governor and commander-in-chief in Canada, who arrived in New York with the pacific votes of the House of Commons, and instructions from the Rockingham administration to open negotiations with congress on the basis of independence. In conjunction with Admiral Digby, Carleton remitted copies of the votes and of the bill enabling the king to conclude a truce, to General Washington, in a letter stating that these papers would show the pacific dispositions of the government and people of England, and that if the same temper prevailed in America the rest would be easy work. Sir Guy also informed Washington that he had a letter ready for congress containing the same communications; and he solicited a passport for a person to convey this letter to Philadelphia. The American commander-in-chief sternly refused the pass-

port and spurned the overtures. He, moreover, rendered any intercourse and communication more difficult by limiting the admission of flags of truce to one particular place. His conduct was fully approved by congress, who, still further to quiet the suspicions of the French envoy, passed a vote on the 21st of May, binding themselves to make no separate treaty, and to entertain no overtures of negotiation except in common with their allies. And for the present all that the friendly advances of the Rockingham administration elicited was a partial exchange of prisoners; for it was not owing to their overtures, but to the weakness, poverty, and wretchedness of the American army, and the formidable positions occupied by the British troops, that hostile operations were suspended.

Those who have been accustomed to entertain a vain vision of American victory, glory, and prosperity, and to believe that they were in a state to continue the war against Great Britain to an indefinite period, must be startled by Washington's own account of the real state of things. On the 28th of May, only a few days after refusing Sir Guy Carleton's messenger a passport to congress, he was obliged to write that his army on the Hudson was left destitute of provisions and in a state of disorder and almost mutiny; and that, if the British knew his real situation, and were to make a sudden at-

tempt, he must be driven from all his posts. Nor did the condition of the army improve. Early in October he declared that there never was so much suffering or so great a spirit of discontent as at that instant; and in this letter he exclaimed, "It is high time for a peace!" Nor was the American army in the south under General Greene in better case. Both in the north and in the south there were frequent mutinies, and not unfrequent executions in the camp to check them. But Washington now dreaded not only that these executions would fail in their effect, but that even peace would come too late, or that, come when it would, it would be succeeded by a horrible internal social war, as the country had no means of paying the arrears of the army, and as men with arms in their hands might not be disposed to disband at the bidding of congress to retire to poverty or starvation. His letters at the time are full of these gloomy anticipations. The usual interest demanded for money in July was at the rate of sixty per cent. per annum. In this state of things the French army, which had rendered such notable service against Lord Cornwallis, were collected and marched to Boston, where, in the month of October, they were shipped for the West Indies, not to attempt new conquests, but to defend their own sugar islands.¹ A French squadron under the command of La Perouse destroyed some defenceless British settlements in Hudson's Bay; and the Spaniards captured the Bahama Islands, defended by a few companies of invalids. On the other side, the British captured some Spanish forts on the Mosquito shore, and took from the Dutch—the great losers in this war—all the forts they had on the African coast, except Cape Town and a few places in its neighbourhood. In the East Indies the affairs both of the Dutch and of the French, who had made extraordinary and most costly exertions to expel the English by means of Hyder Ali, were going to utter ruin; and the victories of Sir Eyre Coote and Commodore Hughes contributed very materially to make the court of Versailles—the real supporter of the war—desirous of peace.

On the 13th of April, the very day after Rodney's great victory, Admiral Barrington sailed from Spithead for the Bay of Biscay with twelve sail of the line; and, on the 20th, he discovered seventeen or eighteen sail of large merchantmen and transports, under the escort of two French ships of the line and a frigate. This fleet, which had left Brest only the day before to carry supplies and reinforcements to the West Indies, was hotly pursued; and, in the course of the 20th and the 21st, the two French ships of the line,

ten large transports, and a schooner were captured by the British.

On the 5th of May, the Dutch, who had claimed the affair off the Dogger Bank as a victory, but who had since hardly ventured to show themselves at sea, crept out of the Texel with nine sail of the line, with the double object of escorting a convoy of their own, and cutting off our Baltic fleet; but Lord Howe left Spithead with twelve sail of the line, and as soon as they learned that he was at sea, the Dutch ran back into the Texel. After blockading that water for about a month, Howe was recalled to look after the combined fleets of France and Spain, which had come out of Cadiz. On the 28th of June his lordship sailed to the westward with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates, having taken under his orders Vice-admiral Barrington and Rear-admiral Kenpenfelt. In a few days he discovered the French and Spanish with thirty-six sail of the line besides frigates; and, undeterred by their great superiority of force, he formed a line of battle a-head. But the combined fleet declined the challenge, and Howe was allowed to protect the arrival in our ports of some great fleets of merchantmen.²

It was on his return from this cruise that Howe was appointed to a service which has rendered his name immortal in the annals of his country. Gibraltar was again considered in danger, and the service was to relieve that important place, the prolonged defence of which, under the brave and skilful General George Augustus Elliot, was by far the most memorable and glorious achievement of the British in this generally mismanaged war. After the relief afforded to the garrison by Admiral Darby during the previous year, the Spaniards resumed the siege with double vigour; and notwithstanding the terrible cannonades that were kept up without intermission from the Rock, they continued to advance, and had nearly completed their fourth line. Here, however, Spanish indolence succeeded these active efforts; and Elliot having learned from a deserter that the guards of this line were remiss in their watch, from the idea that the English would never dare to assail their quarters, resolved to convince them of their mistake. For this purpose, on the night of the 26th of November, 1781, he silently assembled 2004 soldiers, and 300 English sailors, who volunteered their services, under the deep shadow of the Rock on the low sandy isthmus called the Neutral Ground; and to insure the success of the sortie, the brave and cautious old commander accompanied it in person. The detachment marched silently along the soft sand, and reached the fourth line unnoticed, except by some sentinels who gave the

¹ *Letters to Washington; La Fayette's Memoirs and Letters; Life of General Greene; various American memoirs; Gordon.*

² *Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe; Schomberg.*

alarm when it was too late; and in a few minutes more the English were within the line, while the surprised and panic-struck Spaniards were fleeing



GENERAL ELLIOT, afterwards Lord Heathfield.

From the picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

half-naked to the village of Campo in their rear. After this cheap victory, the assailants proceeded to the work of demolition, which was done so quickly and systematically, that in three quarters of an hour the artillery was spiked, the batteries in flames, and the fourth line blown into the air, while the Spaniards who gazed in the distance could offer no interruption. In this destruction of the labour of months and a vast amount of treasure, the British had only four men killed, twenty-six wounded, and one missing.

In the month of April, the Duke of Crillon, the captor of Fort St. Philip, arrived from Minorca to take the chief command of the besieging army; and he brought with him, or was afterwards joined by a numerous body of skilful artillery and engineer officers, some French, some Italians, some Germans or Swiss—for ability was sought for and purchased for this great undertaking in nearly every country in Europe, and the most extravagant, and, in some instances, ludicrous rewards were offered for the invention of processes which might destroy the more than adamantine works of the old Rock. Moreover, from 18,000 to 20,000 French and Spanish troops were added to the besieging army; and princes of the house of Bourbon, with long retinues of French and Spanish nobles, repaired to St. Roque and the Spanish lines, to encourage exertion and to be present at the final triumph. Forty thousand men, and more artillery than had ever been collected on so narrow a point, might justify sanguine hopes in one who had never seen or closely examined the natural and artificial, and almost in-

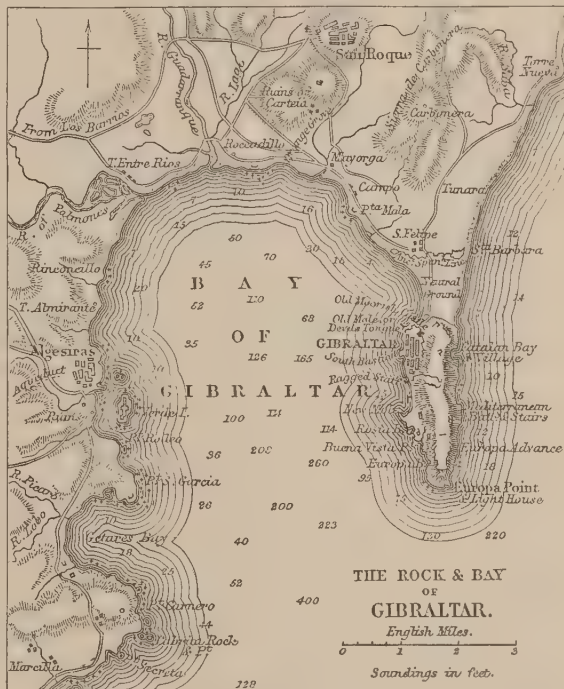
credible strength of the place. To these hopes the fact must have materially contributed, that the garrison of Gibraltar scarcely consisted of more than 7000 effective men. This siege fills a history of itself, and a very admirable one has been written of it.¹ We can merely notice the chief particulars of the final assault. When thousands of projects, some of which seemed to have been conceived in Laputa, had been proposed, and when many had been tried without the least effect, the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer, got a plan adopted which he felt certain was infallible. This was to construct out of large ships floating batteries that could neither be sunk nor set on fire by red-hot shot, which the British garrison, by long practice, employed with wonderful rapidity and skill. These vessels were to be secured from sinking by the extraordinary thickness of timber with which their keels and bottoms were to be doubled; they were to be made fire-proof by having their sides secured with a rampart or wall composed of timber and cork, with an interstice between filled up with wet sand; and a constant supply of water was to keep all the parts wet, the cork acting as a sponge to retain the moisture. Pumps, cisterns, pipes, were to be placed in all directions to convey the saving fluid wherever a red-hot ball might strike or lodge. To protect these floating batteries from bombs, grape-shot, and all sorts of fire from above—on the sides of the steep rock the garrison had admirable positions for maintaining a plunging fire right on the heads of their assailants—hanging roofs were contrived of strong rope-work netting laid over with a thick covering of wet hides: these roofs were to be worked up and down at pleasure by mechanism, and their sloping position, it was calculated, would throw the shot and shell off into the sea. Ten large ships of from 600 to 1400 tons burden were cut down and prepared according to D'Arcon's devices; 200,000 feet of timber were worked into their construction, and the neighbouring country was swept bare of cow-hides, and bull-hides, and horse-hides, to make the sloping roofs. When the "constructions" were finished, they were covered with new brass cannon of unusual weight; and D'Arcon had contrived a sort of match or train which, it was said, would fire a whole broadside at once. These new monsters of the deep, too huge and heavy to move through the water with any alacrity, were to be helped to their stations abreast of the English batteries, and were to be supported by forty gun-boats with long guns, forty bomb-boats mounted with twelve-inch mortars, five large bomb-ketches, and an immense raft mounted like a battery: a swarm of Spanish frigates and smaller vessels

¹ By Colonel Drinkwater.

were to act as tenders, and from 200 to 300 large row-boats were to keep supplying them with ammunition and fresh men. The combined fleet was to anchor in the bay near its head, and out of the way of the British red-hot balls, until the decisive moment, when every craft, great or small, was to join in the "crack of doom," and assist in disembarking the land troops on the crumbling or obliterated works. At the same time the army on shore was to maintain an incessant fire with 300 long guns and mortars.

Old Elliot, as firm as the immoveable Rock where he commanded, made a more copious distribution of furnaces and grates for heating his cannon-balls, and calmly awaited the event; but, as an intimation of what might be expected from his furnaces and fiery globes, he burned one of the foremost land-works of the besiegers only a few days before their assault. It was on the morning of the 13th September that D'Arcon's floating batteries got under weigh, and at nine o'clock they were within gun-shot of the walls, when they were instantly assailed by a fire loud enough to awake the dead. Four hundred pieces of heavy artillery thundered together. The Spanish commanders were not disconcerted, but proceeded to place their craft in a line, so as to be able to open their fire altogether; and they were completely moored and in order in little more than ten minutes. The brunt of the assailants' fire was directed against the fortifications on the Old Mole and the South Bastion. For a time their people were steady and intrepid, and hopes were entertained that D'Arcon had really solved the problem, and that success was certain. "The floating batteries," says an Italian officer engaged, "were so constructed that the shot which pierced their sides or roofs would at the same time pass through a tube which would discharge a quantity of water to extinguish the fire which it might create; but this hope proved fallacious. From nine till two they kept up a constant and well-directed fire, with very little damage on their part; but their hopes of ultimate success became less sanguine when, at two o'clock, the floating battery commanded by the Prince of Nassau, on board of which was also the engineer (D'Arcon) who had invented the machinery, began to

smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it was apprehended she had taken fire. The firing, however, continued till we could perceive the fortifications had sustained some damage; but at seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. The fire from our floating batteries entirely ceased, and rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. In short, the red-hot balls from the garrison had by this time taken such good effect, that nothing now was thought of but saving the crews; and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service."¹



But it was no easy matter to move those unwieldy leviathans from their moorings; and to approach them when they might every moment blow up, and to get within the range of the British batteries, was like going into the jaws of death. Whatever were the attempts made, they appear to have been unsuccessful, for five hours after, the floating batteries were still in their old and fatal position, immoveable and helpless. "A little after midnight," says the Italian officer, "the floating battery which had been the first

¹ This very interesting paper, used by Sir John Barrow in his *Life of Howe*, was found among the papers of the late Sir Evan Nepean, and sent by his son to Captain Brenton, R.N., who communicated it to Sir John Barrow.

to show symptoms of conflagration burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the Rock was increased with terrific vengeance: the light produced by the flames was equal to noon-day, and greatly exposed the boats of the fleet in removing the crews." By this time the only flashes from the floating batteries were the flames that were consuming them—their guns were silenced, and the only sounds on board were shrieks and maddening yells. The sole naval force the British then had at Gibraltar was a marine brigade of gun-boats, under the command of Captain Curtis. These boats had now come out, and by their low fire, almost *à fleur de l'eau*, took the floating batteries in the whole extent of their line, and sank or kept off the French and Spanish boats that were approaching. The land fire from the Spanish lines, which had swelled the hubbub without doing any mischief, slackened or ceased altogether soon after the sun went down; but the whole of that dark November night was illuminated by the fire of the garrison and of Curtis' gun-boats, and by the ascending flames of D'Arcon's constructions. "During the night," says the Italian officer, who renders full justice to the skill, valour, and humanity of his English opponents, "our batteries were so close to the walls that the hot balls pierced into them full three feet; but being made of solid beds of green timber, the holes closed up after the shot, and for want of air, they did not immediately produce an effect. At five A.M. one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after, the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft." What followed on the part of the conquerors is become a household word—a touching and a sacred tale, which two generations of Englishmen have learned in the cradle, and which succeeding generations will tell to their children, as the best exemplification of the axiom that the bravest are ever the most merciful. Elliot ordered the guns on shore to hold their fire; and on the water Curtis, with his gallant little crew, dashed among the burning wrecks and braved far greater dangers than they had hitherto been exposed to, for the sole purpose of saving the shrieking Spaniards; for many of them were still exposed on the burning rafts, and many more were floating in the bay clinging to spars and fragments. And thus ended all the Chevalier d'Arcon's high-flown hopes and visions of greatness: his "constructions" were involved in total destruction: his 150 brass cannon of large calibre were at the bottom of the sea or in the hands of the English; an enormous sum of money had been worse than thrown away; and, between killed and wounded, and prisoners, nearly 1000 men had been sacrificed. The blow—and well it might—appears to have affected

the poor engineer's intellect. He wrote to the French ambassador at Madrid—"I have burned the temple of Ephesus! everything is lost, and through my fault. What comforts me under my misfortune is, that the honour of the two kings remains untarnished."¹

That the siege was not immediately abandoned was owing only to the knowledge that Elliot's stock of ammunition and provisions was greatly reduced, and to the hope that the combined fleet collected in the narrow bay, with scouts in the Straits of Gibraltar, would prevent any relief. The French and Spanish admirals, indeed, believed that no such attempt would be made, when, on the 24th of September, an express was received from Madrid announcing to them the departure of the British fleet for the relief of Gibraltar. Upon the reception of this intelligence, 2000 land troops were embarked in the ships of the line; but the whole fleet still remained anchored in the bay, nor did they move to the straits' mouth, when on the 9th of October, they were informed that a British fleet had been seen off Lisbon. The fleet was of course the brave Lord Howe's, which had been increased to thirty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships. On the 11th of October they glided, in a compact mass, between the shores of Europe and Africa, through the Straits of Gibraltar, with the foreknowledge that the force of the enemy in the bay amounted to fifty sail of the line, besides frigates, smaller vessels, and an infinitude of gun-boats. The current ever flows through the straits into the Mediterranean with great force, and, as the wind was blowing in the same direction, the transports shot past the not very broad mouth of the Bay of Gibraltar, becoming what sailors call "back-strapped"—a not uncommon accident—that is, they were driven behind the Rock. Only four of them got to the appointed anchoring stations in front of the Rock near the Old Mole, where they landed their cargoes without any interruption from the combined fleet, which lay at anchor between Algeiras and the Orange Grove. Lord Howe, in the *Victory*, of 100 guns, passed the end of the Rock called Europa Point, and hauled up behind to protect the convoy, and cover their passage, when the weather should serve, back into the bay. On the morning of the 12th, Captain Curtis, who had commanded the brigade of gun-boats, came round from General Elliot in an open boat, and informed his lordship that, in the night of the 10th, the combined fleet huddled in the bay had suffered from a violent gale of wind, which had driven one ship of the line on shore at the Ragged

¹ Letters, as given by Archdeacon Cox, *Memoirs of Spanish Kings of the House of Bourbon*.

Staff under the guns of Gibraltar,¹ another ship on shore near the Orange Grove, and another, of the largest size, upon Punta Mala; and which had forced two ships of the line to quit the bay altogether and run up the Mediterranean in the direction of Malaga. On the following day, the 13th, the combined fleet put to sea, with the double purpose of giving protection to their two stray ships in the Mediterranean and of cutting off the supplies for the relief of the garrison before they could be brought round into the bay. But Lord Howe had all his multitude of shipping under his hand in compact order, there were no stragglers, and the accidents of the wind proved most favourable to him. The French and Spaniards, in clearing Europa Point, got into the strong current, and, as the breeze was still in the same course, they were swept far behind the Rock and beyond the snug corner where the British fleet lay; and then there came on a calm,

which kept them motionless all night off Malaga. And on the morning of the 14th an easterly wind—the wind for which Howe was sighing—springing up suddenly, carried the whole British fleet round Europa Point into the bay and in front of the old Rock, in the midst of the shouts and acclamations of the garrison and inhabitants. Two new regiments, with an abundant supply of gunpowder and of provisions, were thrown into the place; and, as the operations of landing all these things must occupy a considerable time, his lordship kept guard at the mouth of the bay and right across the sea from Europa Point to the African shore, to prevent the return of the French and Spaniards to the ground they had left. Every transport as she discharged her cargo came out of the bay and ran through the straits, which were kept open to them all by Howe's disposition of his forces. By the evening of the 18th the landing of the stores and troops was completed, and most of the convoy was getting out of the straits into the Atlantic. At break of day on the 19th, this important duty being done, Howe began to repass the straits himself with his ships of war, being now closely followed

by the combined fleet, which came down from Malaga with the same wind that favoured his passage against the current, and, under several variations, continued to be between him and the wind, or in possession of the advantage of the weather-gage. On the morning of the 20th both fleets were clear of the straits and in the open ocean. The enemy having gained upon him in the course of the day, Howe formed in order of battle to leeward. As they had the wind, and as it was blowing freshly, the Spaniards and French, who had still forty-five or forty-six sail



THE TOWN AND ROCK OF GIBRALTAR, from the Bay.—Chapuy, L'Espagne.

of the line to oppose to the British thirty-four sail, were left uninterruptedly to take their own distance at which they should think fit to engage; but they testified no anxiety for coming to close quarters, and, indeed, no alacrity in coming into action at all; for it was sunset before they began their cannonade at random-shot distance. They continued their fire, at a considerable distance and with little effect, until ten at night, when they hauled their wind and gave up all idea of battle or further pursuit. They had—at least such of them as had gone near enough—been sorely mauled by the steady fire of some of Howe's ships.²

The ruinous exertions and failures of France in the East Indies, the state of wretchedness and almost helplessness of the Americans, were not so well or so universally known, and great efforts had been made to patch up or conceal the defeat of the French in the West Indies; but all Europe had had their eyes fixed intently on the siege of Gibraltar for at least one whole year, and the miscarriage of that great enterprise, and the exploit of Lord Howe, were rapidly reported to every court, capital, and town. Charles III., who had been led into the war by the hope of

¹ This was the *St. Michael*, a fine Spanish ship of seventy-two guns, which, with her crew of 650 men and some soldiers, was captured by the garrison.

² Sir John Barrow, *Life of Earl Howe*; *Ann. Register*; Captain Schomberg, *Naval Chron.*

regaining not only Gibraltar, but all that Spain had ever lost to England, became most anxious for a peace. The French ministers, in their augmenting poverty and embarrassment, were also anxious for peace. The Dutch were groaning for an end to the war; and the czarina, departing from some of her unfavourable prejudices in regard to England, now really began to act as a fair and anxious mediatrix. In the meanwhile the British government, though they had sent no more troops, had ordered an immense naval force to collect on the American coast; and in the month of September there were, at New York alone, twenty-six sail of the line, with frigates, fire-ships, &c. Whatever were the private feelings of Lord Shelburne as to the great question of independence—he subsequently stated that they had undergone a change and had been liberalized by his intercourse with a Frenchman, an abbé-philosophe, an economist, an author, and encyclopedist¹—he now sent Mr. Fitzherbert to Paris to take up the thread of the negotiations as they had been left by Mr. Grenville, Fox's nominee, who had been recalled after the breaking up of the Rockingham ministry; and nearly at the same time he despatched to the same capital Mr. Richard Oswald, a merchant and shipowner, who had formerly had extensive commercial dealings with America, and who was now authorized to treat with the American agents and commissioners at the court of France—Dr. Franklin, Adams, Jay, and Laurens. Vergennes, the French minister, partly perhaps through the habit of his country in diplomacy, partly through a half-malicious and half-selfish desire to embarrass and prolong the negotiations, and in part no doubt to keep the new republic weak and dependent, had recourse to sundry manœuvres, propositions, and counter-propositions. For example, he instigated the Americans to claim a share in our profitable Newfoundland fishery, and he strongly urged the British government to refuse them this concession; and he formed a design to weaken and divide the American states before they should acquire stability by peace. But the English negotiators detected and exposed to the agents of congress his double-dealing about Newfoundland, assuring them that a share in that fishery would be allowed them; and the fortunate capture by an English cruiser of despatches containing Vergennes' project of division and dismemberment enabled the British government to expose that matter also. Mr. Fitzherbert secretly laid the intercepted paper before the American commissioners at Paris. Both Adams and Jay were furious against Vergennes; and, though Franklin was

cooler in his indignation towards the French, or hotter in his animosities to England, he agreed in opinion that no time was to be lost in bringing the treaty to a conclusion.² And, accordingly, on the 30th of November, at a *private meeting*, unknown to Vergennes, they signed separate preliminary articles of peace with England. Vergennes, in his turn, complained of being duped; and felt, or pretended, great indignation at what he called American subtlety and chicanery. He afterwards, in conjunction with Spain, laboured to limit the boundaries to be assigned to the United States, and advised the English government not to make too ample concessions. But, though Vergennes' affection to the new republic might be exceedingly small, his great object in this last side-scheme was to keep a bone of contention between the parent state and the enfranchised colonies, and to prevent the return to the old friendly feeling and close commercial intercourse.

On the 5th of December parliament met; and the speech from the throne announced that, in pursuit of a general pacification, his majesty had offered to declare the American colonies free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Fox now declared that it had been Lord Shelburne's shifting and changing on the great question of independence that had induced him to quit the cabinet, and he maintained that his lordship ought to have recognized the independence in the first instance instead of reserving it as the condition of peace. But there was no regular opposition to the address in either house. In the lords, Shelburne, in reply to some strong objections against the preliminaries agreed upon with the American commissioners, declared that the full recognition of independence of the United States was still dependent on the conduct of France, and that if France did not consent to peace, that recognition would be withheld. On the 23d, the house adjourned for the Christmas holidays, the opinion of no very inconsiderable part of it still being that the negotiations with France, Spain, and Holland would fall to the ground, and that a general peace was a distant event. But during the recess, the negotiations came to a pacific end.

A.D. 1783. On January 20th, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris.³ By these arrangements his Britannic majesty acknowledged the United States to be free, sove-

¹ Jay accused Franklin of a too great subserviency to the will of the French court!—*Life and Opinions of John Jay*, by his Son, W. Jay.

² The American signatures were:—John Adams, B. Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens. Before signing, Franklin is said to have put on triumphantly the dress suit, which he had never worn since the day of Wedderburn's attack in the British privy council.

³ The well-known Abbé Morellet, the uncle of the wife of Marmontel. See Lord Shelburne's letters to the Count de Vergennes, in *Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet, de l'Académie Française*, &c.

reign, and independent, relinquishing all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same; the boundaries were settled very liberally for the Americans; and they were secured in full liberty to take fish of every kind on the grand bank and on all other banks of Newfoundland, as also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and all other places in the sea where they had formerly been accustomed to fish. His majesty agreed, with all convenient speed, without causing any destruction or *carrying away any negroes or other property of the Americans*, to withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the United States. The navigation of the river Mississippi from its source to the ocean was for ever to remain free and open to the *subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States* equally. Franklin, Jay, and all the American commissioners had sternly opposed any compensation to the American royalists, that unfortunate class of men, who had strong claims on the British government; and Franklin had even declared that they would rather risk a war by themselves alone, than consent to any indemnification for the enemies of, and traitors to their country. A clause was, however, agreed to and inserted in the treaty—certainly with the intention that it should, and with the foreknowledge that it would, remain a dead letter on the other side of the Atlantic—that congress should *earnestly recommend* it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties which had been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in possession of his majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States; and that persons of *any other descriptions* should have free liberty to go to any part of the states, and therein remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, &c., as had been confiscated; &c., &c.

The conditions of the treaty which regarded France were—that she should have the right of fishing at Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the same footing as at the last peace—only, to prevent future disputes, the limits were more accurately defined and restricted; that she should again be put in possession of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon on the Newfoundland coast: that in the West Indies she should keep Tobago and have St. Lucia restored to her, she on her part restoring to Great Britain Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; that on the African coast she should keep Senegal and Goree, Great Britain retaining Fort James and the river Gambia; that in the East Indies she should have back Pondicherry and all that she had lost,

together with liberty to carry on her accustomed commerce and also to fortify Chandernagore; and, finally, all the stipulations against fortifying Dunkirk and making it a great port—stipulations which, to very little purpose, had been inserted in so many successive treaties—were omitted and renounced.

Spain procured better terms than she had ever obtained since the peace of St. Quintin. The two Floridas and Minorca were ceded to her, she renouncing all claim to the Bahama Islands, which had been recaptured by the British before the execution of the treaty.

The Dutch agreed to a truce, with the understanding that there was to be a mutual restoration of conquests between them and Great Britain; but the preliminaries were not arranged till nearly eight months after.

No notice whatever was taken in the treaty of the principles of the armed neutrality, which no British minister could have ventured to admit.

On the 24th of January, when the preliminaries of peace were laid before both houses, ministers were attacked with the utmost violence, and the nation was astonished and disgusted by a *close coalition* between those old adversaries, *Lord North and Mr. Fox*. Nearly the whole Rockingham party had followed Fox, and it was evident that their strange union with North's friends and the great body of the Tories would drive Shelburne from his post. Fox, with all his abilities, could hardly have succeeded in obtaining better terms of peace; and he had expressed or implied a readiness to yield quite as much as Shelburne had done, in order to put an end to the horrors and expenses of the war; his party had repeatedly declared that a high price must of necessity be paid for the inestimable blessing; but this hindered neither him nor them from going into an extreme condemnation of the whole treaty. In the commons, the address of thanks to his majesty for ordering the preliminary articles of peace to be laid before the house was moved on the 17th of February by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, at this period the bosom friend of William Pitt. It was opposed by the entire strength of the coalition, the antagonists in so many fierce debates acting together as if they had always had one will and one principle, and as if Fox and Burke had not a hundred times threatened Lord North with the block for persevering in the war. The first amendment, "to reserve to the house the power of disapproving the conditions of the treaty," was moved by Lord John Cavendish; and Lord North moved the second, which was "to express the regard of the British parliament for the unfortunate American royalists." It was admitted, however, on all hands, "that the preliminary articles for which

the public faith was pledged should be kept inviolate." Ministers urged that a peace was the great desire of parliament and of the country, and that the only thing to be considered was, whether the peace they had been enabled to procure were not preferable to the war which they found raging when they accepted office. In defending their conduct they only made use of arguments which had been worn thread-bare by the Rockingham party, such as the hopelessness of the struggle, the total want of any allies, the rapidly increasing national debt, &c. They held that the sacrifices they had made were neither numerous, nor in reality important; and that better terms could not possibly have been procured without prolonging the war at an enormous cost. On the other hand, the coalesced opposition proclaimed that a worse peace could not have been concluded—that the treaty was replete with infamy and ignominious sacrifices, dismembering the British empire, and introducing disunion in the most valuable parts of it. The course of events in that part of the world, more than any preconceived scheme, had led Lord North to fix an attentive and hopeful eye on the East Indies, and to promise himself there something more than a compensation for our loss of dominion in other parts. He saw with unaffected anxiety that the treaty, by giving the French a fresh footing on the coast of Coromandel, might shake our rising empire and re-introduce all the anarchy of the old India system. In his speech he dwelt with great ability upon this point, predicting hostile leagues between the French and the native princes, and the speedy interruption of our valuable commerce. He condemned nearly every concession made, but more emphatically the boundaries allowed to the United States, the liberty given to the French and Americans to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the surrender to Spain of the Floridas and Minorca. He severely censured the abandonment of the unfortunate American royalists to the fury of their revengeful countrymen, and the degrading notion of the British government sending prayers and petitions to congress in favour of those victims. Mr. Powys distinguished himself among the many who condemned as infamous and monstrous the coalition between men so different as Lord North and Mr. Fox. He said that this was indeed a season of strange confederacies—arbitrary despots were figuring as the protectors of an infant republic, and in that house the lofty assertors of the power and prerogative of the king were uniting in close alliance with the humble worshippers of the majesty of the people. Burke said there was nothing so monstrous in such an alliance, if any such had been formed—which he had yet to learn. Fox seemed fully to admit the formation of the alliance, and

he undertook its defence. One of the best arguments he could have used would have been to declare that orators in opposition always say a great deal more than they mean, or more than they know to be true; and that the best of parliamentary oratory is often little more than an acting for effect. He reminded the house that he had often paid a tribute to the private worth of Lord North; and that now that the American war, which had caused the hostility between Lord North and him, had ceased, their animosity also ought to end. He declared that he had ever found Lord North open and sincere as a friend, and honourable and manly as an enemy—above practising subterfuges, tricks, and stratagems. This most animated debate was prolonged till half-past seven in the morning, when both the coalition amendments were carried by a majority of sixteen, the numbers being 224 to 208. In the House of Lords an amendment similar to that of Lord North was moved by the Earl of Carlisle, and rejected by a majority of thirteen, or by seventy-two to fifty-nine. Four days after, on the 21st of February, the coalition followed up their victory in the commons; and Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions condemning the recent treaty, though still pledging the house to preserve the peace inviolate. Lord John, forgetting how very recently he and his friends had pursued the same course, reprehended men who, with un-English minds, could permit their gloomy imaginations to brood perpetually over our own losses, debts, and disgraces, without looking at the actual state of our enemies. He said, and with perfect truth, that France and Spain were almost ruined by the war; that Holland was in a reduced and helpless condition; and that in America most of the people had refused to pay the taxes ordered by congress for continuing the contest. Fox made a brilliant display, and Pitt, though ill and suffering, rose to reply to him: he spoke from one o'clock till four o'clock in the morning, defending the treaty article by article, and vehemently reproaching the coalition, which he called an "ill-omened and baneful alliance."¹ There was more said in the debate upon the coalition than about the treaty; but, after four in the morning, Lord John Cavendish's resolutions were carried by a majority of seventeen, the numbers being 207 to 190.

Immediately after this second defeat Lord Shelburne resigned, but the rest of the administration remained, and Pitt even continued in office five weeks after the first lord of the treasury had

¹ "Pitt," says Wilberforce, "spoke three hours, till four in the morning; stomach disordered, and actually holding Solomon's Porch (a portico behind the old House of Commons) door open with one hand, while vomiting during Fox's speech, to whom he was to reply."—MS. Mem. in *Life of Wilberforce by his Sons*.

retired, a circumstance which was considered as unprecedented. According to one who was in his closest intimacy, Pitt, on or even before the 24th of February, was sent for by the king, who made him the "very surprising proposition" to form a cabinet of his own.¹ On the 25th, Dundas moved an adjournment for three days, to afford time for the forming of a new cabinet. This motion was readily agreed to; but the three days passed without anything being settled, and when the house met again (on the 28th) neither Dundas nor any one else on that side said a word about the matter. It appears that in the course of that day, Thomas Townshend had been sent to persuade Pitt to accede to the king's wishes, but all in vain.² Day after day elapsed, and still all was undecided. On the 2d or 3d of March, the king sent for Lord North, having previously seen his father, the Earl of Guilford. His majesty insisted that Fox should be given up and excluded; North refused, and they parted on bad terms. On the 5th, the king saw Lord North a second time, but he could not prevail upon him to break the coalition.³ On the 12th, his majesty sent for North a third time, and then commissioned him to desire the Duke of Portland, who had succeeded to the great party influence of the Marquis of Rockingham, to form an administration. But fresh difficulties arose; the Duke of Portland would in no way break the league which had been formed between his party and the party of Lord North; the king still tried to exclude Fox, and Fox and some of his friends could not agree as to the admission into the cabinet of Lord Stormont, whom they had rejected before; and, on the 24th of March, it was currently reported that all negotiation between the king and the coalition was broken off.⁴ On that evening Mr. Coke, the popular member for Norfolk, moved an address, requesting his majesty "to consider the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and comply with the wishes of the house, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might tend to terminate the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." The debate which ensued was rendered remarkable by Lord North's solemn denial of having ever found, while in office, any secret influence behind the throne—for that cry was again revived and was now applied, not to Lord Bute, who had almost disappeared from the public eye, but to Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool. Coke's motion was carried in a very full house with only four dissentient voices. His majesty replied to this address that it was his "earnest desire to do everything in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful

commons." But, though more than a month had passed since the resignation of Lord Shelburne, nothing was done.

On the 31st of March, Lord Surrey moved another and stronger address, "to assure his majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and most humbly to entreat that he would take such measures as might quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." But as it was intimated by Mr. Pitt that he had that day resigned as chancellor of the exchequer, the motion was ultimately withdrawn. Two days after this the king surrendered at discretion to the coalition, and an end was put to this long ministerial interregnum, which, however, was not so long by six weeks as the ministerial hiatus in the year 1757.

The Duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury, Lord North secretary for home affairs, and Mr. Fox secretary for foreign affairs; the Earl of Carlisle got the privy seal; Lord John Cavendish was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and Admiral Lord Keppel, who had quitted the Shelburne party, and resigned in January on account of the treaty of peace, was again placed at the head of the admiralty. The wishes of the king were complied with as regarded Lord Stormont, who became president of the council; but that other king's man, Lord-chancellor Thurlow, who had been admitted before at the formation of the Rockingham cabinet, when Stormont had been excluded, was now, in his turn, barred out, and put to the ban: the great seal was given in commission to Lord Loughborough, Mr. Justice Ashurst, and Mr. Baron Hotham; and the aged Lord Mansfield accepted the temporary office of speaker of the House of Lords; Lord Townshend became master-general of the ordnance; Colonel Fitzpatrick secretary-at-war; Burke again paymaster of the forces, and Charles Townshend treasurer of the navy. These seven—Portland, North, Fox, Cavendish, Carlisle, Keppel, and Stormont—formed the new cabinet. Lord Sandwich, who still enjoyed the protection of North, and whose poverty was notorious, was gratified with the rangiership of St. James's and Hyde Parks; and his son, Lord Hinchinbroke, was made master of the buck-hounds; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee took again the places of attorney and solicitor general; Sheridan, whose poverty and eloquence were equally conspicuous, became secretary to the treasury, having for his colleague Burke's brother Richard; Lord North's son (Colonel North) and the Honourable Mr. St. John were appointed under-secretaries of state; the Earl of Northington was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. William Windham secretary for that kingdom. Fox, who was the real head, saw that

¹ Willberforce: *Diary, in Life by his Sons.*² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Ibid.*

his popularity was declining, and the king's aversion to him increasing every day; and that, of all experiments in politics, coalitions are apt to prove the most dangerous.

One of the first measures which the new cabinet were obliged to propose, was a loan of £12,000,000; and a stamp-duty on receipts soon followed. Pitt, while chancellor of the exchequer, had been importuned to reproduce his scheme of parliamentary reform; but he declined the undertaking till the cabinet was changed. On the 7th of May he moved three resolutions:—1. That it was necessary to adopt measures for preventing bribery and expense at elections. 2. That when the majority of voters in any borough should be convicted of corruption, the borough should be disfranchised, and the minority, not convicted, entitled to vote for the county. 3. That an addition should be made to the number of county members and of representatives of the metropolis. Varying upon that point, as his father had done before him, Pitt now defended the rotten boroughs, as necessary deformities, which might disfigure the constitution, but which could not be removed without risking a terrible catastrophe. As Chatham had once done, he maintained that increasing the number of county members would give new life and vigour to the constitution. He would not fix the specific number, but he gave it as his opinion, that, including the new members for the metropolis, not less than 100 representatives ought to be added to the house.¹ The claims of the American royalists to compensation, many of whom soon found themselves compelled to quit their native country for ever, also engaged the attention of parliament. Counting all classes and conditions, they subsequently received, in various parlia-

mentary grants, somewhat more than £12,000,000 sterling.²

On the 17th of June a remarkable petition—the first of so many—was presented to parliament by the Quakers for the total abolition of the slave trade. It was considered as little more than a romantic aspiration of the amiable enthusiasts who had sent it up, and after a very short debate it was ordered to lie upon the table. On the 16th of July parliament was prorogued.

On the 2d of September preliminary articles of peace with the Dutch were signed at Paris, Great Britain obtaining the cession of Negapatam, and restoring Trincomalee and all her other conquests. On the very next day the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were signed at the same place. Shortly after, when Adams arrived as envoy from the United States, the king said to him, at his first audience:—"I was the last man in the kingdom, sir, to consent to the independence of America: but, now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

When parliament re-assembled—on the 11th of November—the Prince of Wales took his seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Cornwall; and Fox produced his famous India bills, which became the immediate cause of the dismissal of the coalition ministry. The first of these bills was for "vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public." Fox proposed that these directors should be seven in number, to be nominated *in the first instance by parliament*, and afterwards by the crown, to act for four years; but there were to be added nine assistant-directors, to be chosen in open election by a majority of the proprietors of East India

¹ Parliamentary reform now began to occupy the place in the public mind that had been so long engrossed by the questions relating to America. A society had been formed for the diffusion of "constitutional information, with a design to convey to the minds of the people a knowledge of their rights, principally those of representation." The first volume of their collected tracts was published in London in 1783; and presents, on many points, a curious contrast to the publications of the societies formed before and since, with the design of conveying to the minds of the people a knowledge of their *duties*.

Although the tracts plead for annual parliaments and universal suffrage, the constitution of the society is aristocratic and exclusive. The members are chosen by ballot, but not without timeous recommendation to the committee, and two black balls suffice to exclude from membership, and a single black ball from the committee. No one could be a member without a yearly subscription of a guinea, rigorously exacted, or thirty guineas paid down. Such limitations may account for the fewness of the members, only 137, although the professed object of the society is so extensive and popular. Of these, five are noblemen, and eleven members of the House of Commons. The names of Major Cartwright, Alderman Bull, and John Frost, amongst the lay members, give token of absurdity, while those of Drs. Price, Priestley, and Kippis, and of John Horne Tooke, warn us not to expect much warmth of Christian principle. Accordingly, in the very first sentence of the first of the society's tracts, we find it set down, in capital letters, as a first principle,

that LAW, TO BIND ALL, MUST BE ASSENTED TO BY ALL—a principle which, by proclaiming immunity to criminals who refuse their assent to the most necessary laws, makes a burlesque of all civil government. As for religion, the first part of the tracts is prefaced by an English imitation of an ode of Alcaeus, the second with one of an ode of Callistratus. The latter having been "performed at the anniversary meeting of the society, May 14th, 1782," seems to indicate that it was disposed to borrow any religion it had from ancient heathendom. It is hardly to be doubted that such an association, running counter at once to the common sense and Christian sentiments of the nation, so discredited parliamentary reform in general as to have deprived the country of many salutary ameliorations, until the excesses of the revolutionists in France and Holland made the whole subject come to be viewed with aversion and disgust. But the exclusiveness of the society made it a mere clique. Two black balls would never be wanting to exclude petty and common sense.

² The grasping spirit of the United States very early revealed itself in a proposal made by Franklin to Lord Shelburne, when joint secretary with Mr. Fox in the Rockingham cabinet, to have Canada given up by Great Britain to the States, "in order that congress might sell the unappropriated lands, and make a fund thereby, in order to compensate the damages done by the English army, and even those sustained too by the royalists." Had this bait been taken, part of the £12,000,000, but probably a very small part, might have been re-imbursed.

stock. The seven directors were to be intrusted with the entire management of the territorial possessions and revenues of the Company; and the nine assistant-directors acting under them were to manage the commercial concerns of the Company; and both classes were to be removeable by the king, *on address of either House of Parliament*. The second bill—"for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India"—related chiefly to the powers to be granted to the governor-general and council in India, and to the conduct to be observed towards the natives. Fox encountered no opposition till the first of the two bills had been once read—on the 20th of November—and it was moved that it should be read a second time that day week. This motion was opposed by Mr. W. W. Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), who denounced the plan as one of the most alarming nature, involving the most daring violation of the chartered rights of the Company, and putting an extent of patronage into the hands of ministers which would enable them to defy both the parliament and the crown. Grenville moved that the second reading should be postponed till after the Christmas recess; and he was supported by his relative, Pitt, by Dundas, Jenkinson, and other members, including Mr. John Scott, afterwards Lord-chancellor Eldon. Fox exerted himself greatly; but Lord North was absent on account of indisposition. Grenville, contented with having made a beginning, did not press his motion to a division. The second reading, therefore, came on upon the 27th, and then there arose one of the longest and most animated of debates. On the 1st of December another great struggle took place on the motion for going into committee. Burke, who is said to have been, even more than Fox, the real author of the India scheme, was the principal orator on this occasion. Pitt pledged himself that, if the house would throw out the present bill, he would bring forward another, which would answer the exigencies of the case, without the violence or danger of the measure then before them. Again it was half-past four in the morning before a division took place; but then the motion for going into committee was carried by 217 against 103. On the 8th of December the third reading was carried by 208 against 102. These were great and triumphant majorities; and Fox, it appears, thought he had reason to hope for the concurrence of the lords, although the king had resolutely opposed a new and copious creation of Whig peers. On the very next day, the 9th of December, the bill was carried up to the lords by Mr. Fox, attended by a great body of the commons. Though allowed, as a matter of course, a first reading, it was at once reprobated by the Duke of Richmond, by Lord Thurlow,

and by Lord Temple, who had repeated interviews with the king to concert measures for relieving him from the coalition. Temple described the whole bill as *infamous*. Thurlow proclaimed with his sonorous voice, that, if the bill passed, the crown of England would no longer be worth a man of honour's wearing. "The king," he added, "will, in fact, take the diadem from his own head and place it on the head of Mr. Fox!" The keenness and personalities which followed were mainly owing to a note alleged to have been written by the king to Lord Temple, in which his majesty had declared that he would consider those as his enemies who voted for the bill. In the debate, Pitt, with the cold, sarcastic manner which was natural to him even in his early days, said that ministers ought instantly to resign, as it was evident, even from their own confessions, that they had lost the confidence of the sovereign. Fox spoke of his own glorious and independent majority in the commons, and of the private cabal consequently convened elsewhere. All strangers were excluded; but it appears that in the debate the motion of Mr. Erskine pledging the house to the adoption of suitable remedies for the abuses in the government of India, was warmly attacked as an invasion of the king's prerogative. The entire resolution was nevertheless carried by 147 against 73.

All this passed on Wednesday, the 17th. The next day was employed by the king in making dispositions for the formation of a new cabinet; and at twelve o'clock at night on Thursday, the 18th, a messenger delivered to Mr. Fox and Lord North his majesty's orders, "that they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under-secretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." The king delivered both seals into the hands of Lord Temple. On the following day—the 19th of December—Temple sent letters of dismission to all the other members of the coalition cabinet. At the same time, Pitt, though only in his twenty-fifth year, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Gower, president of the council; and Temple, one of the secretaries of state. Earl Temple, the active agent in the overthrow of the coalition, resigned on the 22d the place which he had accepted on the 18th; upon which Viscount Sydney was appointed secretary of state for the home, and the Marquis of Caermarthen for the foreign department. At the same time, the new cabinet was completed by the additional appointments of the Duke of Rutland as lord privy-seal, of Earl Howe as first lord of the admiralty, and of Lord Thurlow as chancellor. A few weeks afterwards,

however, the Duke of Rutland was transferred to the government of Ireland, on which Earl Gower took the privy seal, and was succeeded as president of the council by Lord Camden. The Duke of Richmond was made master-general of the ordnance, without a seat in the cabinet; Mr. William Grenville and Lord Mulgrave became joint paymasters of the forces; Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy; Mr. George Rose and Mr. Thomas Steele, secretaries of the treasury; Mr. Lloyd (afterwards Lord Kenyon) attorney-general; and Mr. Arden, solicitor-general. On the 22d, Mr. Erskine moved an address to his majesty not to dissolve the present parliament, but to be graciously pleased to hearken to the advice of his faithful commons, and not to the secret advices of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of his majesty and his people. Pitt had not yet been re-elected, but his friend Mr. Bankes, of Corfe Castle, declared that he was authorized to state that he had no intention whatever to advise either a dissolution or a prorogation; and that, if either of these measures were resorted to, Mr. Pitt would unquestionably resign! Erskine's motion was nevertheless pressed, and was finally agreed to without a division. During this debate Lord North eulogized Fox as the best and the most honourable of men and statesmen. Some one spoke of Mr. Fox as having resigned—"No," said North, "my right honourable friend did not resign; *he was turned out; we were all turned out.*" The king's answer to the address moved by Erskine was reported to the house on the 24th (Christmas Eve), and it contained an assurance that his majesty would not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative, either by prorogation or dissolution.

A.D. 1784. When the house re-assembled, after the Christmas recess, Pitt and the other members of the government who had been re-elected appeared in their places. Fox immediately moved the resumption of the committee on the state of the nation. After a debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning, the motion was carried against Pitt, by a majority of thirty-nine—or by 232 against 193. Imputations were thrown out that the ministerial minority had been occasioned by unfair methods and influences; but Erskine, nevertheless, described the youthful premier as about to be hurled from his eminence in a few hours. In this fierce contention men thought not of rest. Attack followed attack, and still the young premier was left in minorities. Pitt declared that he had taken upon himself the government of the country upon one single, plain, intelligible principle, by which he desired to stand or fall with the people, namely, *to save the country from the India bill, which threatened de-*

struction to its liberties. On the 14th, he moved for leave to bring in a new bill, the provisions of which he explained at great length, for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. Fox criticized the proposed measure with great severity; but no opposition was made to the motion, and the house diverged to charges and counter-charges of corruption, and of attempts to purchase votes. On the 16th, Pitt's India bill was read a first time with very little debate; and the committee on the state of the nation being then resumed, Lord Charles Spencer moved a resolution, declaring, "that, after the expressed opinion of the house, the continuance of the present ministers in office was contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." This was carried by a majority of *twenty-one*, the numbers being 206 to 185.

During the debate Mr. Powys alluded to the possibility of an accommodation between the two contending parties, or a coalition between Fox and Pitt. Fox spoke as if the thing were feasible, but Pitt carefully avoided committing himself on that delicate subject. When the house met again on the 20th, Pitt found himself obliged to take notice of the recommendation of the respectable and independent country gentleman; but he repeated the declaration made on the previous evening by Fox, that a union not founded on principle would be fallacious and dangerous. On Friday, the 23d, the new India bill was read a second time without opposition; but a long debate took place upon the motion for committing the bill, which, on a division, was negatived, and the bill consequently thrown out, by 222 against 214. Upon this, Fox moved for, and obtained leave to bring in a new bill of his own on the same subject. As the opposition apprehended that these triumphs, thus carried by constantly diminishing numbers, would only hasten the dissolution, they endeavoured to extract from the young premier his interpretation of the precise meaning of the royal promise on that head; but Pitt preserved an obstinate silence, and the house, at two o'clock in the morning, adjourned to the next, or rather the same day, Saturday, at twelve. When they met again the same question was put, and the same silence preserved by the young and haughty minister, as to the king's intention of dissolving them. On Monday, the 26th, Mr. Eden moved a resolution, declaring the firm reliance of the house, that they should not be interrupted either by a prorogation or a dissolution from considering of proper measures for the regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and for supporting the public credit. Mr. Pitt then rose and said, that he did not see how the royal word could be considered pledged to

the extent of the motion; but he added, that, in the present situation of affairs, he thought a dissolution could not but be attended with great detriment and disadvantage, and therefore he would not advise any such exercise of the prerogative. Mr. Eden's resolution was agreed to without a division, and the house adjourned to the 29th.

The three days that intervened were employed in anxious but useless efforts to bring about a coalition. Mr. Grosvenor, member for Chester, called a meeting of the members of the two parties, and about seventy gentlemen met at the St. Alban's Tavern, where an address was agreed upon, and transmitted to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, entreating them to communicate with each other, and expressing a hope that, by a liberal and unreserved confidence, every impediment to their cordial co-operation might be removed. The Duke of Portland insisted that, before he met Mr. Pitt, the latter should resign; and this Pitt declined doing. The negotiation was suspended at this point when the house re-assembled on the 29th, to be again adjourned—on the motion of Fox—till the 2d of February. In the course of a short conversation, Fox spoke openly of the St. Alban's Tavern negotiation, and said he trusted that those well-meant endeavours might yet produce something like a union; adding, however, that while the present ministry retained their situations, every effort of that kind must prove unavailing.

On the 2d of February, when the house met again, Mr. Grosvenor, who had been chairman of the St. Alban's Tavern meeting, moved, that it was the opinion of the house that the critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a fair, sufficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country. Pitt now said that nothing but evil would come from the resignation of ministers; that neither his principles nor his feelings inclined him to resign; but that, if he could see any prospect of a strong and well-connected government ready to succeed him, he would cheerfully retire, without any desire to form a part of such government. Mr. Grosvenor's motion was unanimously agreed to; and then Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, moved that it was the opinion of the house that the continuance of the present ministers in their offices was an obstacle to the formation of such an administration as might enjoy the confidence of the house, &c. This motion was carried by 223 against 204. On the following day, after expressing his disappointment at seeing Pitt still in his place, Mr. Coke moved that the two resolutions should be laid before his

majesty by those members who were of the privy council; and this motion was carried by 211 against 187.

The lords had hitherto been quiet in the struggle; but Pitt, that great maker of peers, had already made several, including his uncle, Thomas Pitt;¹ and on the 4th of March the eloquence or zeal of the new lords was brought into play. Lord Howard of Effingham, an old lord but a new convert, moved two resolutions, directly levelled at those which had recently been passed by the commons: the first declaring that an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the course of law was unconstitutional; and the second asserting the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government to be solely vested in the sovereign. There was a long debate, but both resolutions were carried by 100 against 53. On the very next day, in the commons, a series of resolutions, asserting that that house had not assumed any right to suspend the execution of law, or done anything else that was unconstitutional, was carried by 187 against 157. On the 11th of February, the proposed union of parties was once more discussed in the commons, and Fox made what was considered a conciliatory and even complimentary speech. In replying to Fox, Pitt said that, whatever might be his disposition to coalesce with that gentleman, there were other persons of the same party with whom he would never act. Lord North, who considered himself more particularly pointed at, immediately rose, and declared, with great frankness, that he would never be the man to stand in the way of the formation of such a stable, united, and extended administration as the present exigencies of the country required.

The St. Alban's Tavern association now succeeded in prevailing upon Mr. Pitt to agree that a message should be sent in the king's name to the Duke of Portland, expressing his majesty's earnest desire that his grace should hold a conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming an administration "on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." But the duke insisted upon being permitted to construe this message as a virtual resignation on the part of Pitt; and requested to know what was meant by fair and equal terms, and also to have the honour of receiving his majesty's commands relative to the conference from the sovereign in person. The Duke of Portland immediately received a flat negative, both to the proposed assumption of Pitt's virtual resignation, and to the personal audience with the king; and thus the negotiation terminated. When afterwards called upon in the house to explain, Pitt said that he had taken it

¹ The first Lord Camelford.

for granted that the Duke of Portland and his friends intended that the arrangements should *not* be made on "fair and equal terms." On the 18th of February, on the order of the day being read for going into the consideration of the supplies, he intimated that his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his present ministers in compliance with the resolution of that house, and that ministers had not resigned. Fox, after declaring that such language had not been heard in the house since the Revolution, or at least since the accession of the house of Hanover, moved that the report of the committee of supply should be received, not now, but on Friday, the 20th; and the motion was carried by the narrow majority of *twelve*, the numbers being 208 against 196. On the 20th, Mr. Powys moved a mild resolution, implying that the house relied on his majesty's royal wisdom, and hoped that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful commons, which had already been humbly represented to his majesty. In the debate which followed, Fox complained bitterly of the efforts which had been made to load him and his friends with unpopularity and odium, particularly by representing their late vote for a short postponement of the supplies as a fatal blow given to the national credit. He also endeavoured to explain and defend his strong objections to a recurrence to the voice of the people through a new election; he declared that the people at the present moment were labouring under deception and delusion—were running to their own ruin—and that, therefore, it became an act of duty to resist them! Powys's motion was carried by 197 against 177; and then, though it was near two o'clock in the morning, Fox proposed an address to his majesty founded upon the resolution. After a stormy debate, this, too, was carried by 177 against 156; and then, at half-past five, the house adjourned.

In reply to the address, which was not presented till the 25th, the king said that unsuccessful efforts had been made to arrange a united administration, for which he was very desirous; but that he could not see how it would in any degree be advanced by the dismissal of his present ministers, against whom no charge had been made, while numbers of his subjects had expressed to him in the warmest manner their satisfaction in the late changes. "Under these circumstances," added his majesty, "I trust my faithful commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government should be vacated, until I see a prospect that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, may be carried into effect." When this answer was reported—on the 27th—Lord Beaumont moved, first, that it should be taken into consideration

on Monday, the 1st of March, and then, that the house should adjourn to that day. Pitt offered no objection to the first motion, which was accordingly agreed to; but, as the object of the second was to delay the supplies, he opposed it with all his might. It was, however, carried against him by 175 to 168.

On the 1st of March, when the house re-assembled, Fox moved a second address to the throne, to be carried up, like the former, by the whole house. This address was much stronger than the last, and contained a direct prayer for the removal of ministers. It was carried by 201 against 189. On Thursday, the 4th of March, the commons went up to St. James's, and were told by his majesty that he remained in the same sentiments he had formerly expressed. Upon the motion of Fox it was agreed that this answer should not be taken into consideration before the following Monday. On the next day—Friday, the 5th—Fox moved that the committee on the mutiny bill, which stood for that day, should also be adjourned to Monday. This motion, too, he carried, but by a majority of only *nine*, the numbers being 171 against 162.

On the great Monday—the 8th of March—the house was crowded to excess. But just as the important debate was about to begin, Sir James Lowther, complaining that he had not been able to find room for his friend, the brother of the member for St. Alban's, and saying that he had reason to believe that there might be strangers in the gallery not introduced by members, insisted upon carrying into force the standing order of the house for excluding all strangers whatsoever; and the gallery was accordingly cleared. Fox moved another address to the throne, repeating at greater length the prayer for the removal of ministers, and vindicating the loyalty of the commons, who were declared to be incapable of any wish to lessen the prerogative. Pitt took little or no part in the debate, but his place was ably supplied by Dundas. About midnight, the house, in the midst of uncommon anxiety and impatience on both sides, prepared to divide. In a few minutes Fox was found to have the majority, but this time only by *one* solitary vote, the numbers being 191 against 190. Tremendous cheers were raised on the ministerial benches; and the coalition felt that the fight was over, and that nothing was left but a dignified retreat. The majority of *one* stuck in their throats, and they tried no more divisions. The mutiny bill was voted, the supplies were voted to the extent demanded by Pitt, and the appropriation act was left to sleep. On the morrow there was some angry conversation. Mr. Powys lamented that, though a century had not elapsed since a vote of the commons could bestow a crown, their repeated votes were not

able now to procure the dismissal of a minister! Nearly everybody now knew that both the king and the minister had entered into the St. Alban's Tavern propositions merely to gain time and to amuse the house while they were preparing for the great event of a dissolution. Yet even after the knowledge of this fact, and of the rapidly declining strength of opposition had become universal, the young premier continued to preserve his mystery and silence. On the 23d, after several members had tried to force some words from the dumb oracle, Lord North said that the report that they were at the point of death was in everybody's mouth; that it would be treating the house with unparalleled insult and contempt to dissolve parliament without waiting for a bill of appropriation; and that he had hoped the minister would have condescended to utter a single syllable by way of satisfaction. Pitt coldly replied that gentlemen might ask as many questions as they pleased, and attribute to him what motives they chose for his not answering them; that he did not conceive that he was bound to answer one way or another; and that he should pursue the line of conduct he thought right. On the very next day—the 24th—the king went down to the House of Lords, and put an end to the session by a prorogation; declaring that he felt it to be a duty which he owed to the constitution and the country, under its actual circumstances, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of his people by convoking a new parliament. And the next day the sentence of dissolution appeared in the *Gazette*.

As it was indispensable to procure an appropriation bill as soon as possible, the elections were commenced almost immediately, and the new parliament was convoked for the 18th of May. Pitt felt that his danger was over and his majority certain. The coalition had made a wreck of the wonderful popularity of his rival, and the India bill had arrayed against Fox the immense weight and influence of the Company, and nearly the whole city interest. No method had been neglected to heap odium on the coalition and the heads of Fox and North. Extracts of former speeches, lampoons, satires in prose and verse, were printed daily, and scattered through every town and village in the kingdom. The pencil and etching-needle of the caricaturist were brought into the service, and furnished with subjects out of the recent history of parliament. In one print Fox, under the character of a "Political Samson," appeared carrying away on his shoulders the whole East India House: in another, called "The Triumphant Entry of Carlo Khan into Delhi," the queer, fat, good-humoured face of Lord North was stuck upon the body of an elephant, and Charles Fox, in the splendid costume of a Mogul

emperor, was seated triumphantly on the elephant's back; while Burke, as a trumpeter, walked before, proclaiming the successor of Tamerlane and Aurungzebe. The youth of Pitt, and the bold stand he had made against numbers, told greatly in his favour; and, while he was represented to one party as a staunch defender of the prerogative, he was held up to the admiration of the other as the champion of parliamentary reform and the declared antagonist of aristocratic influence. The king, too, who had become popular in the midst of reverses, was pitied and admired, even in the quarters whence the great storms proceeded which had troubled the early part of the reign. Addresses and petitions, imploring his majesty to support Mr. Pitt, had from the commencement of the contest been pouring in to St. James's from all parts, from the city of London down to the memorable borough of New Sarum, which then, as at a later period, consisted of one solitary farm-house. Middlesex, Southwark, and even Westminster had abandoned Fox, and had congratulated the throne on the dismissal of the coalition ministry. Worcester, Exeter, York, Edinburgh, and many other towns had followed the example. It is not to be supposed that all these demonstrations were spontaneous: for three months, while the opposition in the House of Commons, confident in their numerical strength, were striving to prevent a dissolution, Pitt had been preparing for the new election, and every influence a government can command had been employed in his favour. In many counties and towns the oldest and best established interests were completely undermined, and the Pitt candidates returned by triumphant majorities. Not less than 160 members, friends of the coalition ministers, lost their elections, and were sent back to private life with the name of "Fox's Martyrs." The result of the whole was a complete establishment of the political supremacy of Pitt.

The new parliament assembled on the day appointed—the 18th of May—when the king, with a joyful countenance, descanted in his speech on the declared sense of his people and the demerits of Fox's India bill. The addresses from both houses expressed thanks and gratitude to the king for having dissolved the late parliament, the opposition amendments having been rejected by large majorities. On the 21st of June, Pitt moved several resolutions for stopping smuggling by reducing the duty upon tea from 50 to 12½ per cent.; and for raising the window-tax in proportion. These resolutions, which were the basis of his "Commutation Act," were passed, though not without much debate. After some financial arrangements he introduced his new constitution for the East India Company, materially altered

from his first draught. It left the directors of the Company to be elected, as they had always been, by the proprietors; but it associated with them in the government of India what was called the "Board of Control," the members of which were appointed by the crown, and came in and went out with the ministry of which they formed a part, like the members of the board of trade or of the treasury. The bill was carried through both houses by large majorities.

On the 30th of June the premier produced his budget, which included a loan of £6,000,000. He gave all his support to a humane and liberal bill, moved by his friend Dundas, ex-lord-advocate of Scotland, and now treasurer to the navy, for restoring the Scottish estates forfeited on ac-

count of the rebellion of 1745. The measure encountered no opposition whatever in the commons: but in the lords the restored Chancellor Thurlow ventured some splenetic comments upon it. The bill was, however, carried, and received the royal assent. On the 20th of August, after the appropriation bill and all other indispensable measures had been carried by jubilant ministerial majorities, the king prorogued parliament, with the satisfactory conviction that he had established a ministry to his own mind, and had nothing more to fear from the once formidable coalition which had for months deprived him of his rest. From this period, for seventeen long and eventful years we shall find the councils of Great Britain directed by William Pitt.

CHAPTER XLV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1785—1786.

GEORGE III.

Re-assembling of Pitt's first parliament—Fox enters it through a Scotch burgh—Prosecution of the high bailiff of Westminster for making no returns of representatives—Fox's complaints of unfairness in not being returned for Westminster—Pitt's Reply—Fox returned for Westminster—The bailiff fined—Revolutionary disturbances in Ireland—Popular meeting at Dungannon for the reform of the Irish parliament—A second meeting held at Dublin—Their demand of the elective franchise for Roman Catholics—Influence of the delegates of the Irish national convention—Proceedings in the Irish parliament—Henry Flood's bill for the more equal representation of the people—It is thrown out at the second reading—The citizens of Dublin establish a national congress—Its meetings—Its revolutionary proceedings—Pitt's plan for commercial relief to Ireland introduced into the British parliament—His speech on the occasion—The plan subjected to mercantile examination—The principles of the Irish trade bill adopted after much altercation—Irish agitation continued—Pitt's bill for parliamentary reform—It is thrown out—He announces to parliament his plan of a sinking fund—His bill for the examination of fees of public offices—It is passed—Losses of Holland by the American war—Helplessness of its government—Design of Austria to rescind the barrier treaty—The emperor dismantles the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands—Alarm of the States-general—Animosities of the political parties in Holland—New aggressions of Austria—The Dutch apply to France for aid—The emperor demands the sovereignty of the Scheldt—An Austrian army enters Holland to enforce the demand—The country inundated to check the Austrian advance—The Austrians compelled to halt in winter-quarters—Further schemes of the emperor—The Dutch form an alliance with the French—The emperor submits to a peaceful definitive treaty—Progress of French revolutionary principles in Holland—Opening of the British parliament—The royal speech recommends the reduction of the national debt—Progress of Pitt's new sinking fund—His sanguine hopes of its extinguishing the national debt—Its immediate benefits—Pitt's excise bill carried—Wilberforce's attempts to improve parliamentary election—Indian affairs.



R. PITT'S first parliament, prorogued on the 20th of August, 1784, did not re-assemble until the 25th of January 1785. The young premier's great rival, Mr. Fox, had been again re-

turned for Westminster at the last general election; but Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful Tory candidate, having demanded a scrutiny, Corbett, the high bailiff of the city of Westminster, and a warm Pittite, not without encouragement from the minister or from his triumphant party, took upon himself to make no return of representatives for that city; and Fox had been obliged to creep

into parliament as member for a Scotch burgh—a circumstance which had given rise to many sarcastic jokes in the preceding session. Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament the conduct of the high bailiff had been taken up warmly by the opposition, and had been as warmly defended by the minister and his friends. Counsel had been heard at the bar, petitions from Mr. Fox and petitions from the Westminster electors had been read; but ministerial majorities had justified the conduct of the bailiff, and had ordered him to proceed in the scrutiny "with all practicable despatch." But Corbett too well knew what was expected from him by his party to make

use of any despatch; and at the opening of the present session, when the scrutiny had lasted some eight months, it was found that not quite two out of the seven parishes into which Westminster was divided were scrutinized. On the 8th of February, the subject was brought again before the house by a petition from the electors; and the high bailiff and his counsel underwent another long examination at the bar, touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny with more despatch. The bailiff gave in evidence that it would certainly take not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. On the very next day Mr. Welbore Ellis, now out of place and in opposition, moved that the high bailiff should obey the writ, and make a return of the precept—which meant, at least according to the doctrine of the mover and his friends, that he should declare elected those who had stood highest on the poll. A long and violent debate, marked on both sides with gross personalities, followed; and the constitutional law or rule was absolutely buried under mountains of abuse and rhetoric. Fox, as his speech is reported by a friendly organ, was mild and even pathetic in accusing his rival, Pitt, of unfairness. "He had," he said, "always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman: he remembered the day he had first congratulated the house on the acquisition of his abilities; it had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instrument of that secret influence which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he never could have expected that he could have descended so low as to be the court persecutor of any man. . . . He saw plainly that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expense of it. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than £30,000 a-year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might easily be got at, for he was poor; but, little as he had, he would spend it to the last shilling. If in the end he should lose his election, it would not be through want of a legal majority, but through want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the treasury."¹ The young premier, more starch and stern than any veteran minister that had appeared in modern times, called these charges "mad and violent assertions"—"as gross

as they were unfounded"—the products of one "mad with desperation and disappointment." He accused Fox of filling his speech for three hours at a time "with everything that was personal, inflammatory, and invidious."² And, with a scornful elevation of the nostril, he continued—"I say, nevertheless, I am not surprised if he should pretend to be the butt of ministerial persecution; and if, by striving to excite the public compassion, he should seek to reinstate himself in that popularity which he once enjoyed, but which he so unhappily has forfeited. For it is the best and most ordinary resource of these political apostates to court and to offer themselves to persecution, for the sake of the popular predilection and pity which usually fall upon persecuted men; it becomes worth their while to suffer for a time political martyrdom, for the sake of the canonization that awaits the suffering martyr; and I make no doubt the right honourable gentleman has so much penetration, and at the same time so much passive virtue about him, that he would be glad not only to seem a poor, injured, persecuted man, but he would gladly seek an opportunity of even really suffering a little persecution, if it be possible to find such an opportunity."³ On the 3d of March, in moving for an adjournment of the question, the premier had the mortification of being out-voted, by 162 against 124. After a protracted struggle, the high bailiff of Westminster was compelled to make a return of Lord Hood and Mr. Fox as duly elected members. Fox afterwards brought an action against the high bailiff, laying his damages at £100,000. The jury gave him a verdict, but only for £2000. He then declared that the money should be distributed among the charities of Westminster.

The concessions in favour of Ireland which had been made from time to time were far from satisfying the Irish people, who continued their armed associations, and in other respects followed the same line of conduct which had led to revolution and independence in America. As early as in the month of September, 1783, a meeting of delegates from the province of Ulster, appointed and backed by the volunteers, was held at Dungannon for the purpose of reforming the Irish parliament. At this great meeting a plan of reform was agreed upon; and it was further resolved that a convention of representatives from the *whole volunteer army of Ireland* should assemble in the following month of November at Dublin. Nearly all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom adhered to the resolutions thus passed. In October, delegates from

² *Annual Register*.

³ *Speeches of the Right Hon. William Pitt in the House of Commons*, 3d edit.

¹ *Annual Register*.

all the corps of the province of Leinster assembled in Dublin and boldly put forth their demand for a reform of the representation, for the admission of Roman Catholics to the elective franchise, and for a more free enjoyment of the benefits of trade and manufacture. And on the day appointed by the meeting at Dungannon—the 10th of November, 1783—the grand national convention of volunteers, consisting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in procession to the Rotunda, and there opened their session by proposing a total remodelling of the Irish constitution. The mass of the people were soon taught to consider that those delegates were their real representatives, and that the members of the Irish House of Commons were traitors or mere intruders. Several members of that house, however, were also members of this grand national convention, and among these was the eloquent and impetuous Henry Flood, who, on the 29th of November, attempted to introduce the new-modelled constitution into the house in the shape of a bill. The motion was indignantly rejected by 157 against 77. The house then voted a very loyal address to the king, expressing the great happiness they enjoyed under the present form of government and constitution, which they said they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes. The House of Lords, still less desirous of a change which would have been a revolution, concurred in the address. The national convention immediately agreed upon a counter-address, in the text of which they denied all revolutionary intention and any wish to separate Ireland from England. The volunteer corps, who had been well supplied by government with arms during the American war, to enable them to repel invasion, retained their imposing attitude, and were constantly seen drilling and training.¹ The Roman Catholics of course far outnumbered the Protestants; but for a time there was no apparent distinction as to religious faiths, and the Presbyterians of the north seemed linked heart and hand with their old antagonists the Papists. The doctrine of toleration was set forth in the broadest manner; the volunteers, their delegates and conventions, claimed the elective franchise equally for persons of every form of religious worship. But another and more questionable principle was involved in their demands for annual parliaments and a sort of universal suffrage. In the month of March, 1784, Mr. Flood again introduced in the commons his

bill “for the more equal representation of the people in parliament.” It was supported by a long array of petitions; but it was nevertheless thrown out at the second reading by a majority of nearly two to one. The citizens of Dublin held an aggregate meeting and issued a circular address to the Irish people, recommending that five persons should be elected from every county, city, and considerable town, to meet in Dublin in NATIONAL CONGRESS. This close and quick imitation of the Americans roused the British government and called forth the energy of Pitt, so that measures were taken to prevent the meeting of this proposed congress. The congress nevertheless met in October, though in a very incomplete form, passed many strong resolutions, and peaceably adjourned, with exhortations to all Irish patriots to do their best in order to render its next meeting more complete and effective. On the 2d of January of the present year, 1785, the national congress met again at Dublin, consisting of delegates from twenty-seven of the counties—in all about 200 individuals. Their tone was high and threatening; their proceedings continued to be an imitation of the conduct of the American revolutionists, only varying through the difference of national character, or the greater heat or impetuosity of Irish-born patriots. Many of the leaders and orators were the same men who, a few years after, mingled their admiration of the great French revolution with their sympathy for the American one, and who, deluded by promises of assistance and confraternity from the French republicans, rushed headlong into rebellion. For the present they held several adjourned meetings, and established permanent *committees of correspondence*. In the meantime commissioners had been appointed by the Irish parliament to confer with the British cabinet, and a plan of commercial relief had been agreed upon between Mr. Pitt and this commission. The Irish Houses of Commons and Lords having concurred in this plan, Mr. Pitt introduced it in the English House of Commons. It consisted of two great provisions:—1. To permit the importation of the produce of our colonies in the West Indies and America through Ireland into Great Britain. 2. To establish a free trade, or mutual exchange, between Great Britain and Ireland, of their respective productions and manufactures upon equal terms. In return for these advantages the minister proposed that Ireland should contribute a certain annual sum out of the surplus of her hereditary revenue towards the general expenses of the empire. Mr. Pitt spoke with laudable feeling against the old jealous, exclusive, and unwisely selfish spirit which had animated the British legislature. He said, “The house would recollect that, from the

¹ *Memoirs of the Different Rebellions in Ireland*, by Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., member in the late Irish parliament. A one-sided, ill-written book, and little to be depended upon, except where documents are quoted. It is to be said, however, that the works on the other (or Irish revolutionary) side are at the least quite as prejudiced and violent.

Revolution to a period within the memory of every man who heard him, until those very few years, the English system had been that of debarring Ireland from the enjoyment and use of her own resources; to make the kingdom completely subservient to the interests and opulence of this country, without suffering her to share in the bounties of nature, in the industry of her citizens, or making them contribute to the general interests and strength of the empire. This system of cruel and abominable restraint had, however, been exploded. It was at once

harsh and unjust, and it was as impolitic as it was oppressive." The scheme was submitted to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who examined some of the principal merchants and manufacturers of England, and then presented to the house a long and contradictory report. Upon this the house resolved to examine those merchants and manufacturers at their own bar. These examinations were so long, and the petitions against the plan so numerous, that more than two months were occupied by them. In the end the anti-liberal feeling compelled Pitt to subjoin a variety of restrictive clauses, binding

Ireland to adopt whatever navigation laws the British parliament might hereafter enact; prohibiting the importation into Ireland, or thence into Great Britain, of any West Indian commodities not the produce of our own colonies; and forbidding Ireland to trade to any country beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magalhaens, so long as the charter of the East India Company should be continued. Great and sure as was the ministerial majority, the principles of the bill were not adopted without warm discussions in both houses, some maintaining that they were giving too little to Ireland, and many more that they were giving a great deal too much. In Ireland strong objections were taken to all the alterations and additions to the original propositions, and numerous petitions were presented against the bill. A motion

for leave to bring in a corresponding bill was carried in the Irish House of Commons, but by a majority of only nineteen, the numbers being 127 against 108. The mover, Mr. Orde, the secretary of the lord-lieutenant, having procured the bill to be read the first time and printed, declared that he should proceed no further with it during the present session. After the rising of parliament, Dublin and most of the great towns continued in a very turbulent state; the non-importation associations, which had been copied from the Americans, were renewed, and

were in many instances sanctioned by the grand juries; dreadful threats were uttered against all who should dare to import any goods from England, and these menaces and the dread of the popular fury produced the same effect here as they had done at Boston. The stoppage to trade, particularly in the seaports, threw thousands of men out of employment; and the idle and the hungry sought relief or occupation in rioting. In some quarters of Dublin the troops were obliged to be almost constantly under arms.

While the Irish trade bill was pending, Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, again



WILLIAM PITT.—From a portrait by J. Hoppner, R.A.

called the attention of the house to the subject of a reform in the representation of the people. He had pledged himself "as a man and a minister" to promote this cause; but it may be doubted whether, at this moment, he had any anxious desire for parliamentary reform, notwithstanding his declarations to some of his private friends, then ardent reformers, that he would exert his influence to the uttermost for this measure.¹ The specific proposition he made was to transfer the right of election from thirty-six rotten boroughs to the counties and the great unrepresented towns, giving a compensation in money to the owners and holders of the rotten boroughs so disfranchised; and to extend the right of voting in county elections to copyholders. In the very beginning of his speech he seemed to acknow-

¹ Letter from Mr. R. Smith to Wilberforce, in *Life*.

ledge the hopelessness of success to any such scheme; and the whole bill was thrown out by 248 against 174. This was Pitt's last performance as a parliamentary reformer.

In the course of the session Pitt called the attention of the house to a general review of the national finances, and, after suggesting various alterations, stated that he expected that the land and malt taxes added to the product of the other taxes would leave him an overplus of nearly £1,000,000 per annum, which sum he thought ought to go into a sinking fund, to be applied to the extinction of the national debt. He did not, however, intend to put any such scheme into execution until the following year. Many objections were taken to the whole plan by the opposition, though even in that quarter some high notions were already entertained of the young chancellor of the exchequer's abilities as a calculator and financier; and some of the Whigs—the extremes of the party—probably did not think the worse of the plan from its being known to have been suggested by Dr. Price (the friend of Dr. Priestley), an eminent dissenting minister, who entertained the most liberal views in general politics. Several new taxes were added to those imposed in the preceding year: among them was a tax upon female servants, calculated to produce annually £140,000; and an additional tax upon male servants, calculated to produce, in addition to the former one, £35,000.¹ Within the last few years, or since the impulse had been given by Burke, various bills had been passed for regulating the public offices of the kingdom; and Mr. Pitt now brought one in “for appointing commissioners for inquiring into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments which are or lately have been received in the several public offices; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.” The opposition to this bill was very considerable. It was not possible to deny the existence of extortion, peculation, and other abuses; but a stand was made upon the liberty of the subject, and the principles of *Magna Charta* were quoted against the bill, and in defence of rapacious placemen and official understrappers. The question was finally carried in the commons by seventy-four against fifteen. The lords introduced several amendments, and one in particular which subjected the commissioners to the control of the board of treasury. The commissioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of army accounts and Mr. Francis Baring.

No nation on the Continent had suffered so much

from the American war as the Dutch. Their finances were embarrassed, their losses excessive, and their colonies, which had been taken by the English, and then retaken by the French, were kept for the most part by the French. Their neighbours and rivals, the Belgians, were encouraged in their endeavours to make Ostend the centre of a great trade, and a place of export and import to and from the East Indies—a scheme which had for some time been earnestly entertained by their sovereign, the Emperor Joseph, who, at the same moment, was erecting at the head of the Venetian Gulf a great trading town and port to rival the old commercial grandeur of Venice. At the same time the anomalous government of the Dutch, which was neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, or indeed anything else capable of being described by a political term, was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions. The oligarchic or French party accused the Orangeists, or quasi-royalists who adhered to the stadtholder, of having misconducted the war, and of now aiming at the subversion of the national liberties and municipal rights: the Orangeists accused the French party of having needlessly precipitated the country into a ruinous war with England, and a most perilous and treacherous alliance with France, and of encouraging a democratic fury which would be more insupportable than the tyranny of the completest despot. One thing was clear and certain—the Dutch could neither preserve peace at home nor defend themselves from the attack of any one powerful neighbour. In sacrificing their old alliance with England they had committed a sort of political suicide. England had saved them from being swallowed up by Louis XIV.; but events were now in rapid progress which were to render the restored friendship of England of no avail, which were to render the appetite of the French more ravenous than under the Grand Monarque, and to leave Holland and all her liberties and rights a helpless prey to Gallic sansculottism. Thus, in numerous ways, did the effects of the American war prepare and facilitate the events of the French revolution.

But, for the present, though injuring and despoiling them, France continued to play the part of an ally to the United Provinces, and Austria was the power that threatened their peace and their very existence as an independent nation. As early as the year 1781 the Emperor Joseph had determined to do away with the barrier treaty, and to take possession of the numerous fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which, ever since the conclusion of the war of succession, had been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, and garrisoned by them for the mutual defence of the Netherlands and of Holland, or as a common bulwark against the inroads of the French.

¹ Pitt's tax on maid-servants encountered much opposition, and became the subject of many jokes.

The scheme was that of two great men, William III. and the Duke of Marlborough; but it was to be thrown to the winds by the chances and changes, the passions and caprices of the present times. The Dutch had all the honour, such as it was, of keeping up these garrisons, but the house of Austria nearly all the expense. The Emperor Joseph grudged the money, and felt ashamed of having some of his principal cities and fortresses occupied by foreigners; he much doubted whether in case of a new war these Dutch garrisons would materially contribute to check the progress of an enemy; besides, he was now at peace and in close alliance with France, and, as he fondly fancied, likely to remain so; and, in case of the contrary, he felt confidence in his own vastly increased army and improved resources, which left him no doubt that he should be fully able to defend the Austrian Netherlands without so many expensive places of arms, and wholly without the assistance of the Dutch, and the humiliating interference of burgomasters and war commissioners deputed by the States-general. Joseph forgot, or cared not for the obligations which his house lay under to the Dutch, and the solemn engagements which bound him to recognize the barrier treaty. He alleged that the Dutch misapplied the money; that they had shamefully surrendered many of the fortresses in the war of 1741; that they were now allowing the fortifications to fall to decay, and leaving thin and defective garrisons in them. In the beginning of the year 1781, when the Dutch had got into the war with England, the only real guardian of the barrier treaty, he peremptorily demanded precise accounts of the revenues received for the barrier, and of the sums expended on the fortifications. After some correspondence, the States-general acknowledged their weakness and submitted to necessity; towards the close of the year 1781 the Dutch garrisons were withdrawn from the barrier, and Joseph began to dismantle the fortresses and sell the materials. This work was scarcely commenced ere the States-general felt the most lively apprehensions for the frontiers of their own provinces, and adopted measures for putting their own fortresses along the Scheldt into an immediate state of defence. The people were furiously excited, and the Orange party, now rapidly increasing, pointed to the open barrier and the rising port of Ostend as signal proofs of the mischief brought upon the country by the French party, and the rupture of the old alliance with Great Britain. The French party nevertheless attributed every new misfortune to the Orangeists. The animosities of these antagonist parties waxed so fierce that every day seemed to threaten a civil war. The return of peace with England could restore neither unanimity nor

power. Prince Louis, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, was guardian and representative of the young stadtholder, William Frederick, during his minority, and field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces. He had long endured with rare temper the coarse attacks of the French party, who accused him of a design to make his ward a tyrant; but at last he wrote a letter to the States-general, referring to his thirty-two years of faithful service, and finally declaring that he resigned all the offices he held, and discharged himself from all obligations and engagements to the commonwealth. After this, Frederick the Great of Prussia, as a near relative to the stadtholder, and as the natural opponent to the house of Austria, interfered to allay these dissensions, which must inevitably leave Holland open to the Emperor Joseph or the French king, or to both of those monarchs. Frederick remonstrated, advised, and menaced; but even his powerful voice was disregarded in the loud fury of faction. In the meantime the Emperor Joseph had advanced sundry new claims, and had assumed a tone of haughty dictation towards the States-general. The most important of these new claims, and the most distressing to the Dutch, were those to the possession and sovereignty of the city and country of Maestricht, and the free navigation of the Scheldt, without which that other grand scheme of Austria, to re-elevate Antwerp to her ancient commercial importance, must fall to the ground. The States-general, after some very submissive and humiliating correspondence, despatched, on the 21st of April, 1784, two plenipotentiaries to Brussels, in order to treat with Joseph's agents for an amicable arrangement. But the very night after the arrival of the Dutch diplomatists at the capital of the Austrian Netherlands, a detachment of Austrian troops entered the territories of the Dutch republic, and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo; and, in little more than a week after, some squadrons of Austrian dragoons crossed the frontiers at another point and pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house. These transactions carried rage and dismay to the furthest dike and canal of Holland. Some regiments of horse and foot were despatched to Maestricht, and other troops were ordered to reinforce the different garrisons on the Scheldt; but, though everything seemed to depend upon celerity and unanimity, the movement of the troops was retarded by fresh disputes between the States and the stadtholder. The only refuge for the Dutch seemed to be in the French, and they implored Louis XVI. to mediate between them and his wife's brother, the emperor. Louis responded kindly to the Dutch application, assuring the States-general that he would act with fairness and impartiality.

The pretension to the free navigation of the Scheldt had been rather hinted than expressed: but an experiment was now made upon that river calculated to bring the question to issue. A small vessel was sent down the Scheldt with orders not to lower its flag to the fort or guard-ship at New Lillo, in order to provoke the interference of the Dutch authorities; and the vessel was boarded and searched, as had been expected. The emperor then inserted in his ultimatum his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the sea, and the demand for the removal of the Dutch guard-ship at New Lillo, and the demolition of all the Dutch forts erected on that river. His minister at Brussels, Count Belgioso, further declared that the first shot fired by the Dutch upon the Scheldt would be considered as a declaration of war. Nor did the demands of the emperor end here, for he claimed a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. While the States-general and their negotiators were busied in drawing up remonstrances, and while the French were meditating without any great earnestness or alacrity, the Imperialists prepared two armed vessels, to assert the right claimed in the Scheldt, and to provoke an open act of hostility. This happened upon the 8th of October, 1784; and within another week the emperor's ambassador was recalled from the Hague, the negotiations at Brussels were broken off, and an army of 60,000 men was ordered to march from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands. The French merely made representations to the emperor, and sent the Count de Maillebois, but without any army, to assist the Dutch, who, shortly after, named him commander-in-chief of all their forces. With the count went a few French officers, who acquired a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with some of its inhabitants, that proved serviceable a few years later when Holland was to be invaded and revolutionized by the French republic. In the month of November, 1784, by order of the States-general, a dike was broken near Lillo, and all the adjacent country inundated to prevent the advance of the Austrians.¹ The army of 60,000 men had a long march to perform before they could reach the Scheldt; and, as they did not march more rapidly than was usual with them, the winter arrived before they did, and, instead of beginning hostilities on their arrival, they went into winter-quarters. The firm ice that formed on the rivers, canals, inundations, and swamps, would have rendered easy their advance into the heart of Holland; but the Austrians were a people of

routine: they left it to those great innovators in war and politics, the French republicans, to try a winter campaign; and in the ensuing spring—the spring of the present year, 1785—it became known that the versatile and volatile emperor was secretly negotiating for the exchange of all the Austrian Netherlands against the electorate of Bavaria. It appears that the first certain knowledge of this scheme was obtained by Frederick the Great, who immediately formed a confederation among the Princes of Germany, including the King of England in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, to oppose and defeat it. On the 23d of July a treaty was concluded for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire and the rights of the Germanic body. In spite of this hostile league, Joseph for some time seemed determined to persevere, and to obtain, even at the cost of a long war, a transfer of territory which would have been exceedingly advantageous to his house; but his attention was divided by vague schemes of aggrandizement on the side of European Turkey, and by other schemes too numerous and confused for one head; he perceived that no great reliance was to be placed upon the promised assistance of the czarina, that the people of Bavaria were frantic at the idea of any such transfer, and he gradually gave up the project, denying that he had ever seriously entertained it. In the meanwhile the Dutch had concluded, or at least submitted to the conditions of a commercial league and close alliance with France. The French diplomatists boasted that an actual conquest of Holland could not have been more advantageous to their country. Amidst the terms of this close alliance the principle of the armed neutrality was not forgotten, and, with a direct view to England, it was agreed that the French and Dutch should mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas, the exemption from search, &c. With these treaties agreed upon, though not executed—with the consoling assurance that they had undone the system of policy of the maritime powers which had lasted nearly two centuries—the French ministers went actively to work as mediators between the Dutch and the emperor, who, in giving up the grand scheme of territorial exchange, seemed almost to have ceased thinking about the Netherlands or their concerns and interests; and he presently agreed to receive at Vienna two Dutch deputies, and to accept from them an apology. Joseph then told them that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiation under the mediation of his brother the King of France. On the 20th of September preliminary articles were agreed to at Paris, and on the 8th of November the definitive treaty was signed at Fontainebleau under the guarantee as well as mediation of his most Christian majesty.

¹ It was said that from forty to fifty men, women, and children, chiefly subjects of the emperor, were drowned by the sudden bursting of this dike.

Two days after the signing of this treaty, the compact between the French and Dutch was fully concluded, and it was ratified on Christmas Day. In all the circumstances of the case, and in the deplorable anarchic state into which Holland had thrown herself, it is difficult to perceive how any exertion of English diplomacy could have prevented all that had happened, and the perplexing union between the States and France. The anarchy, however, grew and increased, so that it soon became doubtful whether it would not speedily be the cause of overthrowing arrangements which it had been the cause of making. The Orange party were disgusted at the whole French alliance, and the subversion of the ancient leagues and systems with which their name and best fame were identified. During the late troubles, when the dikes of Holland were threatened by the Imperialists, great bodies of volunteers assembled for the defence of their country, and the citizens of all classes, like those of Ireland at the end of the American war, still retained their arms and their organization. Some of them entered into the court-town of the Hague, which was devoted, in a very remarkable manner, to the house of Orange; and a quarrel and collision were the consequences. The French faction in the States-general instantly took up the matter, and passed a vote depriving the stadtholder of the government of the Hague and of his body-guard. That prince indignantly withdrew to his own patrimonial city of Breda. Frederick the Great remonstrated, threatened, in behalf of his young and unfortunate nephew; but not even the voice of that royal veteran could slacken the march of revolution.

The British parliament re-assembled on the 24th of January. The king, in his speech, informed the houses that the disputes which had appeared to threaten an interruption to the tranquillity of Europe had been brought to an amicable conclusion; that he continued to receive friendly assurances from foreign powers; that at home his subjects were experiencing the blessings of peace, in the improvement of trade, revenue, public credit, &c. His majesty, however, recommended particular attention to our naval strength. "But above all," said he, "let me recommend to your attention the *reduction of the national debt.*"

Early in the session Pitt had moved for and obtained a select committee to examine into the public income and expenditure, and to report to the house what might be expected to be the annual amount of the income and expenditure in future; and on the 29th of March, together with the ways and means for the year, he brought under consideration the national debt and his new sinking fund, or scheme for discharging that

debt by compound interest. It appeared, from the report of the special committee, that the average of the public income exceeded the expenditure by about £900,000, and that the surplus might be increased to £1,000,000 without burdening the people. Hence the minister moved "that the sum of one million be annually granted to commissioners, to be by them applied to the purchase of stock, towards discharging the public debt of the country." Wrapped in a happy vision, he calculated that the accumulated compound interest of this sum, added to the annuities which would fall into the fund, would in twenty-eight years reach such an amount as would leave a surplus of four millions per annum, to be applied, if necessary, to the exigencies of the state. In his speech, wherein he said not a word of his arithmetical mentor, Dr. Price,¹ he expressed more than a sanguine hope—he affirmed his entire conviction, that his new sinking fund would rapidly reduce and eventually discharge *in toto* "the enormous national debt." The bill, with some additional clauses, was read a third time on the 15th of May, and carried up to the lords where it was passed without any material opposition. The king, in giving it his assent, felt that it would equalize all his financial difficulties. Perhaps sufficient attention was not paid to other causes and improvements then getting into operation, but it was generally admitted, at the time, that the measure was one of excellent policy; that manufactures, trade, and public credit were immediately and immeasurably benefited by it—that it raised the funds, increased the value of land, and of everything else, and gave to every man the prosperity of a rising market.² Such were considered its effects while coupled with the advantages of peace: how it operated in war we shall see hereafter.

Pursuing his plans for increasing the revenue so as to make up the million per annum required by his sinking fund, the minister, a few days after—on the 22d of May—presented a bill for transferring certain duties on wines from the customs to the excise. This, he said, he proposed, because large quantities of wine were smuggled into the country, and because a spurious liquor was made and sold at home under that name. By the bill officers of the excise were to be permitted to enter into the cellars and warehouses of such as dealt in wine, but not into their dwelling-houses. There was a strong national feeling against any extension of the excise laws, and the intrusions of excisemen; this had always been the case, and

¹ It is said that Dr. Price submitted not one but three schemes to the consideration of the minister, and afterwards complained that Pitt had selected the worst of the three.

² *Recollections and Reflections, Personal and Political, as connected with Public Affairs during the Reign of George III.* By John Nicholls, Esquire, Member of the House of Commons.

it was remembered how an excise bill had nearly shaken Sir Robert Walpole, when at the height of his power, from his seat; but Pitt saw his bill carried through the House of Commons without a division. Lord Loughborough, Lord Carlisle, the Duke of Portland, Lord Sandwich, and the Bishop of Bristol, entered a protest against the bill, which nevertheless passed the lords' house and received the royal assent.

Mr. Wilberforce, considering it hopeless, after Pitt's failure, to think of carrying at present any general measure of parliamentary reform, made an attempt to introduce some practical improvement into the representation as it stood. The plan which he proposed aimed at purifying county elections by establishing a general registration of the freeholders, and by providing that the poll should be held in various places at the same time. A bill embodying these principles, which, nearly half a century later, were included in the great Reform Bill, was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Mahon; but, as his lordship during the session was called up, by the death of

his father, Earl Stanhope, to the House of Lords, the conduct of the measure was left chiefly to Wilberforce. The motion for going into committee on the bill was carried by a majority of ninety-eight to twenty-two, on May the 15th. Wilberforce was the more eager for these reforms, as his own elections had cost him enormous sums. The bill was afterwards defeated in the lords by what has been designated "a coalition of the king's friends and the Whig aristocracy."

But the great business of the session, or that at least which excited more interest than even the minister's sinking-fund scheme, was the impeachment of Mr. Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, the charges against whom, after long and numerous preludes, were brought forward by Burke on the 17th of February. But here we must introduce a retrospective view of Indian affairs, which will include some details of the progress of our arms and policy in that part of the world—details omitted in the preceding period of our history, in order not to embarrass the narrative of the American war.

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1612—1756.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—JAMES I. TO GEORGE II.

Commencement of the British empire in India—Previous state and history of India—Progress of the English there in the seventeenth century—They are opposed at their entrance by the Portuguese and Dutch—The massacre of Amboyna—The English obtain a settlement at Hooghly—Their progress during the Commonwealth and reign of Charles II.—They make war upon the native rulers—Their progress in acquiring a separate dominion—The East India Company makes Calcutta its chief seat—Dismemberment of the Mogul empire—Rivalry of the French and English East India Companies—They commence their mutual warfare—Labourdonnais reduces the English settlement of Madras—Dupleix takes possession of Madras in violation of the treaty—The Nabob of Arcot attempts to dislodge the French—He drives them from the siege of Fort St. David—The nabob makes peace with Dupleix—Dupleix defeated in a second attempt on Fort St. David—The English obtain possession of Tanjore—First appearance of Clive—The French and English avail themselves of the quarrels of the native princes—Subtle and successful movements of Dupleix—Able conduct of his general, Bussy—Attempts of the English to relieve their ally in Trichinopoly—Clive's daring plan for the purpose—He takes possession of Arcot—His successes—His victory at Arnee—He defeats the French at Coverypauk—Successful expedition of Clive and Major Lawrence to Trichinopoly—Exertions of Dupleix to repair these disasters—Victory of Lawrence over the French near Bahoor—Clive takes Covelong—He routs a French force coming to its relief—He compels Chingleput to surrender—He is obliged to return to England—Reaction in favour of Dupleix—The French besiege Trichinopoly—Major Lawrence attempts to relieve it—The French assaults upon it checked—General Bussy's romantic career and exploits—He is recalled to France—Suspension of arms between the English and French—War of the English against Angria.



FEW great things have had a smaller beginning than that stupendous anomaly, the British empire in India. In the year 1612, in the reign of James I., the English, stimulated by the efforts and successes of the Portuguese and Dutch, established their first humble factory at Surat. By degrees other petty settlements were formed along the

western side of the peninsula, Surat continuing to have the control over them all, till the cession of Bombay to the Company by Charles II., in 1668, when that town, from its fine harbour and central situation, rose to be the superior settlement in that part of India. At this period the nominal sovereigns and masters of the whole of India, and the real masters and tyrants of the greatest part of it, were the Mahometanized Mogul Tartars, a

people widely different in origin, manners, laws, and religion from the Hindoos, the aboriginal or very ancient inhabitants of the country.

In the tenth century of our era, or about seventy years before the conquest of England by the Normans, Sultan Mahmood of Ghuznee, who is universally regarded as the first Mahometan conqueror of Hindoostan, acquired by the sword, and by many battles and massacres, nearly the whole of the country from the Indus to the Ganges. The great Emperor Akber, who began to reign in 1556, set the Mogul dominion upon a firm basis, chiefly by consulting the interests and feelings of the Hindoos, who, counting the whole of the extensive country, were a hundredfold more numerous than their conquerors. The great Akber had been dead only seven years when the English timidly made their first settlement at Surat.

The Portuguese, who had numerous settlements along the Malabar coast, especially at Goa and Diu, and who claimed, on the ground of prior possession, an exclusive right to the commerce of the Indian seas—a pretension they were, for a long time, enabled to make good by possessing Malacca—watched the progress of the English with great jealousy, and from the first attempted to check it. The English Company armed their trading vessels, and, though there was peace in Europe between the respective mother countries, several combats took place with the Portuguese on the Indian seas. Captain Best, in the year 1612, defeated them in two actions, and these victories not only raised the reputation of the English, but enabled them to establish in quiet their first factory at Surat. In the year 1614 King James I., at the solicitation of the infant



GENERAL VIEW OF SURAT.—From Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

Company, sent an embassy to the court of the Emperor of Delhi to settle their commerce and cultivate a friendly connection. Sir Thomas Roe, the person selected for this mission, was an observing and clever man. He sailed from Gravesend on the 24th of January, 1615, and arrived in September at Surat, where he landed in great pomp with eighty men-at-arms in his train. As the Mogul emperor was then residing at Ajmere, Sir Thomas, after some rest, proceeded thither through the country of the Rajpoots. He arrived at Ajmeer on the 23d of December, but was not admitted to court till the 10th of January (1616). The Emperor Jehangir received him with unusual honour, and he was assured by the Mogul courtiers that no other ambassador, not even from their co-religionists the Mahometans of Turkey or Persia, had ever obtained so flattering a reception. Many other interviews followed; and, as both the emperor and ambassador were of a sportive turn, they had, by means of interpreters, some jocular conversation. Sir Thomas, however, soon found that his success was thwarted by the

intrigues of the Portuguese missionaries, and by the suspicion or caution of the emperor's favourite son and ministers. With much perseverance and address, he at last succeeded in procuring a confirmation of former grants of territory, and an extended privilege of having resident English agents at some of the principal towns in the empire.

The Portuguese were prevented only by the inferiority of their naval power from proceeding to war against the new English settlements. The Dutch, who were more on a par with us in this respect, viewed with an equally jealous eye the successes of the Company; and when the English attempted to obtain a share in the lucrative trade carried on by the Dutch with the Spice Islands, the detestable massacre of Amboyna was the immediate consequence. At the island of Amboyna, the largest of the Molucca group, and the richest in cloves, the Dutch had a strong castle with a garrison of 200 men, while the English, only eighteen in number, occupied a defenceless house in the town, being secured, as they conceived, in posses-

sion of it by agreements and treaties with the Dutch. Yet the Dutch chose to suspect that this handful of English intended to dispossess them of their castle; and thereupon, inviting them all in a friendly manner to pay a visit to their governor in the castle, they put them to rack and torture, until some of the weakest of them, under the agonies of those infernal machines, confessed to the words which their torturers put into their mouths. As soon as their sufferings were suspended they retracted what they had said; but the Dutch put them upon the rack again, and then the anguish and the weakness of nature repeated the confession. The end of all was, that Captain Towerson and nine others were condemned to die, by what may properly be called the verdict of the rack; and the remaining eight were pardoned by Dutch mercy and magnanimity. One Portuguese and nine natives of Japan, put to death at the same time as accomplices with the English, solemnly protested in dying that they knew nothing of the imputed plot.

From the occurrence of this frightful tragedy (in 1622) the English abandoned the commerce of the Spice Islands to their rivals; and for some time, owing to various causes, such as the smallness of capital held by the Company, some radical defects in its constitution, the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up a naval force for protection against Dutch and Portuguese, and the waywardness of some of the native princes, the English power seemed to decline, and the Company became embarrassed and in great distress. In the meantime, however, their agents from Surat had obtained permission, through the good offices of Mr. Boughton, a surgeon in great favour with the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jehan, son of Jehangir, to make a new settlement at Hooghly; and the ground on which Madras, or Fort St. George, stands had been obtained from a native prince in 1640, when Mr. Francis Day began to erect a fortress, which was gradually surrounded by a thriving and still increasing town, to which the natives flocked, as to the best place for pursuing trade and putting in security the wealth they derived from it—wealth which had few safeguards under the dominion or in the territories of their own princes and chiefs. In the same interval the Mogul empire had been shaken by several revolutions and changes in its interior or upon its frontiers: the Hindoos of Rajpoot had recommenced their struggles for independence, the Afghans had revolted in the north, the Usbeks had taken possession of Cabool, and the Persians of Kandahar. In all places remote from the centre of government the Mahometan chiefs paid but an imperfect obedience to the Great Mogul; and wherever favoured by local situation, or defended by mountains, forests, or rivers, the Hin-

doos bade defiance to the emperor and his lieutenants.

Then came on the great Civil war in England between the parliament and Charles I., during which nearly all foreign trade was suspended, and the Company sunk to such a state of insignificance that its existence as a body corporate was scarcely discernible. Indeed, from the year 1652 to 1657 the trade to India was thrown open to every English merchant that chose to embark in it. But, at the end of that period, Oliver Cromwell renewed or re-confirmed the privileges of the old Company. Shortly after the restoration of monarchy, Charles II. granted the Company a new charter, dated April, 1661, in which not only were all the old privileges confirmed, but new and important ones added to them. The Company were vested with a right of exercising civil jurisdiction and military authority; and with the power of making war and of concluding peace with the "Infidels of India," the state reserving to itself the prerogatives of peace and war with regard to Christian or European governments. In 1663 Charles II. obtained, as a part of the dower of his wife, the Infanta of Portugal, the island of Bombay, and, finding it expensive rather than profitable, he ceded the island to the Company in the year 1668. Soon after he made a similar grant of that convenient midway resting-place, the island of St. Helena; and in other important matters the aid of his government was cordially given to the Company—the more cordially, no doubt, because some of his ministers and favourites were shareholders and speculators, and personally interested with the merchants—not yet merchant-princes—of Leadenhall Street. In 1687 the Company transferred from Surat to Bombay the presidency over all their settlements, and from that moment the town began to spread and increase very rapidly. The English were anxious to have possession of the neighbouring island of Salsette, and maintained that it was included in the dower with Bombay; but the Portuguese took a different reading of the marriage treaty, and kept Salsette.¹

Trade was now carried on with a great part of the Indian empire through establishments both on the eastern and western coast; but the intercourse was liable to interruptions, and the forts and factories were not unfrequently threatened with hostile attack by the native powers, urged on in most cases by the Portuguese or by the Dutch. The weakness, the dissensions, and not unfrequent wars among the natives, encouraged the English settlers to abandon the merely defensive, and act on the offensive. The factors in

¹ Bruce, *Annals of the East India Company*; Mill, *History of British India*.

Bengal transmitted to the Company a list of wrongs and injuries sustained from the petty native rulers, and warmly recommended an active campaign against them beyond the limits of the Company's settlements, which must become untenable or useless if allowed to be beleaguered

by an immense host; but, under the direction of Charnock, the Company's agent, they made a gallant defence, repulsed repeated assaults, stormed the fort of Tanna, seized the island of Ingellee, in which they fortified themselves, and burned the town of Balasore, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet. But, on the other hand, the nabob took and plundered the English factories at Patna and Cossimbazar; and the campaign ended, not in any great conquest, but in an accommodation neither very honourable nor very reliable for the Company. The court of directors, disappointed and irritated, sent Sir John Child, the governor of Bombay, to take the command over the head of Charnock, with instructions to re-establish, if possible, the factories at Patna and Cossimbazar. Some of the Company's servants were carrying on pacific negotiations with the natives when Captain Heath arrived from England with a large ship and a frigate, and, without the necessary forms, commenced hostilities by plundering one or two native towns. After this work he proceeded to Chittagong, and was there foiled and defeated, as Captain Nicholson had been before him. Heath then, taking the Company's servants and effects on board, sailed away for Madras; and Bengal, upon which large sums had been spent, was abandoned. The emperor now reigning was the celebrated Aurungzebe, the most powerful of all the Mogul sovereigns, who had dethroned his father, and triumphed over his brothers who contested the empire with him.² Aurungzebe, though previously well disposed towards the English, was indignant at their last proceedings, and issued orders for expelling them from his dominions. The factory at Surat was seized, the island of Bombay was surrounded by a fleet, and the English governor copped up in the town and castle. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as was also the factory at Vizagapatam, where the Company's agent and several of their servants were put to death. But the Mogul treasury soon felt the want of the copious streams that flowed into it through the English factories; and Aurungzebe and his ministers, flattered by the recent display of weakness, into the belief that the Company would never be strong enough to be dangerous, made a return towards their old friendly feeling, and listened to negotiations which were proposed in a most humble, if not abject tone. After some time the English ob-



and blocked up by the Indians. As the Company had the power of war or peace with the Infidels, they sent out, in 1686, a Captain Nicholson, with ten armed vessels and six companies of soldiers, to levy war against the Great Mogul and the Nabob of Bengal.¹ The object of the campaign was to seize and fortify Chittagong. The fleet sailed up the Hooghly and commenced a cannonade, but they were repulsed, and obliged to seek shelter near Calcutta, where they lay till some agreement with the nabob, or additional forces from England, should enable them to resume their stations. A hollow truce was agreed to by the nabob, who employed the time thus gained in making warlike preparations. As soon as he was ready the English were attacked

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of India*.

² Aurungzebe had revived and extended the Mogul power, which seemed falling to ruin under his father Shah Jehan. He had taken the cities of Hyderabad, Bejapoor, and Golconda, and had extended his dominions nearly to the limits of the Carnatic. But it was during his brilliant reign that a new enemy took the field. This was Sevajee, the founder of the Mahattria empire, who, with the most warlike of the Hindoos, overran and permanently occupied the far greater part of the Deccan.

tained an order for the restoration of Bombay and their factory at Surat. But during these premature contests with the natives, the most able and powerful of their European enemies had contrived to get a footing in India: the French had formed an establishment at Pondicherry, and were now employing themselves in fortifying that place and in establishing a close connection with such of the natives as were most unfriendly to the English. These proceedings quickened the desire of obtaining an extension of territory and a real dominion by treaty, by purchase, or by force of arms, but to be at all events independent of the Great Mogul, nabobs, and all other powers. "The truth is," says one of the greatest authorities in Indian affairs, "that, from the day on which the Company's troops marched one mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation; and at the end of every one of those numerous contests in which they were involved by the jealousy, avarice, or ambition of their neighbours, or the rapacity or ambition of their own servants, they were forced to adopt measures for improving their strength; which soon appeared to be the only mode by which they could avert the occurrence of similar danger." In 1689 the directors broadly laid down the principle that independence was to be established and dominion acquired in India. And just at this time their policy was to some extent gratified, for Tegna-patam, a town and port a little to the south of the French settlement of Pondicherry, was obtained by purchase, and secured by grant from the native powers. The servants of the Company forthwith erected walls and bulwarks, and changed the name of the place to Fort St. David. After this acquisition the Company pursued their plan of dominion with increased confidence, and soon after they may be said to have commenced a system of political ascendancy. About nine years after the purchase of Tegna-patam they were enabled to make a more important acquisition. Aurungzebe had appointed his grandson Azim Ooshaun to be Viceroy of Bengal. Moazzim, the viceroy's father, was meanwhile aspiring to the throne. To enable him to succeed money and arms were required, and the Company could promise both for valuable considerations. For a large sum Azim Ooshaun sold to the Company the zemindarships of Chuttanuttee, Govindpore, and Calcutta. At the last-named place the English began, but not without some timidity and circumspection, to erect Fort William. Nine years after this (in 1707), when the fort was strong and considerable, and a town

had risen under its protecting shadow, the Company made Calcutta the seat of a presidency, and the place gradually began to rise to the dignity of a capital of the British empire in the East.

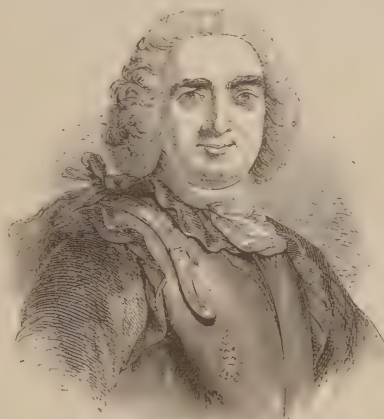
The tranquillity and commercial prosperity which the peace of Utrecht, dishonourable as it was to the Tory government of Queen Anne, indisputably brought to England and to the greater part of Europe, all contributed to raise the value of the British settlements in the East, and to encourage the Company in seeking an extension of dominion; for still all that was really occupied in sovereignty was a strip of land on the coast and an island here and there. The dis-severance of the Mogul empire, which began with the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, seemed to offer an opening to their ambition. The four sons of that emperor contended for the throne; and during this horrible family war the Mahrattas extended their conquests in the south, the Rajpoots virtually established their independence, and the Sikhs, a remarkable sect who professed a pure theism and attempted to reconcile the religion of the Mussulmans with that of the Hindoos, ravaged the provinces of Delhi and Lahore. Moazzim, who triumphed over his brothers, was dethroned at the end of a few months by his nephew Farrukhsir or Farokshir, who did not occupy the throne quite seven years. Under his successor, Mahomed Shah, the empire of the Moguls was wasted to a shadow: the Deccan was alienated under the rule of the Nizam-ul-Moolk, by name a viceroy, but in fact an independent sovereign, more powerful than the Great Mogul; the Rohillas, a fierce predatory people of the Afghan race, seized on the northern provinces; and (in 1739) the Persians under Nadir Shah penetrated to Delhi, and massacred alike Mahometans and Hindoos. The Company were signally indebted in various stages of their progress to humble practitioners in medicine. It was in consequence of a cure effected on the favourite daughter of one emperor that they had been first allowed a footing in Bengal; and in the year 1715, a medical man named Hamilton, who accompanied a commercial mission to Delhi, obtained for the Company a grant of three villages near Madras, with permission to purchase thirty-seven additional townships in Bengal, as a reward for curing the reigning emperor Farokshir of a dangerous and painful illness, which was beyond the reach of the skill of the native physicians or conjurors. By the hostility of the nabob the Company were for a long time prevented from purchasing the villages and townships; but they were allowed to enjoy another grant obtained through Hamilton from the grateful emperor—namely, the privilege of introduc-

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of India.*

ing and conveying their goods from Calcutta through Bengal without duty or search. In a very short time the trade of the Company was wonderfully benefited by this privilege. But the French East India Company, who had made Pondicherry their stronghold, now began to thwart some of their plans, and to excite their jealousy by an increasing trade.

In 1742, when a war between England and France appeared to be imminent, in spite of the pacific temper of the great English minister, Sir Robert Walpole, the French Company, who were still in their infancy, and very anxious for the preservation of their profitable or promising trade, proposed to the English Company that, whatever might happen in Europe, there should be peace between them in India. The English court of directors at first accepted and then rejected this proposed neutrality, instructing their officers in India to watch, and if possible to circumvent the treaties and intrigues of the French Company with the natives. In 1744 Walpole was driven from the helm; and the war, which broke out between the French and English, rapidly spread to Hindoostan. Labourdonnais, who had risen from a subordinate rank in the navy to be governor of the Mauritius and Bourbon, by forcibly detaining all the French vessels that touched at those islands, and by training the merchant sailors to the use of the gun, got together a warlike squadron, and with all possible secrecy stretched across the Indian Ocean. He was well acquainted with the coasts, and with most of the European settlements, having previously made three or four voyages to that part of the world. His bravery was equal to his skill, and he resolved to begin his operations with an attack on Madras. He had with him a most motley crew and army of Frenchmen, Caffres, blacks from Madagascar, and negro slaves from the Mauritius, to which he had added, at Pondicherry, about 400 sepoys. The total amount was about 3600. The English in the colony of Madras did not exceed 300 men, of whom about 200 were soldiers: the town and the adjoining territory belonging to the Company had already a population of about 250,000, counting Armenians, Mahometans, Hindoos, Parsees, and Indian Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese; but none of these classes could be depended upon in war. The 300 English occupied Fort St. George, which was surrounded with a weak wall, and defended by bastions and four batteries weak and badly constructed. About the middle of September Labourdonnais appeared off the town, and immediately commenced a bombardment. The inhabitants endeavoured to save the place by offering him a ransom; but he was anxious for the

glory of planting the French colours on Fort St. George, and continued to bombard for five days, at the end of which the inhabitants, and the English garrison as well, capitulated. Labourdonnais had not lost a man, and the English had lost no more than four or five. By the terms of the capitulation he pledged himself upon his honour to restore Madras to the English Company on payment of a fixed ransom. On entering the place he protected the persons, houses, and property of the inhabitants; but he took possession of the magazines and warehouses of the Company, all situated within Fort George, as public property. In his instructions from the French



LABOURDONNAIS.—From a print by Vangelisty, 1776.

court, Labourdonnais was expressly prohibited from occupying any establishment or factory of the enemy; whence it has been argued that the French government and French East India Company shrank at this time from all idea of conquest in India. But if this was the case, and it seems to us extremely doubtful, M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was resolved not to abide by any such plan, having previously formed in his own mind a system of universal conquest in that great peninsula; and the first object, and that which he had most at heart, was to drive the last remnant of the English from the coast of Coromandel. Dupleix, who had wished for the sole conduct of the war, considered Labourdonnais as an intruder and rival. Now, however, he insisted that Labourdonnais should break the conditions of the treaty of capitulation, and keep possession of Madras. The brave sailor was averse to a proceeding which would have been both a breach of faith and honour, and a breach of orders; but he was compelled by the storms of the monsoon, which drove his ships out to sea and sank two of them with their crews, to

demand from the English that the articles should be so far altered as to allow him longer time to remove the Company's goods; and the period of evacuation was changed from the 15th of October to the 15th of January. This was what Dupleix desired; for he proposed, upon the departure of Labourdonnais, to take possession of Madras himself without any attention to the articles of capitulation. Leaving part of his force in Fort St. George, Labourdonnais repaired to Pondicherry as soon as the weather would permit, and proposed several plans, to none of which his rival would agree. After many quarrels he took his departure for France, to answer the accusations of his enemies, and to procure a patronage in the French cabinet and East India Company that should enable him to return with credit and power to India. On his voyage he was taken prisoner by a British ship-of-war, which brought him to England.

Labourdonnais had scarcely quitted Madras when the Nabob of Arcot sent his son with a numerous army to drive the French out of that place. The force which Labourdonnais had left behind him in Fort St. George exceeded 1200 men, nearly all native French, and well trained and disciplined. The Indians were astonished and panic-stricken by the rapidity of their artillery; and after a very short struggle the nabob's son fled with all his host. Dupleix, backed by a remonstrance and prayer signed by all the French in Pondicherry, declared Labourdonnais' treaty of ransom annulled, and ordered the officers at Madras to seize every article of property there, private or public, native or English, except clothes, furniture, and the jewels and trinkets of the women. These orders were executed without compunction; and the English governor and some of the principal inhabitants were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and exhibited there in a kind of triumph. Dupleix then turned his attention to Fort St. David, situated only twelve miles south from Pondicherry, and having in its immediate neighbourhood the Indian town of Cuddalore, and two or three populous villages, all under the dominion of the English Company. On the night of the 19th of December (1746) the Frenchman quitted Pondicherry with 1700 men, Europeans, natives, and Caffres, and he arrived next morning under Fort St. David, wherein there were only about 200 Europeans and 100 topasses. The French had already begun to train the native sepoy's to European discipline, but the English had delayed following the example.¹ They had, however, hired about 2000 of the undisciplined bands of the country, most irregularly armed with swords and targets, bows and arrows, pikes and lances, old matchlocks or

new English muskets; and they had placed about half of this force in Cuddalore, which was partly surrounded by water and partly by walls flanked by bastions. As for Fort St. David, it was small, but much stronger than Fort St. George. The French, however, took up an advantageous post, and were making sure of the capture and plunder of both places, when a large native army appeared on their right flank and induced them to make a sudden and rather disastrous retreat, leaving (without counting their Indians or Africans) above 100 in killed and wounded behind them. This relieving army had been sent by the Nabob of Arcot, instigated by wrath against the French for the defeat of his son at Madras, and captivated with the liberality of the English, who had promised him large sums.

But the nearness of the place to Pondicherry tempted the French to make fresh efforts. On the night of the 10th of January, 1747, Dupleix embarked 500 men in boats to take Cuddalore by surprise. But the wind and the surf compelled the Frenchman to return to Pondicherry without doing anything. Dupleix then sent a strong detachment from Madras to ravage the nabob's territory. The French troops acted in a barbarous manner, and caused still more terror than mischief. Shortly after, four French ships arrived at Pondicherry, and Dupleix artfully represented that he was speedily to be reinforced to an immense extent. The nabob began to waver; he saw that the English were but a handful of men, and he decided, with eastern facility, to change sides and join the stronger: he concluded peace with the French, recalled the army he had sent to the English, and despatched his son on a visit to Pondicherry, where Dupleix got up a fresh show and triumph. About the middle of March of the same year (1747), Dupleix again sent his forces to capture Cuddalore and Fort St. David; but the Frenchmen had scarcely taken up their position when an English squadron, under Admiral Griffin, approached the road and scared them back to Pondicherry. While they were retreating precipitately to Pondicherry, the admiral landed 100 Englishmen, 200 topasses, and 500 natives, from Bombay and Tellicherry.² Dupleix now apprehended an attack by the English on his own head-quarters; and, to save his ships, he sent them away to the Mauritius to wait there till they should be joined by a fresh squadron from France. In the month of January, 1748, Major Lawrence, an officer of great merit, arrived at Fort St. David with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India. He had not been there long ere

² The *topasses*, whose name frequently occurs in the history of our early Indian wars, were native Christians, the converts or half-caste descendants of the Portuguese.

¹ Mill.

Dupleix attempted another night attack on Cuddalore. Lawrence allowed the French to approach the very walls of the town, and even to apply their scaling-ladders; but then, as they were fancying the garrison had been withdrawn, he met them in the teeth with artillery and musketry, and drove them away in disorder. Though



MAJOR-GENERAL STRINGER LAWRENCE.
After Sir Joshua Reynolds.

England had then upon her hands a war with Spain, France, and Holland, and had only recently recovered from the civil war in the northern part of the island, caused by the invasion of the young pretender, she despatched nine ships of war, under Admiral Boscawen, to co-operate with eleven ships of the Company, carrying stores and troops. Boscawen arrived at Fort St. David on the 9th of August, and, joining Admiral Griffin, found himself at the head of the largest European force that any one power had as yet possessed in India. The land troops brought from England amounted to 1400 men. It was confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry; but the siege of the French Indian capital was undertaken without a sufficient knowledge of the localities, was conducted with little ability or spirit, and was raised when the trenches had been opened for thirty-one days.¹ The French were regarded by the natives as a superior people; but before they could avail themselves of their prestige, peace was concluded in Europe between England and France, and hostilities were suspended in India.

The still growing dissensions, the wretched weakness and anarchy of the whole country, soon encouraged the English to persevere in their old scheme of territorial aggrandizement. Sanjohee, a Hindoo prince, who, in the rapid revolutions of

that country, had gained and lost the throne of Tanjore, repaired to Fort St. David and entreated the assistance of the English in a war against his brother, Pertaub Sing, who had dethroned him. As the price of this assistance Sanjohee offered the fort and country of Devicotta, advantageously situated by the banks of the Coleroon, on the coast of Coromandel. In the beginning of April, 1749, 430 Englishmen and about 1000 sepoys marched from Fort St. David into Tanjore; and, as a natural beginning to the war, directed their first attacks against the fortress which was to be ceded to the Company. But Devicotta was stronger than was expected; the small train of artillery they carried with them proved insufficient; they were disappointed in the co-operation of an English squadron and of the people of the country, which had both been promised them; and they marched back to Fort St. David, foiled and humiliated. The impatience of Sanjohee to recover his throne, and their own eager appetite for territory and dominion, soon induced the English to renew their attempt. A new expedition was fitted out at Fort St. David, the troops were landed, a breach was made in the walls of Devicotta, the deep river Coleroon was crossed by means of a raft, and the place was stormed. After some hard fighting in the breach and on the ramparts behind it, a truce was concluded, the reigning King of Tanjore, Pertaub Sing, agreeing to yield to the English the town, fort, and harbour, together with a territory adjoining; and the English on their part agreeing, not merely to renounce the support of Sanjohee, for whom and with whom they had entered on this war, but also to secure his person, in order to prevent his giving any further molestation to his brother.² At the siege of Devicotta, Robert Clive, who was eventually to be the real founder of the British empire in India, greatly distinguished himself. Clive, who had attracted some attention in the preceding year at the siege of Pondicherry, had entered the Company's service in a civil capacity, but he had very soon thrown down the pen of a writer to take up an ensign's sword. By this time he had attained to the rank of lieutenant, and was esteemed by the whole army as the most enterprising and daring of their officers. He was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, poor, and comparatively friendless and illiterate; and his chances of patronage, fame, and fortune all lay in his sword.³ However foully obtained, the possession of Devicotta was of vast importance to the Company.

But while these events were in progress, the

¹ Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in India*; Mill, *History of British India*.

² Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Robert, Lord Clive*; collected from the Family Papers, communicated by the Earl of Powis.

³ *Mémoires pour M. Dupleix*, as cited in Mill's *Hist. Brit. India*.

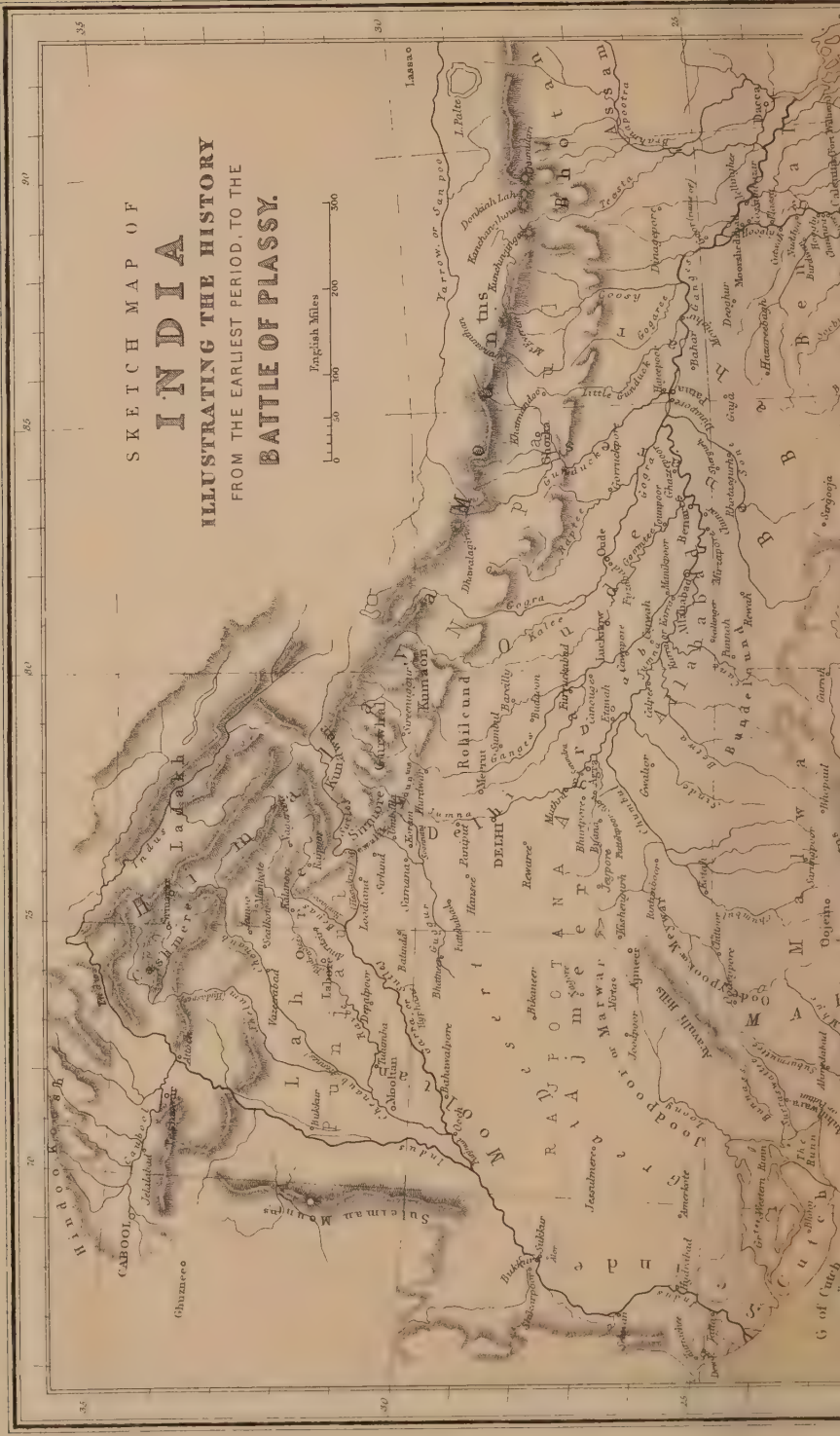
French, whose policy and operations continued to be guided by Dupleix, were engaged in transactions of the highest moment, and taking part in a great revolution in the Carnatic. The succession to the Carnatic was disputed by a number of princes, and Dupleix conceived that by siding with the strongest of the claimants, Chunda Sahib, who had collected a large army, and was eagerly courting French assistance, he might obtain not only vast cessions of territory, but by degrees a complete ascendancy in the whole of Southern India. In addition to the armed disputes for the great succession, there were contentions equally fierce among the minor princes for the possession of other dominions, some bordering on the Carnatic, and some included in it. A body of 400 French soldiers and 2000 sepoy were sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry; and in the first battle fought with these allies Chunda Sahib saw the most powerful of his rivals killed by a ball fired by a Caffre soldier in the service of France. Mahomed Ali, son to the fallen nabob, fled to Trichinopoly, a strong city, and the conquerors marched to Arcot, which surrendered at the first summons. From Trichinopoly Mahomed Ali despatched envoys to the English to solicit their succour, and to promise the highest of prices for their alliance; but the British officers in command had received no orders from home that could justify their embarking upon a scene of such extensive operations; they were few in number, and their whole European force only a few companies; and, moreover, they were occupied at the time in taking possession anew of Madras, which had been given up by the French, in compliance with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

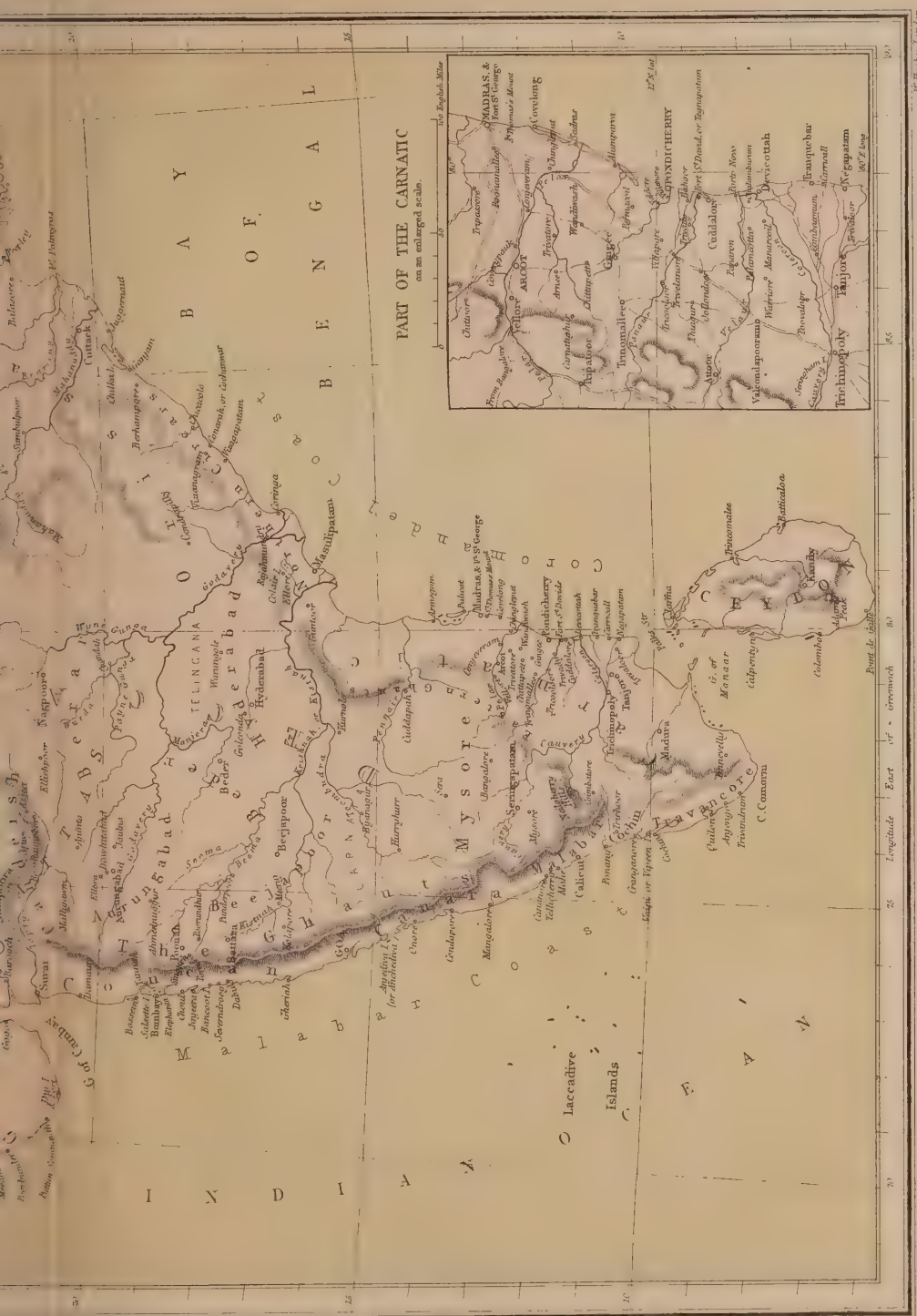
In the neighbouring regions of the Deccan—the great and populous country which had formerly held dominion over the whole of the Carnatic—the succession on the death of Nizam-ul-Moolk, in 1748, had been disputed between his son Nazir Jung and his grandson Muzzuffer Jung; but the senior prince had prevailed over the junior, had taken Muzzuffer Jung prisoner, and now kept him in irons, carrying him in his train wherever he went. Nazir Jung and Anwar-uddin, who claimed the sovereignty of the Carnatic, having united their forces, and drawn into their service nearly all the troops the Great Mogul had on foot, advanced to the Carnatic frontier with an enormous army, including 30,000 Mahrattas who had been engaged to act as light cavalry. At the approach of this host Chunda Sahib and his French allies retreated hastily to Pondicherry. Dupleix, by extraordinary exertions, increased the French contingent to 2000 men, and added a large body of well-disciplined sepoy, together with a well-served train of artil-

lery. In the meantime the English had managed to send some very small detachments to Trichinopoly to sustain Mahomed Ali, and had thrown a few companies into the army of the Rajah of Tanjore. Major Lawrence advanced from Fort St. David with reinforcements, and, collecting the companies in Tanjore, he was enabled to join the army of Nazir Jung with about 600 Englishmen. But Lawrence had with difficulty obtained the consent of his civil superiors to this active co-operation, and he was for some time disturbed by a doubt whether he should be justified in fighting the French without orders from the British government. He, however, determined to imitate the French in representing the English as mere auxiliaries and not principals in the war. As Lawrence advanced with Nazir Jung's host, the French and their allies strongly entrenched themselves, and awaited the attack. At this crisis the French corps was completely disorganized by the sudden resignation of thirteen commissioned officers, who were enraged at not having shared in the booty and spoils made in Tanjore. As the defection seemed growing general, M. D'Auteuil, who commanded for Dupleix, deemed it expedient to quit the field and hasten back to Pondicherry. Chunda Sahib, whose own troops began to desert, saw nothing better to do than to march after D'Auteuil. The whole excellent position was soon abandoned without a blow or a shot fired from it; and for a moment the triumph of the allies of the English appeared to be fully secured. But Nazir Jung, the real head of this confederacy, had little ability and still less energy; and, by refusing to grant to his English allies a territory near Madras which had been promised as the reward of their co-operation, he provoked Major Lawrence to return to Fort St. David with the 600 men. Nor had Dupleix lost heart by his most unexpected misfortune: by various arts he pacified the mutinous French officers, and put a new spirit into their little army; and he opened a secret correspondence with some disaffected chiefs, the leaders of the Patan troops, in the army of his enemy, Nazir Jung. These Patans were unprincipled and ferocious mercenaries, ever ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, or to betray their trust for money. Responding to the overtures of Dupleix, the Patan chiefs engaged to perform various important services, and, if necessary, to murder their present employer, Nazir Jung. D'Auteuil again took the field, and one of his officers with only 300 men was allowed to penetrate by night into the very heart of the enemy's camp, and to kill upwards of 1000 without losing more than two or three of his own people. Moreover, another small body of French troops sailed to Masulipatam, attacked it by surprise in the night, and carried it with a trifling

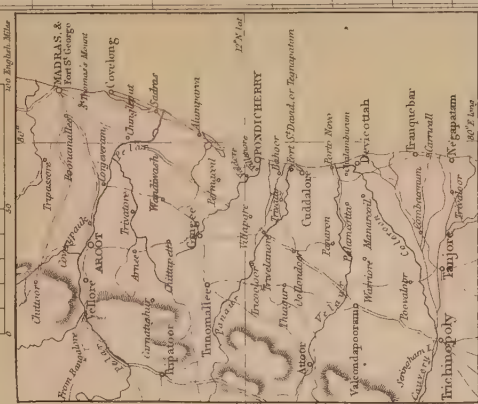
SKETCH MAP OF
INDIA
 ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY
 FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD, TO THE
BATTLE OF PLASSY.

English Miles
 0 50 100 200 300





PART OF THE CARNATIC
on an enlarged scale.



loss, and another detachment seized the pagoda of Trivadi, only fifteen miles to the west of Fort St. David. Continuing this career, M. Bussy, the Clive of the French, captured by storm the hill-fort of Gingee, which had been deemed impregnable and inaccessible. The event struck awe into the natives of India, and was viewed with astonishment even by Europeans. Soon after the storming of Gingee, Nazir Jung opened or re-



THE HILL-FORT OF GINGEE.—Daniell's Oriental Annual.

newed a correspondence with Dupleix. The wily Frenchman replied to his letters in a friendly manner, and drew up a treaty of pacification which he professed would satisfy himself and his allies, and restore the blessings of peace to the Carnatic, the unfortunate inhabitants of which country had suffered nearly every extremity of misery from this and preceding wars.

But at the same time Dupleix had fully arranged a revolt in Nazir Jung's camp, and had collected a force of 4000 men, French or well-disciplined sepoys, under the high hill of Gingee, who were to obey the summons of the Patan traitors, and to co-operate with them. The doomed soubahdar signed the treaty as sent to him by Dupleix, and returned it to the headquarters of the French; but at the same moment, or shortly before the arrival of the peace-restoring document, there arrived in the same camp the concerted summons of the Patan conspirators; and the French force under the command of M. de la Touche silently moved off to attack, under cover of night, the betrayed army of Nazir Jung. Dela Touche encountered some resistance from the rest of the army, but the Patan mercenaries remained passive spectators. Nazir Jung mounted his war elephant and hastened to the lines of the Patan chiefs, ignorant of their treachery, and hoping to excite them to exertion; but, as he raised himself on the seat of his elephant to salute those ferocious chiefs, two carbine balls were

fired at his heart, and he fell dead at the feet of the traitors, who forthwith cut-off his head, stuck it upon a spear, and exhibited it to the army. This was quite enough to effect an instantaneous revolution: Muzzuffer Jung, the ally of the French and of Chunda Sahib, was released from his confinement in the camp and installed as Soubahdar of the Deccan, although there were four brothers of the murdered Nazir Jung on the spot.¹ Muz-

zuffer Jung, who had so rapidly passed from a prison to a throne, hastened to Pondicherry to express his gratitude for the friendship and his admiration of the policy and decision of Dupleix. As substantial proofs of his thankfulness, he lavished upon the Frenchman a great part of the treasures of Nazir Jung, and nominated him governor of all the Mogul dominions on the coast of Coromandel from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin; appointing his close ally, Chunda Sahib, his deputy in the government of Arcot. But the new soubahdar and Dupleix failed in satisfying the cupidity of the Patan chiefs, who departed for the interior full of rancour and revenge. Mahomed Ali, late the ally of the English, sustained himself within the strong walls of Trichinopoly till the assassination of Nazir Jung,

and the union of the Great Mogul's army with the French; but now he fled and offered to resign all claim to the Carnatic, provided Dupleix would obtain for him from the new soubahdar of his own making a separate command in some other part of the Deccan. In the beginning of the year 1751 it was found necessary to attend to insurrections which had broken out—not without encouragement from the English or the native friends of the Company—in various parts of the Carnatic; and the new soubahdar took the field accompanied by the French contingent, again under the command of the brave and skilful Bussy. On their march into the interior a revolt broke out in part of their own army; and it was discovered that a mountain-pass in their front was occupied by the fierce Patan chiefs with their hardy tribes. Bussy gave instant orders for clearing the pass, and this was soon done by the French artillery and grape-shot. But in pursuing the fugitive Patans the new soubahdar received a Patan arrow in his brain, which proved as instantaneously fatal to him as the carbines had been to his predecessor. The native army hereupon would have packed up their rice-kettles, to disband and to return to their homes; but Bussy instantly proclaimed a new soubahdar in the person of Salabut Jung, who

¹ Colonel Wilkes. Dupleix, to cast off the infamy of treachery, asserts in his memoirs that, on receiving the treaty signed by Nazir Jung, he wrote off immediately to De la Touche, to prevent further hostilities, but that his letter arrived too late.

happened to be in the camp. The native army received Salabut Jung with acclamations of great joy, and he forthwith confirmed to the French the splendid grants made by his predecessor. The army then continued its march to Hyderabad, one of the French officers informing Dupleix by letter that in a very short time the Mogul would tremble on his throne at the name of the French. The council of the Company were thrown into consternation, and almost into despair, by the sudden ascendancy acquired by Dupleix; and they endeavoured to encourage Mahomed Ali, and induce him to break off his negotiations by which Trichinopoly was to have been surrendered to the French. Mahomed Ali had courage enough left to return to Trichinopoly, and to declare that he would hold that important place to the last extremity; and hereupon the English pledged themselves to support and assist him with ships, troops, and money. But small was the force that the government of Fort St. David could collect for this purpose; and, as Major Lawrence had taken his departure for England, they were at a loss to know what officer they should appoint to the command of it. As Lieutenapt Clive seemed too young and too low in rank, they at last gave the chief command to one Captain Cope, who might have been of the same stock as Sir John Cope, the hero of Prestonpans. With 600 men in all, including sepoy, Captain Cope advanced to Madura, which still adhered to Mahomed Ali; but he marched back again without striking a blow for his ally, who thereupon was speedily besieged in Trichinopoly by the French and the forces under Chunda Sahib. As Trichinopoly, on the south bank of the great river Cauvery, was a place of vital importance—the only place that remained of all the Carnatic in the hands of their ally—and as the French were proving to them what they might expect in their ill-defended factories and settlements on the coast, by planting white flags in almost every field around their boundaries, and in some instances even within their limits, the presidency of Fort St. David were roused to greater exertions, and they collected 500 Europeans, 100 Caffres, and 1000 sepoy to march to the relief of the besieged city. This time the command was given, not to Captain Cope, but to a Captain Gingen, who appears to have been as incompetent an officer, as weak and undecided as Cope. Clive went with the expedition, but unfortunately merely as commissary of provisions. Gingen, about the beginning of April, 1751, started from Fort St. David, and at nearly the same time Chunda Sahib, leaving part of his forces in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, began to march to meet him. The opposing armies met near the fort of Volconda, and the English behaved in such a

manner as English troops have seldom been guilty of—they fled almost at the first shot, leaving their Caffres and their sepoy on the field engaged in an unequal struggle, which these mercenaries maintained for some time with considerable spirit. Gingen, who was calling councils of war, and debating and wavering when he ought to have been fighting, retreated from position to position; but then, changing his line of march, he contrived eventually to reach Trichinopoly, and throw himself and his forces, considerably reduced, within its walls. Chunda Sahib was close at his heels, and the siege was renewed. Clive, after the disgraceful affair at Volconda, had returned straight to Fort St. David to storm and swear at the misconduct of our officers, and to solicit employment more suited to his disposition and abilities. In a lucky hour the council promoted him to the rank of captain, and adopted a plan which his daring genius had formed, and intrusted him with the execution of his own project. This was nothing less than to relieve Trichinopoly by making a sudden attack upon Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Fort St. David and Madras were emptied of their troops and left with the weakest garrisons, and yet Clive's detachment when completed did not exceed 200 Englishmen and 300 sepoy. His whole staff of officers counted no more than eight, six of whom had never been in action, and four of these six being young men in the mercantile service of the Company, who, inflamed by Clive's example, took up the sword to follow him. The artillery attached to this force consisted of three light field-pieces. But Clive had learned something while acting as commissary, and had taken good care to provide supplies of provisions and abundant ammunition. He had already the forethought of a great commander. On the 26th of August, 1751, he started from Madras with a confidence of success. On the 29th he reached a pagoda about forty miles inland, and there received intelligence that the fort of Arcot had not been drained of its troops for the siege of Trichinopoly, but was actually garrisoned by 1100 men. Nothing daunted, he wrote to Madras for two eighteen-pounders to be sent after him without delay; and continuing his march, he halted on the 31st within ten miles of Arcot. The country people, or the scouts employed by the enemy, reported with consternation that they had seen the English marching without concern through a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. This was considered as a fearful omen by the native garrison, who instantly abandoned the fort. A few hours after their departure Clive and his men entered the city, which had no walls or defences, and marching through the streets in the midst of tens of thousands of timid spectators, they took possession of the fort, where they

found eight pieces of cannon from four to eight pounders, a great heap of lead for shot, and abundance of gunpowder.

Clive's adventures now assumed the most romantic and marvellous character. With a mere handful of men he sallied from Arcot, and cut up or scattered all the enemy's forces; he sent away his people to meet the two eighteen-pounders coming from Madras, and, with thirty Europeans and fifty sepoy, made good the fort of Arcot; he completely repulsed Rajah Sahib and his French allies, who brought up some good artillery with them; he skillfully counterworked two breaches which the French guns had made, and he triumphed over an assault which was made on the 14th of November by many thousands of Indians. The following morning the besiegers fled from the town of Arcot, leaving artillery and ammunition behind them. Thus ended a siege which had lasted fifty days. It raised the reputation of English arms in India from the lowest to the very highest pitch.

Being reinforced by Captain Kilpatrick with 150 men, Clive, leaving a garrison in the fort, went off from Arcot on the 19th of November, with 200 English, 700 sepoy, and three field-pieces, in pursuit of Rajah Sahib. Being joined by a small body of Mahratta horse sent to him by Morari Row, he gave the enemy battle at a place called Arnee; and, though they were 300 French and more than 2000 natives, horse and foot, with four field-pieces, he completely routed them. The valour of the Mahrattas was encouraged by the booty they made, for they took 400 horses and Chunda Sahib's military chest containing 100,000 rupees. Six hundred sepoy, who had been serving the French, immediately deserted with their arms and accoutrements, and joined Clive; and the killadar or governor of Arnee abandoned the cause of Chunda Sahib and the French, and declared for Mahomed Ali and the English. With admirable rapidity Clive next proceeded to Conjeveram, made a breach in that strong pagoda, and forced the French to flee from it by night. After destroying the defences of this place, and strengthening the garrison that he had left at Arcot, Clive returned to Fort St. David to report his successes and to suggest bolder and wider operations. Mahomed Ali, instead of being besieged in Trichinopoly, saw the country open to him and a great part of the Carnatic submissive to his will. Clive had not been long at Fort St. David when the enemy re-assembled, and with 4500 natives, horse and foot, 400 French, and a train of artillery, began to ravage the Company's territory and the districts which had declared for Mahomed Ali. Early in February (1752) Clive, having been reinforced from Bengal, went out to meet them

with 380 English, 1300 sepoy, and six field-pieces. Such was the terror of his name that they retreated before him, abandoning one strong position after another. Lengthening and quickening his marches, he, however, came up with them at the village of Coverypauk, defeated them after a hard-fought battle, and took nine pieces of cannon and sixty Frenchmen. Fifty Frenchmen and 300 sepoy were found dead upon the field.

Clive the conqueror returned to Fort St. David, where the presidency determined to despatch him to Trichinopoly. But just at this juncture Major Lawrence returned from England and took the command as superior officer. Lawrence, however, who was wholly devoid of professional jealousy, and who had the warmest admiration for the daring self-taught soldier, took Clive with him when he set out for Trichinopoly, with 400 English, 1100 sepoy, and eight field-pieces. As 20,000 Hindoos from the kingdom of Mysore and 6000 Mahrattas were ready to co-operate with the English, the troops of Chunda Sahib and the French, who had again gathered in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, broke up in dismay, the French retreating to a strong pagoda in Seringham, an island formed by the rivers Coleroon and Cauvery, and burning part of their baggage and provisions which they could not transport with them. By the advice of Clive, Major Lawrence divided his small force, and sent a detachment across the Coleroon to intercept the enemy's supplies. Clive had the command of this detachment, and performed his duty so effectually that the French soon began to feel the horrible approaches of famine. Dupleix from Pondicherry sent M. d'Auteuil to supply and reinforce the French on the island; but D'Auteuil was driven back by some of the troops of Major Lawrence, forced into an old fort, and there compelled to surrender with all his convoy. A few days after, the French at Seringham capitulated and became prisoners of war; and their ally Chunda Sahib, who had so recently been lord of the Carnatic, finding himself deserted by the last of his troops, fled to the camp of his enemies and surrendered to the general of the Tanjore forces, a wily Hindoo, who had promised him protection and who now put him in irons. Forthwith a violent dispute arose between Mahomed Ali, the Mahratta chiefs, the Rajah of Mysore, and the Tanjorines, who each and all claimed the person of the prisoner. To put an end to this quarrel, Major Lawrence proposed that the fallen potentate should for the present be delivered up to the English; but the disputants separated without coming to any agreement, and before the discussion could be renewed the Tanjorines cut off the head of Chunda Sahib and

sent it to his now fortunate rival, Mahomed Ali, who exhibited it as a trophy to his army.

The English were now eager to advance against the fortress of Gingee, the only place in the Carnatic which remained to their enemies; but fresh and far more violent disputes broke out among their allies and retarded their departure. As the troops of Tanjore and other auxiliaries had marched to their homes, the English had few or none to advance with them to Gingee, except the sepoys in their own pay. They marched nevertheless to that strong place, which was held by a brave and well-trained French garrison, sustained a repulse, and were obliged to retreat with some loss. This gave new encouragement to Dupleix. Well acquainted with the dissensions prevailing between Mahomed Ali and the Regent of Mysore, he opened a secret correspondence with the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas, hoping to break the confederacy into pieces by force of intrigue and the vehemence of their own passions. In these labours it is said he derived wonderful assistance from his wife, who was born in India and perfectly understood not only the languages but also the character of the natives. In his union with this lady, who is described as being even more ambitious than himself, we may probably find the cause of the essentially oriental spirit of most of his proceedings. In a very short time Major Lawrence was recalled to the neighbourhood of Fort St. David by intelligence that Dupleix had another considerable army on foot. With 400 English, 1700 sepoys, 4000 troops in the pay of Mahomed Ali, and nine field-pieces, he encountered this French army near Bahoor, only two miles from Fort St. David, and obtained a victory which would have been far more complete if the nabob's troops had not thought more of plundering than fighting. Lawrence was now enabled to detach Clive to Covelong, an important fort in the Carnatic, about twenty miles south of Madras. The force which Clive took with him consisted of 200 recruits who had just been landed at Madras, and who are represented as being the very refuse of the jails of London, and of 500 newly raised sepoys. But, as Clive had become a general as if by inspiration, so had he the faculty of making soldiers in a week out of vagabonds and out-purses. With this force, and with four twenty-four pounders, he attacked Covelong, which mounted thirty pieces of cannon, and was garrisoned by fifty French and 300 sepoys. At first the jailbirds showed some trepidation; but Clive shamed them out of their fears by exposing himself to the hottest of the fire, and by the time the fort surrendered they were heroes. The morning after the surrender of Covelong, Ensign Joseph Smith discovered a large body of troops advancing, and correctly judged that this must be a de-

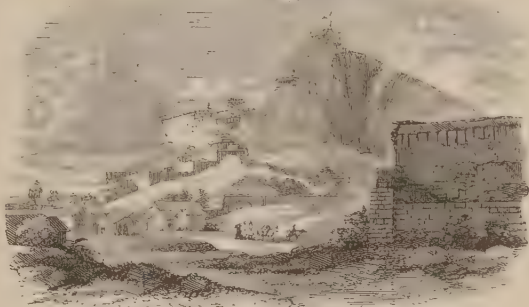
tachment from Chingleput intended to relieve Covelong. Clive instantly took every precaution to conceal from this corps that the fort had fallen; and then he laid an ambuscade in their route. The French fell into the trap, and the very first volley fired by the concealed English killed or wounded 100 men. The rest threw down their arms and fled or surrendered. The French officer commanding, twenty-five Europeans, and 250 sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, were taken. Clive next proceeded with all possible rapidity to Chingleput, which was about forty miles to the south-west of Covelong, the fort being completely defended on one side by a lake, and on another by a swamp; it was, moreover, surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. Clive presently erected a battery within 200 yards of the outer wall, made a breach, and prepared to storm; but the French commandant called a parley, and surrendered the place on condition of being allowed the honours of war. The French garrison evacuated Chingleput on the 31st of October (1752), and marched to Pondicherry; Clive returned to Madras, and, finding his health, which had never been very robust, greatly impaired by the incessant fatigues he had undergone, he proceeded to England by the first ship.

His back was scarcely turned when Dupleix's diplomacy and intrigue obtained the most signal triumphs. The Regent of Mysore abruptly broke his alliance and joined the French, and his example was followed by Morari Row, the chief of the Mahrattas, who considered that they had not been allowed their fair share of booty. Still further to increase this defection, Dupleix opened negotiations with the Mahometan governor of Vellore, and he gained this chief by flattering him with the nabobship of the Carnatic. Joined by the troops of these recent allies of the English, the French advanced once more to Trichinopoly, and laid close siege to that place. Major Lawrence soon discovered the defection of the Mahrattas, and he ordered an attack upon a part of their forces which yet remained within his reach. This attack was led under cover of the night by Captain Dalton, who penetrated their camp and committed some slaughter. But shortly after the Mahrattas made an attack upon an advanced post of the British, and cut to pieces seventy English and about 300 sepoys. Captain Dalton turned out of the city a large body of Mysoreans who were still pretending to be friends. Neither Mahrattas nor Mysoreans had any inclination to attempt the reduction of the fort by storm; but they hoped to be able to reduce it by famine. They watched every avenue to the place as closely as they could, they kept parties of horse constantly scouring the country to intercept the supplies, they prohibited the introduction of any kind of provisions,

and they cut off the noses of those whom they caught attempting to infringe their orders.

Captain Dalton made his situation known to Major Lawrence, who had retired to Madras, but who immediately took the field and marched to his relief. Lawrence arrived at Trichinopoly on the 6th of May (1753), but the hurried march and the heat of the weather had proved fatal to several of his English troops, who had died upon the road, and above a hundred more were sick and helpless, and only fit for the hospital. No attempt was, however, made to intercept him, or to prevent his entrance into the place. When his forces were joined to those of Captain Dalton they did not exceed 500 English and 2000 sepoys: there was indeed quartered in the town a body of Mahomed Ali's force, but these fellows were ill-paid and mutinous. Provisions now found their way into the town; but Dupleix and his allies made such exertions that in a short time nearly 30,000 men, including about 500 French, were gathered round the place. Major Lawrence made several sorties, and even attempted to drive the enemy from the strong pagoda of Seringham, which they had again occupied; but he failed, and was compelled to retire with some loss. The French drew nearer and made an attack upon a post called the Golden Rock, which Lawrence had established in order to keep open his communications with the country. The post was defended by sepoys, who gave way before the impetuous attack of M. Astruc; and the French flag was hoisted on the rock. Lawrence sent his grenadiers to recover the important position, and it was soon recovered at the point of the bayonet; but, as the whole French force came up to support their comrades, a general action ensued, in which the Mysore army and the Mahratta cavalry took part. The Mahrattas occasionally made a charge and did some mischief, but the Mysoreans kept themselves at a respectful distance in the rear: the stern contest was only between the British and the French; but the British bayonet finished the day, and the French fled from the field, leaving three field-pieces behind them. Lawrence returned triumphantly to the walls of Trichinopoly; but his loss, considering the small number of his troops, was considerable, and forced him to confess that one or two more victories of the same kind would have ruined him. The Indian Rajah of Tanjore professed to remain steady to the English interest, but he sent little or no assistance to Trichinopoly. It was now resolved that Major Lawrence should proceed with Mahomed Ali to the Tanjore frontier, in order to obtain from the

raja the fulfilment of some of his promises. At the hour of departure Mahomed Ali's own troops assembled in the court of the palace, declaring that they would not allow him to depart until he had paid their arrears. English bayonets opened a path through these mutinous natives; but as soon as the nabob was gone they went over in a



THE ROCK AND FORT OF TRICHINOPOLY, from the South-east.
Daniel's Views in India.

body to the enemy. The journey to the Tanjore frontier was, however, very successful; for the rajah sent 3000 horse and 2000 foot under the command of Monacjee, the general who had assassinated Chunda Sahib, to co-operate with the English and the forces of Mahomed Ali. Moreover, Lawrence was now joined by 170 British soldiers who had just arrived from England, and by 300 natives who enrolled as sepoys. Thus reinforced, with his carts well loaded with provisions, and with some thousands of bullocks in his train, Lawrence returned towards Trichinopoly. The French made a spirited attempt to cut off his convoy and impede his entrance into the town, but they were again repelled by the bayonets of the English grenadiers, and Lawrence and the nabob got to their old quarters without loss or damage. The French and their allies made no progress in reducing Trichinopoly, and the English and their allies had not sufficient force to compel them to raise the blockade. Many encounters took place, in one of which M. Astruc and several French officers were taken prisoners. Months were passed in this manner in foraging and skirmishing. In the autumn a party of Lawrence's troops took Weycondah, a post of some strength; and the French and their allies then retired from the vicinity of Trichinopoly, apparently with the intention of giving up the blockade. But on the 20th of November, when Lawrence was fifteen miles from the town, and when the Tanjore troops had quitted him to return to their homes, he was startled by news of

an attack made by the French on Trichinopoly. Before he reached that town he was, however, gladdened by the intelligence that the few English and the sepoys within it had repulsed the French with a terrible loss.

But in the meantime M. Bussy, who took his departure for Hyderabad in 1752, to establish Salabut Jung in the sovereignty of the Deccan, had gone through a series of brilliant and romantic adventures, and penetrated farther into the country than any European army had hitherto gone, and had to all appearance consolidated the authority of his ally. Bussy had been living with all the pomp and splendour of a vizier or a sultan at Golconda, and directing all the measures of Salabut Jung's government. To expel the French and their allies, and to place upon the throne of the Deccan, U-din the prince of the Mogul's choice, every exertion was made that the reduced means of the emperor would allow; an army of Mahrattas, who were ever ready to sell their services to any party, or to embark on either side in any war that offered a prospect of abundant booty, were engaged by the Mogul, and placed with other native troops under the command of U-din. But this unfortunate claimant was carried off by poison, or by his own excesses, as he was entering the province of Golconda with 100,000 horse. Upon this event many of his host took their departure; but the Mahrattas, eager for the spoil of a rich province, continued their advance, and encountered the French and the troops of Salabut Jung in several places. Bussy, who had the genius of Clive, defeated them repeatedly, and once or twice with so much slaughter that the Mahrattas became anxious for peace. Salabut Jung then purchased their retreat by ceding to them some districts near Berar and Boorhanpoor; and they gladly withdrew from the murderous execution of Bussy's quick musketry and artillery. The bold Frenchman had, however, soon to experience how slightly the ties of gratitude attached Indian princes and politicians. Disgusted at seeing Salabut Jung completely ruled by a handful of foreigners, and forgetting that those foreigners alone had gained and could defend the Deccan, the courtiers advised their master to reduce the power of the French, who did not enjoy or exercise it with much moderation. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Bussy, Salabut Jung withheld the pay of the French troops, and then began to detach them in small parties to distant quarters. But some of the Mahratta tribes, continually on the watch, discovered this dispersion of the only force they feared, and instantly began to prepare for a new war in the Deccan. Quickened by the prayers of Salabut Jung, Bussy hurried back to his post, and was instantly allowed to reunite his scat-

tered forces and to dictate his own terms to that trembling court. The courtiers and ministers who had intrigued against him were forthwith exiled; and, as security for vast arrears already accumulated and for future pay, he obtained at the end of the year 1753, the cession of the five important provinces of Ellore, Rajahmundry, Cicacole, Condapilly, and Guntoor, called the Northern Circars, which made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa for an uninterrupted line of 600 miles. But neither the court of Versailles nor the French India Company at home had embraced the grand projects of Bussy and Dupleix; the court questioned the propriety of these wars with the English in a time of peace, and the company doubted whether these territorial acquisitions could be maintained profitably to themselves. The French directors or managers were all for trade and peace, and were quite incapable of the exertions which the joint-stock English Company could make with little inconvenience. Dupleix, too, had had his day; and, considering the mutations and intrigues of the old French cabinet, it had been a long one: his protectors and admirers were now out of office; his recall to France was procured, and a M. Godeheu was sent out to supersede him as governor of Pondicherry, with instructions to negotiate immediately a peace with the English and their allies. M. Godeheu arrived at Pondicherry in the beginning of August, 1754; and with the return ship that carried away Dupleix, the grand schemes of French empire and dominion in the East seemed to vanish into thin air. On the 11th of October, a suspension of arms was agreed to for three months; and on the 26th of December of the same year (1754) a provisional treaty was signed at Pondicherry. The French stipulated to withdraw their troops from the Carnatic, and to interfere no more in the affairs of the native princes there, thus leaving Mahomed Ali, the ally or creature of the English, undisputed Nabob of the Carnatic. They also agreed that the territorial possessions of the French and English should be settled and defined on the principle of equality, thus virtually resigning nearly all that Bussy and Dupleix had acquired by their wars and policy.

M. Bussy, however, left undisturbed at Golconda, continued his control over the Deccan; and the Mysoreans, alleging that the French had no authority to bind them by their paper agreements, seemed disposed to continue the blockade of Trichinopoly, and remained in that neighbourhood until they were scared away by the report that a Mahratta army was marching to attack them. Their departure finished a siege and blockade which had lasted altogether more than a year, and which had brought out on the part of the English troops uncommon bravery, steadiness,

and no inconsiderable skill. Yet the pacification was scarcely settled when the two rival European nations were involved in fresh differences. The French complained that the English continued to keep their troops with Mahomed Ali to assist him in collecting his revenues and reducing his refractory subjects; and the English justified their conduct by showing that M. Bussy and the French troops with him in the interior continued to render the same services, and on a more extensive scale, to Salabut Jung. It soon became evident that no peace or truce could be of long duration. As there was no work to employ an English squadron which had arrived under the command of Admiral Watson, it was resolved to send some of the ships to destroy the nests of some powerful pirates who for fifty years had been committing depredations on the Malabar coast. The chiefs of these corsairs were a family of the Mah-

ratta race, and bore the name of Angria, who had established on the coast a power closely resembling that of the Algerines, and who nominally acknowledged the Peishwa, or the supreme head of the Mahrattas, as the Algerines nominally professed allegiance to the Ottoman Porte. But the Angrias had recently given such offence to the Peishwa that he determined upon their destruction, and consented to join his fleet to the English squadron. In 1755 the English ships, under the command of Commodore James, drove the pirates from two of their strongholds and took possession of them, the Mahratta fleet of the Peishwa never coming within reach of cannon-shot till the fighting was over. But the chief nest of the pirates—the fort and port of Gheriah—was not destroyed until the following year, when the adventurous Clive had returned from England with improved health and enlarged hopes.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1756—1759.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE II.

Clive's welcome in England—He returns to India with higher rank and appointments—Prosperity of Calcutta under the Great Mogul's viceroy, Ali Verdy Khan—His successor, Surajah Dowlah, quarrels with the English of the settlement—His pretexts for quarrel—He captures the English fort and factory at Cossimbazar—He assaults Calcutta—Its scanty means of defence—Its desperate resistance—Surrender of Calcutta—The Black Hole, and the agonies of its victims—Cruelty of the conqueror to the survivors—Surajah Dowlah's further aggressions—Clive returns to India at the critical moment—He defeats the enemy and recovers Calcutta—Surajah Dowlah repeatedly defeated—He allies himself with the French—Clive's great victory at Plassey—Flight of Surajah Dowlah—Clive establishes Meer Jaffier as nabob in his room—Capture and death of Surajah Dowlah—His French allies pursued by Eyre Coote—Trichinopoly besieged by the French—The siege raised—Indecisive movements between the English and French in the Carnatic—A French squadron flies from a dead English admiral—Alternate successes of the French and English—Reinforcements to the French arrive under Count Lally—He besieges and takes Fort St. David—He quarrels with the members of his council—Lawless proceedings of his troops—He attacks Tanjore—He is obliged to retreat—Quarrels between him and Bussy—Lally attacks Madras—The arrival of a British fleet compels him to decamp—Naval operations of the French and English at Trincomalee—Continuing disasters of Lally—The English defeat the French at Poddapoor—They take Masulipatam—Their growing ascendancy—Clive appointed governor of Bengal—Difficulties of Meer Jaffier—He applies to Clive for aid—Warren Hastings the new English resident at Moorshedabad—Troubled state of its government—Clive marches against the enemies of Meer Jaffier—He disperses them—The country restored to order—Rewards conferred on Clive by the native rulers—Meer Jaffier forsakes the English—He allies himself with the Dutch in India—The Dutch attempt to send him succours against the English—Clive detects their design—His arrangements to defeat it—He disperses the Dutch naval squadron, and defeats their troops on land—The Dutch factory compelled to submit—Clive returns to England.



RECEDED by glowing reports of his remarkable achievements at Arcot and in other parts of the Carnatic, Clive had been received in England with enthusiasm. Young as he was, he was hailed as the best of living

English generals. The Company resolved in sending him back to appoint him governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional commission to succeed to the government of Madras. George II., who loved a soldier, gave him the commission of

lieutenant-colonel in the British army, which it was hoped would obviate the quarrels about rank which so frequently occurred between the king's and the Company's officers. After the reduction of the pirates' nest at Gheriah, Colonel Clive proceeded to Fort St. David, and assumed the government of that place on the 20th of June, 1756, the very day on which the Nabob of Bengal took Calcutta from the English, and disgraced his success with detestable cruelties.

The Company's settlement at Calcutta had

risen rapidly under the pacific rule of Ali Verdy Khan, the Mussulman viceroy of the Great Mogul, but who had become virtually the independent and absolute sovereign of all the rich kingdom or territory of Bengal—the richest country in all India, with the most pusillanimous Hindoo population. Ali Verdy was, for India, a prince of rare virtues; while his neighbours and brother potentates consumed their time and their strength in multitudinous harems, and, in defiance of the Koran, stupified their intellects with excessive drinking, he adhered most scrupulously to the law of the Prophet, which prohibits the use of wine and strong drinks; and he neglected at the same time to avail himself of the Prophet's license for indulging in a plurality of wives and an *ad libitum* number of concubines. To the amazement of Hindoos and Mahometans, Ali Verdy rested satisfied with one faithful and beloved wife. He was orderly, prudent, just, and averse to all violence; he encouraged the trade of the English settled in his dominions, and derived a fair and growing profit from their prosperity. Their factors and their various agents travelled without interruption through every part of his dominions, finding everywhere protection for their property and safety and respect for their persons.

But Ali Verdy Khan died early in the month of April of this year, 1756, and his grandson and successor, Surajah Dowlah, a cruel, luxurious, and effeminate youth, proved altogether unworthy of him. As in these oriental despotisms nearly everything depends upon the personal character of the ruler, it was evident, from the first day of Surajah Dowlah's accession, that everything in Bengal would undergo a rapid and thorough change. He was known to entertain very hostile feelings towards the English, so that everybody at Calcutta ought to have been prepared for his hostile attacks; and the stories related of his violence and cruelty—of his delighting in seeing torture inflicted under his own eye—might have warned them of the fate that awaited them if they ever fell into his power. He had seen the coffers of his grandfather filled directly or indirectly by the trade of the English; he had been led to believe that the wealth and treasures these foreign merchants had accumulated within the walls of Calcutta were enormous in extent, and always ready and tangible; and, like the fool in the fable, he resolved to kill the goose that laid these golden eggs. It was very easy to find pretexts for quarrel. Alarmed by reports from England that a new war with France was inevitable, and would be prosecuted in all parts of the world, the English had begun to fortify Calcutta, so as to prevent any attack by the French on the side of the river. Moreover, they had granted refuge in their fort to a very

wealthy Hindoo native, called Kissendass, whom Surajah Dowlah wished to plunder, and they had refused to give him up to his officers. Other facilities were afforded by a Hindoo merchant, called Omichund, a man of intrigue and of enormous wealth, which he was constantly seeking to increase without any scruples as to the means he employed. Omichund had lived long in Calcutta, and had been permitted to engross much more of the Company's investment than was allowed to any other contractor. The presidency, moreover, had almost constantly employed him to transact their political business with the nabob and the minor potentates in the neighbourhood, and had paid him lavishly for all these services. The influence this intriguing Hindoo had acquired was immense, and his power was altogether so great that it was dangerous to offend him. Yet the presidency, disgusted by some dishonest practices, had deprived him of all his contracts, and given him the most mortal offence. Omichund retired to Muxadabad, or Moorsheadabad, with 4,000,000 rupees; but he left his harem and a considerable part of his household property at Calcutta. It was believed that the vindictive Hindoo put himself in close communication with the French at Chandernagore, and advised Surajah Dowlah to annihilate the English settlement. After a short stay at Moorsheadabad, Omichund returned to Calcutta to facilitate the scheme of destruction he recommended, and to act as a spy for the nabob. Surajah Dowlah despatched a peremptory letter to Mr. Drake, the governor, ordering him instantly to destroy all the works which had been added to the fortifications of Calcutta.

A few days after he collected his whole army at Moorsheadabad, and sent a detachment of 3000 men to invest the small English fort and factory at Cossimbazar. This investment was begun on the 22d of May, but no hostilities were committed until the 1st of June, when the nabob arrived with the rest of his forces. The fort of Cossimbazar had neither ditch nor palisade; its walls were contemptibly weak, the largest of its guns were but nine-pounders, and those were honey-combed or shaking upon rotten carriages; the garrison consisted of twenty-two Europeans and twenty topasses, and of the Europeans the majority were Dutchmen. The nabob summoned Mr. Watts to come forth to him. Mr. Watts waited upon the savage in his tent, and was again threatened with impalement. He was compelled to sign a paper importing that the presidency of Calcutta should level whatever works they had raised; that they should instantly deliver up all subjects or tenants of the nabob who had taken protection in their settlement, &c. Mr. Watts was next required to sign an order for the surrender of Cossimbazar; but this he refused to do.

But that fort was utterly incapable of resisting a vast army; and on the 4th of June the crumbling old gates were thrown open to the nabob. His conduct was so brutal, that to escape from it the English commanding officer, Ensign Elliot, put a pistol to his own head and blew out his brains. On the 9th of June, Surajah Dowlah struck his tents and began his march upon Calcutta. In the meantime the terrified and stupefied presidency at Calcutta lost days and nights in doubts and deliberations; vainly hoping to avert the storm, they engaged to obey the nabob's orders, and to demolish whatever he might require, if he would only withdraw his army; and they never seriously applied themselves to the defence of the place until Surajah Dowlah was within a few

days' march with a still increasing army. They then implored the Dutch at Chinsurah and the French at Chandernagore, for the sake of humanity, and for the common cause of Europeans in India, to afford them some assistance against the nabob, who, if allowed to exterminate the English, would not long respect the weaker settlements of the other European nations. The Dutch coldly and positively refused any aid or succour, and the French insulted their distress by advising the English to repair with their goods and chattels to Chandernagore. Letters had been despatched to Madras and to Bombay, requesting reinforcements, but the sea was shut by the south monsoon. Nothing therefore was left to do but to defend Calcutta with the force actually within



FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA, 1754.—From a print by Van Ryne.

it. This consisted of 264 regulars, 250 militia raised among the inhabitants, and 1500 native Indian matchlock-men. The genius of a Clive might, even with this defective force, have made good the fort against the disorderly, unwarlike host advancing against it; but there was no Clive in Calcutta, and too many of the English there whose voices were most potential were cursed with the selfish minds and narrow views of pedlars and trucksters. When all was at stake these men wanted to preserve their own dwelling-houses, their magazines, their gardens, and their outhouses from injury; and buildings which ought to have been blown into the air, because they commanded the ramparts of the fort, or covered the approaches, were left standing till Surajah Dowlah should avail himself of them. On the 15th of June, Surajah Dowlah reached Hooghly, about twenty miles above Calcutta, and prepared to cross the river in an immense fleet of boats. What the English ships were doing we know not; but it should appear that the fire of

two brigantines alone ought to have sunk and scattered these frail embarkations, and have effectually defended the passage of the river. On the morning of the 16th the nabob with nearly his whole force was on the Calcutta side of the river; the Indian inhabitants of the town were fleeing in all directions with their rice on their heads; and the Englishwomen, the Armenians, the Portuguese, and all who claimed to be Christians, were abandoning their houses in the city to take refuge within the fort, which was crowded and embarrassed in every part by women and children, and men as helpless or as timid. At the hour of noon the van of the nabob's army advancing from the northward was seen close on the Company's bounds, and shortly after a firing commenced across the Mahratta Ditch.

The defence of the fort was conducted without intelligence, and, save in a few cases, with very little spirit. Drake, the governor, embarked with the European ladies in ships on the river; others ran away from their posts at the moment of crisis,

and all would have fled if they had been able. Mr. Holwell, a member of council, was elected to the command of the hopeless place, which was now garrisoned by only 190 men, between regulars and timid militia.

By the direction of Mr. Holwell, signals were constantly thrown out, flags by day and fires by night, to call the shipping at Govindpore back to the fort; but no attention whatever was paid to these strong appeals to valour and generosity; the ships remained where they were, and merely sent a native boat down the river from time to time to see what was passing. Nothing but imbecility on the part of the commanders can account for this conduct in British seamen. On the following morning the assailants crowded round the fort in still greater numbers. Some of the English, who had seen how easy it was to scatter thousands with the well-directed fire of a single gun, recommended steadiness and perseverance in the defence; but others recommended with equal earnestness an immediate capitulation, without reflecting that Surajah Dowlah was the last man upon earth likely to observe any treaty, or to put any bounds to his wrath. Mr. Holwell at last consented to make his prisoner Omichund write a letter to one of the nabob's generals, stating that the English were ready to obey the nabob's commands, and were only defending the fort to preserve their lives and honour. This letter was carried into the Indian general's quarters, but it seemed to produce no effect, as the attack was continued and preparation made to escalate the walls. Advancing under cover of a strong fire from one of the neighbouring houses, a large party actually began to escalate the northern curtain of the fortress; but, after persevering for half an hour, they were hurled back and totally repulsed with great loss. But in this stern contest twenty-five of the garrison had been killed or desperately wounded, and more than twice that number had received slighter wounds. In this state, when the place was filled with moans and groans and shrieks of anguish, some of the remaining English soldiery broke open the arrack store-house, swallowed that ardent spirit as if it had been water, and became mad or stupid. About two o'clock in the afternoon, after a very faint renewal of the attack, the Indians sent a flag of truce towards the fort; but while Mr. Holwell was parleying with the messenger, and the garrison suspending their fire, hosts of the nabob's people flocked to the gates of the fort, to the palisades, and to the weakest parts of the works, where they applied their scaling-ladders and began again to ascend, firing at every one they saw. A gentleman was wounded at the side of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon broke off the conference and endeavoured to collect his

men on the ramparts. But the men who were sober could not be brought up in time, and those who were mad drunk were breaking open the water-gate to escape by the river. As this gate was forced, a mass of Indians who had climbed over the palisade beyond it, and were lurking under the walls, rushed in. About twenty of the garrison threw themselves over the walls; all the rest piled their arms and surrendered with prayers for mercy. At five in the afternoon Surajah Dowlah, who had kept at a distance so long as there was any resistance or the slightest chance of danger, entered the fort in triumph, accompanied by Meer Jaffier, his treasurer and commander-in-chief, and by most of his principal officers. He seated himself with all his pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell to be brought before him. He abused the English with oriental richness of language for their presumption in daring to oppose his will and defend the fort, and he bitterly complained of the small sum of money he had found in their treasury—a sum which in reality fell below 50,000 rupees, while his ravenous imagination had anticipated many millions. He dismissed Mr. Holwell, recalled him to ask if there was no more money, and then dismissed him again. Before seven o'clock he summoned the Englishman to his presence once more, and this time, in dismissing him, pledged his word as a soldier that he should suffer no harm.¹ Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in misfortune, whom he found surrounded by a strong guard, and gazing upon a terrible conflagration which by accident or by design had been kindled in the houses outside the fort. Asking where they were to be lodged for the night, they were ordered to march to a verandah or open gallery near the eastern gate of the fort. But about eight o'clock at night the principal officer who had charge of them commanded them all to go into a room behind the gallery. This room was the common dungeon of the garrison, and called the Black Hole. Many of the prisoners, knowing the narrowness of the place, imagined at first that the officer was joking, and, being in good spirits on account of the nabob's promise that no harm should be offered to them, they laughed at the absurdity of the notion; but when they perceived in the savage looks of the Indians that they were in earnest, they began to expostulate and implore; upon which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated, and the captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword. The space was so thronged that the last could hardly find room to enter. The savages without then locked the door upon them; confining 146 persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and

¹ Holwell's *Tracts*.

those obstructed and deprived of air by the projecting verandah. It was the very hottest season of the year, and the night unusually sultry even for that season; for the atmosphere was heated by the burning houses and charged with the smoke that proceeded from the conflagration. As soon as the dismal door was closed upon them, the prisoners, crowded and wedged together in one living, desperate mass, began to feel all the unutterable horrors of their situation. They cried, they shrieked for mercy—they prayed to be removed to separate rooms, to any place but that—they attempted to burst open the door, but the door was strong and opened inward, and no impression could be made upon it or its fastenings. Mr. Holwell, having been one of the first to enter that infernal hole, had secured himself a place near one of the windows, and through the grating he addressed an old Hindoo, "who bore some marks of humanity in his countenance," and promised him 1000 rupees in the morning if he would separate the captives into two chambers. The old man said he would go and endeavour to obtain permission; but he soon returned, saying that the thing could not be done—that it was impossible. Mr. Holwell offered him a larger sum—the old man went again—and again he soon returned, pronouncing this time the inevitable doom—for the nabob, he said, had retired to rest and was fast asleep, and no man dared to wake or disturb him. Then the captives went raving mad with despair and a hell-like heat and thirst; they shrieked for water! water! and they fought with each other with maniac hands, feet, and teeth, for possession of the ground nearest the windows. The old Hindoo, at the prayer of Mr. Holwell, brought some skins of water to the grating, but the sufferers were too far gone in madness to wait their turn to drink; they battled with one another like demons for the first draught, and they spilt and wasted more than was drunk. But the contents of the largest and coolest water-tank in Hindoostan could not have quenched the inward fire that consumed them, or have cooled or sweetened the infernal air of their dungeon. They went madder and madder. To shorten their horrors and to provoke the Indians outside in the verandah to fire upon them, they made use of every kind of invective and abuse; but the blacks kept up their torture, and, staring through the windows, shouted with laughter at the frantic tricks of the white men. By this time many of the captives had been squeezed or trodden to death, or had died for want of air. At two o'clock in the morning not more than fifty remained alive; but even this reduced number could not long live in that close and poisoned air, which was rendered every moment more loathsome by the almost instantaneous decomposition of the

dead bodies. As the light of day glimmered through the narrow apertures the sight was too horrible to be borne; but the sun was allowed to rise high in the heavens before the tyrant quitted his soft and perfumed couch and inquired after his prisoners. At eight o'clock in the morning, after ascertaining that Mr. Holwell, whom he wished to question about money, was among the survivors, he sent an order to enlarge the captives. The narrow space was so blocked up with the dead lying one upon the other, and those who yet lived were so weak and faint, that it was with the greatest difficulty the door was opened and a passage made for egress. At length, however, twenty-three ghastly figures were brought out of that truly Black Hole—figures that would not have been recognized by the mothers that had borne them, or by the bosom friends that had seen them but a few hours before on the eve of their terrific incarceration. The dead, amounting to 123, were then dragged out and thrown promiscuously into a great pit outside the fort, and there covered in with earth and rubbish. Mr. Holwell, unable to stand, was carried to the presence of Surajah Dowlah, who, so far from showing any compassion for his pitiable condition, or any remorse for the dreadful death of his companions, talked of nothing but the treasures which, he said, the English had buried; and he threatened further severities if the concealed money were not instantly delivered up. Mr. Holwell, who knew of no hidden treasures, was consigned over to some officers of the nabob, who put his sinking and emaciated frame into irons and fetters.¹ Messrs. Court and Walcot underwent the same treatment, as they were suspected of knowing something of the hidden treasures which haunted the tyrant's imagination, and which only existed there. An Englishwoman, the only one of her sex among the sufferers, was reserved for the harem of the *buckshee* or chief general, Meer Jaffier, who sent her off in a palanquin to his palace at Moorsheadabad. Little or no attention was paid to the obscurer part of the survivors, who were allowed to quit the fort and descend the bank of the river towards Govindpore, where the English shipping still lay at anchor.

Meanwhile the nabob's army was plundering all the warehouses and dwelling-houses in the town of Calcutta, making no distinction as to persons, faiths, or nations; but robbing alike Hindoos, Mahometans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English. Their booty in merchandise and in household property was very considerable; but, like their nabob, they too had visions of hidden treasures, to realize which they in many instances

¹ Mr. Holwell survived the catastrophe more than forty years, and died in 1798 at the age of eighty-seven.

tortured or barbarously maltreated their victims. Even the property of Omichund, who is supposed to have instigated the rajah's attack on Calcutta, was plundered with that of the other sufferers, and 400,000 rupees in his treasury were seized by the conquerors. On the 2d of July, the nabob proceeded up the river to fall upon his neighbour and near kinsman the ruler of Purneah. His departure from Calcutta was made in triumphal style. He left behind him in Fort William and in the town of Calcutta about 3000 men. As he passed by the French settlement at Chandernagore, and the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah, which places lie close together on the right bank of the Hooghly, about thirty miles above Calcutta, he demanded tributes, and spoke at one moment as if he intended to complete his glorious career of victory by expelling both French and Dutch as he had expelled the English. The money demanded from the settlement at Chinsurah, and promptly paid by the terrified Dutchmen, amounted to 450,000 rupees; but the French at Chandernagore he let off for 350,000 rupees, in consideration, it is said, of their having furnished him with 200 chests of gunpowder when he was advancing against the English at Calcutta. On the 11th of July he arrived at Moorshedabad, and there liberated Mr. Holwell and his companions, on finding that they had no secret of hidden treasures to reveal.

The rainy season, which had begun before the nabob left Calcutta, and other circumstances, delayed the expedition into Purneah till the month of October. The nabob then marched with a large army, which was in reality commanded by Meer Jaffier, who gained a complete victory over the rash young ruler of that country. This prince, the relative of Surajah Dowlah, was slain in the battle; the whole of Purneah then submitted to the conqueror, who once more returned triumphantly to Moorshedabad, swollen with pride and elated by the conviction that nothing could resist him, and that the scattered and humbled English would never venture to renew hostilities in his dominions. But these dreams were soon to be dissipated; for Clive the avenger—Clive the "Daring in War"—was now preparing to come against him.¹ At Madras and Bombay, at every place in India in which there was an Englishman, exertions were made in order to recover Calcutta and take vengeance for the cruelties which had been committed; but the mighty monsoons would not yield nor change to suit the impatience of man; materials had to be collected from various parts of the coast, and ships to be waited for that were crossing the Indian Ocean from Europe.

Thus it was not till the 16th of October that Clive and Admiral Watson could sail from Madras for the Hooghly. The force consisted of five of his majesty's ships and five of the Company's, having on board 900 European infantry and 1500 sepoys. Five hundred more sepoys were expected from Bombay. Although 250 of his small European force, 430 of his sepoys, and almost all his artillery and military stores were on board some missing ships, Clive resolved to advance immediately towards Calcutta, and to capture on his way the fort of Budge Budge, a place on the left bank of the river. Monichund, who commanded for the nabob, came out from Calcutta, with 3000 horse and foot. Clive defeated him in a trice, and thereupon he ran away to Moorshedabad, to assure his master that the "Daring in War" was irresistible. The garrisons Monichund had left in Budge Budge and in Fort William soon scampered after him, and Clive took undisturbed possession of Calcutta. Early in January (1757) Hooghly, where Surajah Dowlah had stationed a considerable army, was reduced by a detachment under Major Eyre Coote, who returned to Calcutta with an enormous booty. The nabob now resolved to move with his entire army upon Calcutta. Clive prepared a fortified camp outside that city, and quietly waited his arrival. On the 3d of February the near approach of the barbarian was announced by burning villages to which he had set fire. On the morrow he was defeated, and a fearful vengeance was taken upon his troops for the atrocities of the Black Hole. He then retreated towards Moorshedabad and implored for peace with the English. A treaty, most advantageous to the Company, was concluded on the 9th of February. But no sooner had the faithless nabob returned to his capital than he opened a fresh correspondence with the French at Chandernagore, and even sent emissaries to Golconda to invite M. Bussy into Bengal. These secrets were revealed to Clive (most probably by Omichund, who was smarting under his losses at the sack of Calcutta), who thereupon resolved to drive those dangerous neighbours, the French, out of Chandernagore. That strong and well-prepared place was attacked by ships and troops on the 14th of March; nearly all its guns were silenced by the 24th, and on the 25th the garrison surrendered. Though still professing friendship to Clive, and confidently believing that his secret correspondence with the French was unknown, Surajah Dowlah, sent an elephant and jewels to meet Bussy, and kept in his pay Monsieur Law, whose European force had been raised to above 100 French, through broken paroles and flights from the English camp. No doubt was entertained that Bussy's junction with the nabob would be fatal to the English interest.

¹ The name of "Sabut Jung," or the "Daring in War," was given to Clive by the natives, and was applied to him by Surajah Dowlah himself.

But Clive anticipated events; and he was favoured by a combination of circumstances. The nabob was detested by most of his subjects; some of the greatest of his ministers and officers, who had long been conspiring against him, began a correspondence with the English commander, by means of Omichund; and Meer Jaffier Khan, who commanded a part of the nabob's cavalry, agreed to desert his master at the hour of need. With these encouragements Clive marched up the country; and, on the 23d of June, a year and three days after the Black Hole tragedy, he fought and won the remarkable battle of Plassey. Meer Jaffier Khan kept aloof, and did not join him until he had seen that he was victorious without his assistance. Clive had only 1000 Europeans, 2000 sepoys, and eight field-pieces: Surajah Dowlah had 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty heavy cannon, besides some field-pieces which were managed by the French;—his cavalry was far superior to any that the English had yet seen in Bengal, both men and horses being from the harder clime of Upper India. When the last of the gallant little band of Frenchmen, abandoned by the natives, fled from their position and left their guns behind them, the affair was settled. There was no more fighting; the nabob's tens of thousands were fleeing towards Moorshedabad; the whole camp, with tents, baggage, artillery, and oxen, was left in the undisputed possession of the English, whose booty, upon that spot alone, was of immense value. Surajah Dowlah was the foremost in the flight.

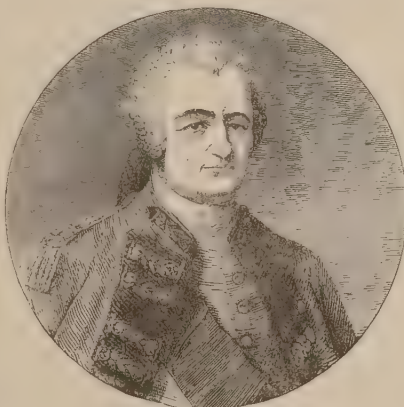
The English pursued the fugitives for about six miles and then halted for the night at Daudpore, where Clive received a congratulatory letter from Meer Jaffier, who came and encamped in his neighbourhood that night. At midnight the fallen nabob arrived at his palace in Moorshehabad, and assembled all the officers that had escaped with him to deliberate what next was to be done, or what means were most proper to save him from the wrath of his enemies. Some were of opinion that he ought to deliver himself up to the English, and trust to the magnanimity of the "Daring in War;" and some proposed that he should dispense his treasures with a liberal

hand to his officers and troops, collect all of the army that he could, place himself at the head of it, and try once more the fortune of war. He agreed, or at least seemed to agree, with these bolder advisers; but, dismissing the council and retiring to the apartments of his women, his fears overcame him, and he made up his mind to flee from his capital. The circumstances of his flight were essentially oriental, resembling scores of other stories told of dethroned eastern princes, Indians, Persians, Saracens, or Turks. He took with him, grasped in his own hand, or hid under his own vest, a rich casket of jewels; and his chosen companions were his favourite concubine and his confidential eunuch: with no other attendants

than these, and disguised in a mean dress, he descended in the darkness of night from a window of the palace, threw himself into a boat, and ascended the river towards Patna.

On the morning of the 24th of June, the day after the battle, Meer Jaffier waited upon Clive at Daudpore to claim the throne. Conscious how strange his conduct at Plassey must have appeared to the English, he was not without his fears and trepidations; and, when Clive's troops drew out to receive him with

military honours, he fancied they intended to kill him or make him their prisoner. He started back in a cold agony; but Clive, hastily advancing to receive him, and embracing him, hailed him as Nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. His fears were then sufficiently removed to allow of an hour's consultation with the English nabob-maker, who accepted the excuses he offered, and advised him to push forward to Moorshedabad with all his horse, in order to secure the palace and the treasury of Surajah Dowlah. Jaffier and his cavalry reached the capital that evening, and the English made another advance of six miles. The treasury was secured; and some elephants loaded with gold, dresses, furniture, and women, which Surajah Dowlah had sent away previously to his own flight, were overtaken and brought back to the palace. Hopes were also entertained of capturing the fleeing nabob himself, as troops of horse were sent in pursuit in various directions. On the 25th Clive arrived at Mandipoor, and sent Messrs. Watts



ROBERT, LORD CLIVE.—From the picture by Dance, engraved in Malcolm's Life of Clive

and Walsh, with an escort of sepoy, to pay a congratulatory visit to Meer Jaffier, and to look after the English share of the treasure. Watts, who was at home in Moorshedabad, where he knew all classes and conditions of men, was secretly assured that the Mahometan and Hindoo conspirators were resolved to withhold the treasure from their English allies; and that Roydullub, Meerun the son of Jaffier, and Cuddum Hussein Khan, an officer of distinction, were in a new plot to assassinate Clive. Whether true or false, Mr. Watts thought fit to believe this information, and Clive judged it prudent to postpone his entry into Moorshedabad until the 29th; and when he entered he was surrounded by 200 English and 300 faithful sepoy. Moreover, he took up his quarters in a strong palace, spacious enough to accommodate his 500 men. In a short time young Meerun waited upon him with all the flattery and adulation of the East; and Clive—we presume with a good escort—accompanied Meerun to pay a visit to his father. Meer Jaffier was found installed in the royal palace, in the splendid hall where Surajah Dowlah had been wont to give audience. The *musnud* or throne was at the top of that hall; and Clive, perceiving that Jaffier kept at a distance from the regal seat, took him by the hand, led him up the hall, and seated him upon the *musnud*. That ancient maker and unmaker of kings, the gaunt Earl of Warwick, never displayed more might, dignity, and decision. When Jaffier was thus put in his master's place, Clive completed the eastern ceremony by presenting to him, on a golden platter, a heap of gold rupees, and then all present prostrated themselves before Jaffier as their lawful sovereign. The next morning the new nabob paid a visit to the English commander and entered upon the delicate subject of the division of the spoils. Clive obtained an enormous sum in coin, plate, and jewels, and the promise of a sum equally large to be paid in three annual instalments. Two days after this conference the fugitive Surajah Dowlah was taken at Rajamahall, on the information of a poor dervise, whose ears he had cut off about a year before; he was brought back to Moorshedabad, and there, in a vile dungeon, he was murdered at night by Meerun, the son of Meer Jaffier.

M. Law, on receiving Surajah Dowlah's last summons, had commenced his march back to Moorshedabad; but, upon receiving intelligence of the battle of Plassey, he stopped short when within twenty miles of the place where the fugitive nabob was taken. If the Frenchman had continued his march for a single day he might have met and saved the nabob. Law soon got the news of the capture and death of the wretched man, upon which he retreated with all speed into

Bahar, intending to offer his services to Ramnair, the vice-nabob of the province, and a Hindoo. This movement excited alarm in the new government at Moorshedabad, and Clive readily agreed to send troops in pursuit of the dangerous Frenchman, Meer Jaffier being afraid to trust his own army. Coote was appointed to the command of this flying column, which consisted of 230 Europeans, 300 sepoy, fifty lascars, and two field-pieces. The baggage, stores, carriages, ammunition, and provisions were to be conveyed up the river in boats; but there was so much difficulty and delay, that the column could not begin its march till the 6th of July, when Law had got half way to Patna. The intrepid and indefatigable Coote, who was worthy of serving under Clive, led his small column into districts and through wide provinces which had never yet heard the ring of the English musket; but, although his progress was wonderfully rapid, considering the climate and the difficulties he had to encounter, he could not overtake the nimble Frenchman, who threw himself into Oude. Further pursuit was utterly hopeless, nor was it considered prudent to cross the frontier of the powerful ruler of Oude with so small a force. Exhausted by fatigue, and deprived of many of their materials of war by the sinking of some of the boats, Coote and his people returned. But the route had been traced to new connections and conquests, and it was pretty clearly demonstrated that the British flag would ere long be planted at Patna, Allahabad, and Benares.

On the 16th of August, Admiral Watson, who had very materially contributed to the success of the war in Bengal, died of a jungle fever.

For some time while Clive was changing nabobs and rooting out the French in Bengal, his countrymen on the Coromandel coast endeavoured to preserve a truce with the French at Pondicherry. The presidency of Madras, which had despatched most of the troops and ships to co-operate on the Hooghly, instructed Captain Calliaud, who remained with Mahomed Ali in Trichinopoly, not to engage in any warlike operations. But when they got intelligence of some of the successes obtained in Bengal, and perceived that the French in the Carnatic were receiving no reinforcement, they resolved to make an attempt upon Madura. Calliaud made an unsuccessful attack on the place, and before he could repeat the assault he was recalled to Trichinopoly by information that the French were showing themselves in that neighbourhood; this was on the 21st of May (1757). He instantly made up his mind to leave tents, baggage, and artillery behind him, and to flee to the relief of Trichinopoly, which was garrisoned by 150 European infantry, fifteen artillerymen, 700 sepoy, 600 men furnished by a Hindoo chief

MEETING OF LORD CLIVE WITH MEER JAFFIER,
AFTER THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

Ali Verdy Khan, Nabob of Bengal, died in 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Surajah Dowlah. This young ruler, who hated the British, immediately sent an army against the fort of Calcutta, and after its capture he confined the garrison of 146 men in a small chamber during the night of 21st June, 1756. Next morning it was found that only 23 of the victims had survived this confinement in the "Black Hole". When this was reported at the East India Company's head-quarters in Madras, measures were at once taken to avenge such a terrible crime, and overthrow the power of the young Nabob. Accordingly, Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, advanced with his forces, captured Calcutta, and brought the Nabob to terms. Soon afterwards, however, Clive determined to dethrone Surajah Dowlah, with the treacherous assistance of Meer Jaffier, one of the Nabob's officers; and this was accomplished at the battle of Plassey, when the Nabob's forces were defeated. Next day, when Clive and Meer Jaffier met, the latter had misgivings as to the manner in which he would be received, for his aid had been given to the English in a dilatory manner, and his whole attitude had been suspicious. *Clive, seeing his alarm, soon reassured him by hastening forward to embrace him, and salute him Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.* For this honour Meer Jaffier gave Clive a present of £200,000, an arrangement which was afterwards severely condemned in England.



THE MEETING OF LORD CLIVE WITH MEER JAFFIER, AFTER THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY

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of Tanjore, and about 400 worthless fellows belonging to Mahomed Ali. There were no fewer than 500 French prisoners within the walls, who had found means to maintain a correspondence with their countrymen outside, and who were prepared to rise upon the garrison. The besieging army, which had commenced operations several days before Captain Calliaud received the letter at Madura, consisted of 1000 Europeans, infantry and artillery, 150 European cavalry, and 3000 sepoys, supported by several field-pieces, all under the command of M. D'Auteuil. D'Auteuil threw shot and shell into the town during four successive days. It was expected that he would attempt a storm, but he remained quiet behind his batteries; and a day or two after, Calliaud, with admirable rapidity and skill, reached the vicinity, completely deceived the French, got between the besiegers and the besieged, and finally entered Trichinopoly in triumph. D'Auteuil raised the siege the same day and retreated to Pondicherry. After his retreat the war again languished in the Carnatic until the French, by an unexpected movement, took the important English factory of Vizagapatam. While the presidency of Madras were demanding money from Mahomed Ali by letters and messengers, Bajee Rao's Mahrattas burst into the country to exact at the sword's point tribute or black mail from the same poor potentate. The nabob bought them off for the present with 200,000 rupees; but this made him so much the less able to pay his debts to the English, whose treasury was almost empty. But worse followed; for Mahomed Ali, besides the 200,000 rupees in hand, had promised the Mahrattas 250,000 more *in futuro*; and he pretended that the English should furnish this sum out of the rents of the lands he had assigned to them for their services in establishing his authority. This demand was at first met by the presidency with anger, and a resolution to resist it. Morari Row, and the chiefs of some of the other Mahratta tribes, offered to assist the English; but their services would have cost as much as the sum in dispute, and their return into the country would have been a fresh scourge, and a new cause of impoverishment. "The English," says Orme, "had no alternative but to pay or fight." For fighting they had not men enough, and for paying they had not money enough; but the credit of the Company was known even in the camps of the wild Mahrattas, and when the English consented to pay, they agreed to take part of the amount in coin and part in bills.

In the month of September a hostile squadron of twelve ships that at first was mistaken for a British fleet with reinforcements, appeared off Fort St. David. This French force was commanded by M. Bouvet, who enjoyed the reputa-

tion of being one of the best naval officers of France; and it had on board twenty pieces of battering cannon, some mortars, and a great number of bombs and balls, the regiment of Lorraine, nearly 1000 strong, fifty artillerymen, and sixty volunteers; the troops being under the command of the Marquis de Soupires. The English from Fort St. David saw these ships repair to Pondicherry and there land the troops; this was on the 9th of September, and a day or two after the whole fleet disappeared. Bouvet apprehended that the junction of Watson with some English ships already on the coast would form a force superior to his own, and he determined to flee while there was yet time; but in so great a hurry was he, that he would not even wait to land the heavy artillery and the ammunition which he had brought, for the landing must have occupied some time, and then the taking in of ballast would have occupied more. Crowding all his canvas he bore away for the Mauritius or Bourbon—fleeing from Watson, who had been nearly a month in his winding-sheet, and whose fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Pococke, was still in the Hooghly. On the very day on which Bouvet took his departure, Captain Calliaud took Madura by making a fresh expedition from Trichinopoly, and by carrying a military chest, well filled, with him. On the other side, however, the French, reinforced as they had been, were not inactive, or without triumphs and successes. Their dread of the arrival of Watson's fleet deterred them from attacking Fort St. David; and, as the Marquis de Soupires' orders forbade his engaging in any distant expedition, they could not try their fortunes again at Trichinopoly; they therefore confined their operations to the country between Pondicherry and the Paliar river, where they took Chittapet, and two or three other inferior forts garrisoned by natives.

As soon as war had been declared in Europe the government of Louis XV. had commenced preparations for a formidable expedition to the East. It was not, however, until the 28th of April, 1758, that a squadron of twelve ships reached that coast. These ships were commanded by Count d'Aché, and they had on board a regiment of infantry nearly 1100 strong, a corps of artillerymen, and a number of officers of distinction, all under the command of Count Lally, a veteran officer of Irish extraction, who had been all his life in the service of France, and who had fought against the English at Fontenoy. So high did Lally stand at this time, that he had been appointed governor-general, with the most extraordinary powers, over all the French possessions and establishments in India. The court of Versailles confidently anticipated that this new force, being added to the troops under the Mar-

quis de Soupires; would be sufficient to clear the whole Coromandel coast of the English. Lally was to commence operations by the reduction of Fort St. David. He dropped into Pondicherry with two of the ships, and D'Aché repaid at once to Fort St. David, where two English frigates, the only ships on the station, were run ashore and wrecked to prevent their being captured. But, on the very next day, Admiral Pococke, who had brought Watson's squadron round to Ceylon, stood into the road and brought D'Aché to action. The English squadron was inferior in number; some of the ships were scarcely fit for service. Nevertheless Pococke inflicted a very severe blow on the French, who lost 500 men in killed and wounded, and one ship. Pococke's ships, however, had suffered greatly in their spars and rigging; and, in the various manœuvres which followed the battle, they drifted to leeward. Before the sea-fight began, some of the French troops from Pondicherry, hurried on by the impetuous Lally, without baggage, or even provisions, got to the rear of Fort St. David and drove in some English outposts. On the following day, the 30th of April, the Marquis de Soupires joined them with more troops, some heavy cannon found in Pondicherry, and a convoy of provisions.

On the 1st of May, Lally arrived in person, and the siege of Fort St. David was commenced. That place was defended by a garrison of 619 Europeans, and 1600 natives, sepoy, lascars, and topasses; but Major Polier, who held the command, was wretchedly deficient both in military judgment and in spirit. Admiral Pococke was kept at a distance by contrary winds; and on the 2d of June the fort surrendered. Lally next obtained possession of Devicotta, a weak garrison of thirty English and 600 sepoy, abandoning that place at the approach of the French. After these successes Lally returned to Pondicherry in triumph, and celebrated a *Te Deum*. But he had scarcely done praising the Lord ere he began quarrelling with the gentlemen of the council, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, which seriously impeded his future operations. He thus early prepared in India a strife and a hatred which, in the end, brought him to a lamentable death; and he continued to accuse powerful and resentful men of having appropriated the public money to their own use. By the strength of their credit, or the reliance on their good commercial faith, the English had often been enabled to raise money among the native bankers; but it was not so with the French, nor did Lally pursue a line of conduct proper to create credit. He made an incursion into Tanjore. The march was long, and the disposition of the country-people everywhere unfavourable, for the treatment he had given the natives during the siege of Fort

St. David had revolted their prejudices. No bullock-men or market people would follow him except by compulsion, and every act of compulsion tended to spread and increase the ill-will against him. His want of money and almost total want of provisions, even at the beginning of the march, induced him to rob and plunder; and the French soldiery, when once they got accustomed to these operations, considered everything as their own that they could seize or extort at the point of the sword. A regiment of hussars was constantly employed in cattle-lifting, and the unfortunate natives saw their cows and their oxen driven into the French camp, where no price was ever paid, or even promised. The effect of this, however, was slight and trivial, compared to the excitement produced by the outrages the French offered to the women and to the Brahmins. All who had money fled at Lally's approach, and carried their property with them. He could do nothing but plunder the poor, and destroy houses and pagodas, and at Kivalore he put six Brahmins to death by blowing them from the mouths of his field-pieces. On the 18th of July he halted near to the walls of the city of Tanjore, and began to throw shot and shell at the principal buildings. In the meantime English assistance had been called for, and 600 sepoy were on their march from Trichinopoly to Tanjore. After five days' firing a breach was made in the walls; but by this time Lally had burned nearly all his gunpowder, and notwithstanding all his cattle-lifting, he had not provisions for more than two days. On the 8th of August his uneasiness was increased by intelligence that another engagement had taken place between the French and English squadrons. Early the next morning the English sepoy entered Tanjore, and made a destructive sortie. Lally, who narrowly escaped being slain, spiked his heavy guns, threw the shot into wells, destroyed most of his baggage, and then, in the darkness of night, began a disastrous retreat from Tanjore. On his road he was informed that M. d'Aché was determined to sail away for the Mauritius, without seeking any further action with Pococke. The engagement between the hostile squadrons, reported to Lally while at Tanjore, had been a closer and hotter affair than the former encounter, and D'Aché at the end of it had run before the wind and escaped, though with two or three of his ships much shattered in their hulls. No prayers, no reproaches, no threats could induce the French admiral to remain any longer on the coast; and, on the 2d of September, he took his departure.

To procure money for the siege of Madras, which he had determined to undertake, Lally now made predatory but very useless excursions to Arcot, where he could find nothing worth the

taking. He returned to Pondicherry, to blame everybody and everything except his own folly and presumption. On his first arrival in the country he had resolved to be sole hero in India; and as soon as he had reduced Fort St. David he recalled M. Bussy from the Deccan, speaking contemptuously of the character and exploits of that truly remarkable man. Lally was a loud and bold talker, he made no secret of his sentiments, and Bussy would have been no Frenchman if he had not resented with vivacity these various attacks on his fame. Ill assorted and ill agreed, with rancorous feelings on both sides, they were to proceed together to capture Madras and root out the English power on the Coromandel coast, even as Clive had rooted out the French in Bengal. By contributing 60,000 rupees

of his own, and setting a subscription on foot among the gentlemen of the council of Pondicherry—all very poorly provided with cash or averse to giving or lending—Lally raised 94,000 rupees; and with this insignificant treasure, and an army of 2700 Europeans and 4000 native troops, sepoys and others, he repaired to Madras, where he arrived on the 12th of December, without money and almost without food for the troops. Major Lawrence, Clive's old superior, and Mr. Pigott, held command within the walls of Madras, where the total of the force collected was 1758 Europeans, 2220 sepoys, and 200 of Mahomed Ali's cavalry—these last being scarcely worth their rations. On the 14th of December the French took possession of the Black Town, which was open and defenceless; and there the soldiers,



FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS, 1754.—From a print by Van Ryne, Royal Library, British Museum.

breaking open some arrack stores, got drunk and mad, and committed great disorders. Batteries were erected, and a siege was begun in form. But Lally's condition was rendered desperate by the return of Admiral Pococke to the coast, and by the entrance into the harbour of Madras of two frigates and six of the Company's ships, having on board 600 king's troops fresh from England. This was on the 16th of February, 1759, when Lally had been two months and four days under the walls of Madras. Again pouring out invectives and blaming everybody but himself, Lally on the night of the 17th decamped as silently as he could with his army in a mutinous state.

On the 6th of March, Major Lawrence, with 1156 Europeans, 1570 sepoys, 1120 Colliers, 1956 horse, and ten field-pieces, of which two were twelve-pounders, commenced his march to Conjeveram, where Lally had concentrated his forces, but where he was looking in vain for some small detachments which he had intrusted to the rebellious brother of Mahomed Ali—for they had all been murdered by the ally whom they had been sent to assist, and who was now anxious to renew his friendship with the English and his

allegiance to his brother, seeing that the star of Lally's fortune was becoming but a glimmering and uncertain light. For twenty-two days the French and English armies lay encamped in sight of each other. After this inactivity the English struck off for Wandiwash, entered that town, and began to break ground against the fort. The French hurried to defend the place; and the English, giving them the slip, hastened back and took the more important fort of Conjeveram. On the 28th of May both Lawrence and Lally put their armies into cantonments.

Towards the end of June, three of the Company's ships reached Madras with 100 recruits, and the welcome intelligence that the enterprising Coote, now a lieutenant-colonel, might be shortly expected on the coast with 1000 of the king's troops. At the end of July the first division of the promised troops arrived at Negapatam. On the 20th of August, Admiral Pococke bore away for Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon, where, to his astonishment, he discovered his old adversary M. d'Aché with eleven ships of the line and three frigates.

The English squadron consisted of nine ships

of the line, one frigate, two of the Company's ships, and a fire-ship; their entire number of guns being 174 less than that of the French. Pococke determined on an immediate action, but the currents, the wind, and the weather prevented the close meeting of the fleets till the 10th of September, when, after a sharp action of two hours' duration, the careful Frenchman once more retired before the flag of Pococke. From the usual difference in their modes of firing, the English suffered most in their rigging, and the French lost the greater number of men. D'Aché, having all his topmasts standing, got safe to Pondicherry—which was his object—several days before Pococke could reach Negapatam. The arrival of the squadron saved the French council from absolute despair: it brought to them only 180 men, but it brought what was more needed than soldiers, it poured into the empty coffers at Pondicherry, specie to the amount of about £16,000 sterling, and a quantity of diamonds valued at £17,000, which had been taken in an English East Indianman. But D'Aché had scarcely landed these precious commodities, when he again intimated he must leave the coast immediately and return to the Mauritius; his orders being peremptory to take care of his ships, whose loss France could ill afford at this crisis of a losing war in Europe, in Canada, and nearly everywhere else. But the French on shore represented that Pondicherry must be lost, that everything they had obtained on the coast of Coromandel must be sacrificed to the English fleet and army, if the ships were withdrawn; all the inhabitants of Pondicherry, civil and military, assembled in council and signed a vehement protest; but neither this nor anything else could prevail upon D'Aché to alter or delay his departure. He was, however, induced to land and leave behind him 400 Caffres who had been serving in his fleet, and 500 Europeans, partly marines and partly sailors.

Before the arrival of the dollars and diamonds, the French army in cantonments were reduced to an extremity of distress, and even Lally's own regiment had mutinied for want of pay. The English, who had surprised and taken the fort of Coverypauk in July, were encouraged, by the disorganized state of the enemy, to make an attack upon Wandiwash; and on the 26th of September their whole army, under the command of Colonel Brereton, marched from Conjeveram for this purpose. Their approach, however, restored the French to some discipline and spirit; they gathered within and around the menaced fort, and an assault was repelled with the loss of 200 of the English. But in other directions the French lost ground almost daily; they were in rags and half starved, and Lally's only remaining hope was, that the money received at Pondicherry was

more than was reported, and that he and his troops might obtain the greater part of it. Nor were quarrels and cabals in his own camp and quarters the only bitter fruit which Lally gathered by recalling Bussy from the Deccan. The English took advantage of the absence of that prevailing man to commence negotiations with several native chiefs in the Deccan, and even with Salabut Jung himself; and Clive from Bengal had detached Colonel Forde to the Northern Circars, those valuable provinces which had been ceded to Bussy. Forde, with 500 British troops, 2100 native troops, six field-pieces, twenty-four six-pounders for battery, a howitzer, and an eight-inch mortar, proceeded by sea to Vizagapatam. There he landed and joined the army of Anunderauz, who had engaged to co-operate against the French in the hope that the English would secure him in sundry territorial claims, and eventually make him sovereign of the Deccan. Before starting together a treaty was made between the English colonel and the Indian rajah; and it was finally agreed on the part of the rajah that he should supply 50,000 rupees per month for the expenses of the English army.

Forde and the rajah then advanced to Peddapoor, and there encountered M. Conflans, who had been left by Bussy in command of a French force, strong enough to have kept in awe the unwarlike Hindoos, but too weak to stand against the English force now unexpectedly brought against them. The French were thoroughly defeated by the English and sepoys alone. Conflans had had the forethought to send off the military treasure on two camels, but the spoils of the field were very considerable: thirty pieces of cannon, most of which were brass; fifty tumbrils and other carriages laden with ammunition; seven mortars from 8 to 13 inches, with a large provision of shells; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. When the rout of the French began, Forde, thinking that they might then have some heart and be of some use, called up Anunderauz's horse; but he might as well have called spirits from the vasty deep, for these black cavaliers, and all their infantry as well, with the rajah in the midst of them, had conveniently found a deep but dry tank, where they had remained cowering during the whole of the action, and from which they refused to move so long as there were cannon-balls and bullets flying about.¹ And, unfortunately, Anunderauz would no more pay than fight; so that for several weeks Forde, who had spent all the money he had brought with him, was reduced to a standstill. The French, however, still worse off, kept retreating; Rajahmundry was abandoned, and Conflans sought refuge in Masulipatam, urging

¹ Orme.

Salabut Jung to send him some assistance. Salabut Jung responded to these appeals by putting an army in motion, and by collecting other troops at Golconda and Hyderabad. After a mischievous delay Colonel Forde obtained a little money from the rajah, and marching through Ellore, where several native chiefs joined him, he arrived on the 6th March, 1759, in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Conflans' abiding-place, and the most important and strongest place the French had on that coast. The troops within were more numerous than the besiegers; yet Colonel Forde, by making an assault on three points at the same moment, induced Conflans to surrender, and after a siege of only twelve days Masulipatam remained to the English.

The victorious flag had not been hoisted a week over the walls, when two French ships with a reinforcement of 300 men appeared in the offing. They went back; but the army of the soubahdar, which had been marching to the relief of Conflans, halted where it was, and soon received in their camp the English commander, not as an enemy, but as a friend and ally. Salabut Jung, seeing that the English were everywhere victorious, and considering that their protection and assistance would be as valuable as that of the French had been, readily entered into a new treaty, by which he ceded a considerable territory about Masulipatam to the English, bound himself not to permit for the future any French settlement in his dominions, and to oblige the French army of observation collected at Rajahmundry, to evacuate the country and cross the Kistna within fifteen days; the English on their part agreeing to support him against his enemies in general, and his rebellious brother Nizam Ali in particular. As Forde prepared to march against them, the French broke up from Rajahmundry, crossed the Kistna, and marched to the westward, the soubahdar's elder brother having promised that he would take them into his pay in a short time.

The English factories which had been swept away by the successes of Bussy were immediately re-established, and Forde with his little army remained at Masulipatam till he should receive further orders from the presidency of Bengal, or rather from Clive, who originated and directed every great measure, taking, in all cases of indecision and doubt, the responsibility upon himself, and not unfrequently treating the council with contempt. For many months he had acted as if he had been governor-general of Bengal or of all India, though his real place was on the Coromandel coast, and his rank merely that of governor of Fort St. David. The directors at home, after the catastrophe at Calcutta and the misconduct of Mr. Drake, had appointed a very absurd sort of government by rotation, but the

members of this government themselves made Clive their president; and immediately after, learning the particulars of his victory at Plassey, the court of directors sent out his appointment to be governor of Bengal.¹

Meer Jaffier very soon required the assistance of those who had made him nabob. Many native chiefs rebelled against him, and, far and near, he was almost surrounded by enemies, all eager for his throne, or for a slice out of his rich territories. Mahomed Cooly Khan, the lord of Allahabad, the rajahs Sunder Sing and Bulwant Sing, and, most powerful of all, his neighbour Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, were united—as far as such beings could unite in one object—against Meer Jaffier; and their cause received the high sanction of the name and afterwards the assistance of the Mogul of Delhi's eldest son, the Shah Zada, who had established himself in Rohilcund, and had, at the time, a considerable army of Rohillas, half soldiers and half robbers by profession, but a hardier and a braver race than any in the lower parts of Hindoostan. In a short time the Shah Zada descended from Rohilcund with an army of 40,000 men, Rohillas, Maharrattas, Jauts, and Afghans; and other forces were expected to join him on his advance. The successor of Surajah Dowlah thought he had no help or hope except in Clive, and he showered letters and messages upon him, and constantly besieged with prayers and agents the new English resident at Moorshedabad—MR. WARREN HASTINGS—who had arrived in India as a young writer in the year 1750, as poor and as friendless as Clive, who, if not the first to discover his abilities and energy of character, appears to have been the first that gave him any important promotion. Warren Hastings had a near view of the imbecility and confusion of the nabob's court and government—a confusion worse confounded by the intrigues and vices of the nabob's son Meerun—and he wrote nearly every day to his patron Clive that all classes confided in him, and in him alone; that without his intervention the whole fabric of government would fall to pieces by intestine broils, and Orissa and Bahar be severed from Bengal even before the arrival of the invaders from Rohilcund. Weakened by the force detached to the Circars under Forde, and by other detachments sent to Madras, Clive at this moment could only count in Bengal about 300 British infantry, 100 artillery, and 2500 disciplined sepoys. Yet with this force he not only resolved to meet the mighty confederacy which threatened Meer Jaffier, but he also sent orders to Forde to continue his conquests, and then to proceed not to Bengal, to join and assist him, but, if needed, to Madras, there to finish

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Clive*.

the Indian story of Count Lally. Clive began his march on the 25th of February, and arrived in a few days at Moorshedabad. On the 13th of March, he left Moorshedabad to advance upon Patna. Just before starting he wrote a letter to the secret committee, telling them that the enemy from the north had reached the river which divides Oude from Bahar, and were expected soon to be at Patna, the capital of the latter province; but he added, in a tone of perfect confidence, that with his 400 English and 2500 sepoys he would soon give a good account of the Shah Zada, although his army was estimated to be 50,000 strong. At this moment he did not know whether M. Law and his fugitive band had joined the invaders or not. On arriving at Shahabad, Clive received intelligence that Ramnarain, the governor of Patna, had abandoned his post and gone over to the shah. Upon this he wrote to Meer Jaffier, telling him to give over the sports and pastimes of the Hooley—the carnival of the Indians—in which the nabob was then busily engaged at Moorshedabad, and hasten to the field if he desired to preserve his country. To Ramnarain, whom he had served on many occasions, and whom he had preserved from the treachery and rapacity of Meer Jaffier and Meerun, he wrote at the same moment—"I have neither eyes to see nor ears to hear the letter I have now received from Mr. Amyatt; nor could aught but the great confidence I have in him induce me to give credit to its contents. Have you no sense of the obligations you are under to me for all the cares and pains I have taken for you? If you had not courage equal to the occasion, yet what could have induced you to act so imprudent a part? What power has the Shah Zada to resist the united forces of the nabob and the English? Think then what will be your fate." The fact, however, proved to be that Ramnarain had not run away to the enemy, but was only thinking of doing so; and when he received this letter, after some few words on the insufficiency of the means of defence, he declared that he would defend Patna, and prove true to the nabob. In effect, encouraged by the rapid marches of the English, that Hindoo did prove true and steady, and the next news Clive received of him was, that he had repelled two assaults made upon the place. However, not to trust too much to Hindoo valour, Clive hurried forward a detachment of his own sepoys under the command of Ensign Mathews to assist in the defence. But the dread of Clive's name alone was sufficient to disperse the invading army; and on the 5th of April, the day before Mathews could reach Patna, the Shah Zada, though he had possessed himself of some of the bastions, raised the siege, and began to retreat in the greatest disorder. M. Law with his

small party joined the prince on the day of this retreat, but could not prevail upon him to halt and make another attack. The "Daring in War," the "Protector of the Great," entered Patna without any parade of triumph; but there were few that saw him there but felt he was in reality the lord of all that part of India. Meanwhile the Shah Zada, continuing his precipitate retreat, had crossed the river Caramnassa into Oude. The Nabob of Oude, who had prepared to join him if he had been successful, now, with true Indian faith, declared himself the enemy of the fugitive prince, who, deserted by the troops and abandoned by his followers, knew not whom to trust or whither to flee. Considering that Clive had more power and more generosity than any one else to whom he could address himself, he wrote an humble and imploring letter to him, and forwarded it by an officer who enjoyed his confidence. Notwithstanding the decided answer he got, the fugitive prince, in the extremity of his distress, sent several more letters or messages to Clive, who resolutely persisted in his first determination; but, out of compassion, sent his unhappy correspondent a present of 500 gold mohurs, or about £1000 sterling, to enable him to escape to some safer country. The Shah Zada took this last hint, continued his flight, and was reported to be going to take refuge in the Ghazipoor country. Clive then directed his arms against some Rajpoot and hill chiefs of Bahar, who had invited and assisted the Shah Zada; and having reduced them to submission rather by policy than by fighting, having tranquillized the whole country by processes which seemed as rapid as magic, and having left a small force in Patna to aid Ramnarain, he returned quietly to Moorshedabad, and thence to Calcutta.¹

Great were the services he had rendered to his ally Meer Jaffier, and, if not to that poor phantom the Great Mogul, to the grand vizier who reigned in his name, and whose firmans were considered by the natives as the voice and will of the descendant of Aurungzebe. The vizier, as one mark of favour, informed Clive that the English might establish a factory at Delhi, the royal city; and he assured the "Daring in War" that the Mogul would show him the greatest favour, and that his honours should be increased. Meer Jaffier, who owed everything to him, gave more substantial and personal proofs of his gratitude, conferring on Clive, for life, as a jaghire, or estate, the quit-rent which the Company was bound to pay to the nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, which quit-rent

¹ Orme; Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Clive*. Sir John proves, by documents and incontrovertible facts, that a very considerable portion of Mr. Mill's account of Clive's proceedings at this critical moment in Bahar is seriously incorrect.

was reputed to be worth thirty lacs of rupees, or about £30,000 sterling, per annum. Mr. Warren Hastings had the satisfaction of drawing up, at the nabob's request, the form of the letter to be written to the council at Calcutta, to acquaint them with this splendid donation to his patron. But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier was not of a very enduring or steady kind. The nabob was made to feel every day that the power and consideration of the Englishman were far greater than his own; and that he, who had put him on a throne and defended him upon it, could at any time overthrow him, or abandon him to the tender mercies of his enemies. He looked round for some other support, and for some alliance with strength enough to curb the authority of Clive and impose on his own discontented chiefs, whose animosities, though secret, were sharp, and every day increasing through the rash violence of his son Meerun, and his own insincerity and broken agreements. No native prince could furnish a force that would look the little English army in the face. As for the French power, broken by Colonel Forde in the Circars and the Deccan, and fast breaking in the Carnatic by the folly of Lally and the bravery and skill of Major Coote, it was utterly annihilated in Bengal. The old might and fame of the Portuguese was now only a tradition, nor could it be said that the Dutch on the Indian continent possessed much more power than the Portuguese. Yet, in his impatience of the English supremacy, and in his total ignorance of the decline of the Dutch government in Europe, Meer Jaffier looked to this people for assistance; and though they had been slow in acknowledging his authority, and had been guilty of several slights very offensive to his pride, he opened secret communications with the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, which had witnessed with jealousy and dread the British conquest of Chandernagore in its near neighbourhood. The places were only two miles distant from each other, and the near sight of the English flag was worse than a nightmare to the Dutch factory, who now wrote the most urgent letters to the governor of Batavia exhorting him to fit out an expedition for the Hooghly, in order to balance the English power in Bengal. There was at the moment no war in Europe between Holland and England; but the governors and factors of the various European nations in India seem to have been wont, whenever it suited their purposes, to adopt and act upon the principle of the old buccaneers in America—that European treaties did not extend to the regions in which they were living, and that there was no peace beyond the equinoctial line. The authorities of Batavia were as eager to send an expedition as was the factory at Chinsurah to request it; and

in a short time accounts were received at Calcutta that the Dutch were preparing a strong armament. The nabob played his part well. When Clive sent notice to him of the Batavia armament, he pretended to be greatly alarmed, and expressed his hope that the English, in virtue of the treaty subsisting, would join their forces to his to oppose and prevent the invasion of his dominions. He also sent Clive the copy of a strong letter he had addressed to the Dutch factory. Early in the month of August a Dutch ship arrived in the Hooghly with European troops on board. Clive reported this arrival to Meer Jaffier, who, after betraying some confusion, sent a second letter to the Dutch factory, and ordered his troops at the town of Hooghly to join the English and prevent any Dutch ships or troops from ascending the river. The Dutch solemnly protested that the ship which had arrived in the lower part of the river had been driven in by stress of weather, and that she and the troops on board would depart in peace as soon as they had obtained water and provisions. The vessel, however, continued to lie where she was, and attempts were made to send soldiers up to Chinsurah by concealing them in the bottom of native boats; but Clive issued his mandate that every Dutch or native boat should be stopped and searched. The gentlemen at Chinsurah remonstrated and protested against these proceedings on the part of a friendly power; but Clive continued to stop their soldiers and to send them back to their ship, telling the gentlemen of the factory that he was in Bengal in a double capacity; that as an English officer, while England was engaged in a war with France, he was justified by the laws of nations in searching all vessels whatever, not knowing but that they might introduce French troops into the country; and that as an auxiliary to the Great Mogul, he was under the necessity, by a solemn treaty, to oppose the introduction of any European or foreign troops whatsoever into Bengal. Early in October Meer Jaffier arrived in person at Calcutta, as if merely intending to honour Clive with a visit. A day or two after advices came from below of the arrival of six more Dutch ships of a large size, and crammed with troops, partly Europeans and partly Malays, from Batavia and other Dutch settlements in the islands. "Now," says Clive, or a pen that wrote for him, "the Dutch mask fell off, and the nabob (conscious of his having given his assent to their coming, and at the same time of our attachment and his own unfaithful dealings with us) was greatly confused and disconcerted. He, however, seemed to make light of it; told the governor (Clive) he was going to reside three or four days at his fort of Hooghly, where he would chastise the insolence of the Dutch, and drive them soon out of the river again.

On the 19th of October he left Calcutta; and, in place of his going to his fort at Hooghly, he took up his residence at Cojah Wazeed's garden, about half-way between that and Chinsurah;¹ a plain indication that he had no apprehensions from the Dutch, whom he received there in the most gracious manner he could, more like friends and allies than as enemies to him and his country."² In three or four days Clive received a letter from the nabob, informing him that he had thought proper to grant some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that the Dutch on their part had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. But this reference to the seasons was unfortunate, inasmuch as, at the time of his writing, the season permitted their departure with the greatest safety. Clive, from the tenor of the letter and the whole course of the nabob's conduct, felt assured that the Dutch had no intention to quit the river, and that Meer Jaffier had given his permission to them to bring up their troops if they could. A very few days later, intelligence was received that the Dutch armament was actually moving up the river towards Calcutta, and that the Dutch agents were enlisting troops of every denomination at Chinsurah, Cossimbazar, and even as far up the country as Patna, and this plainly with the connivance of Meer Jaffier, and the more open assistance of his son Meerun. Clive saw that the junction of the armament from below and the troops from above, with the force already collected within the walls of Chinsurah, would be followed by the declaration of the nabob in favour of the Dutch, and an immediate movement upon the English settlements. His force in Europeans was, at the moment, actually inferior in number to that of the Dutch on board the seven ships alone, without counting those in garrison at Chinsurah; for the force from Batavia, now accurately reported, consisted of 700 Europeans and 800 Malays—the latter a far braver race of men than the natives of Bengal.

There was no time to be lost—this was no season for indulging in subtleties and nice distinctions, or for turning over the pages of Grotius and Puffendorf—and Clive resolved to proceed at once against the Dutch as if they were open instead of secret enemies. At the critical moment some of the council were startled by the notion of infringing the treaties of peace existing

between the United Provinces and Great Britain, and of commencing a war on their own responsibility. But Clive said that "a public man may sometimes be called upon to act with a halter round his neck." His private interests must have been in conflict with his public duty, for he had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe through the Dutch East India Company, who might have kept the money in the banks of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, both in revenge and in compensation. These considerations might have induced another man to avoid extremities, but they appear to have had no weight whatever with the "Daring in War," who was equally daring in policy. It was not known whether the Dutch would come up the river and pass the English batteries with their ships and troops on board, or whether they would land the troops below the batteries, and march them thence by land; but Clive made the necessary dispositions against both these plans of operation, as far as comported with the smallness of his disposable force, consisting only of about 320 English, 1200 sepoy, and three of the Company's ships, which were all that were then in the river. Just at this juncture Colonel Forde returned to Calcutta from his career of conquests in the Northern Circars and the Deccan: he had quitted his command on account of ill health and disgust at the conduct of the directors, who had not confirmed his appointment, and with the intention of returning to England by the first opportunity; but, at the invitation of his friend and patron Clive, he readily agreed to take the command of part of the forces. On the 19th of November Forde moved from Calcutta to the northward, took the Dutch settlement at Barnagore, on the left bank of the Hooghly, crossed the river the next day with his troops and four pieces of artillery, and marched towards Chandernagore, to strike terror into the factory of Chinsurah, and to be ready to intercept the Dutch troops in case they should land. The rest of his troops, and the best and largest proportion, with many volunteers drafted from the militia, and part of an independent company mounted as cavalry, Clive sent down to the forts on the river under the command of Captain Knox. Mr. Holwell, who had survived the Black Hole and the subsequent barbarity of Surajah Dowlah, took charge of Fort William with the militia, consisting of about 250 English and a few Portuguese. Clive remained at Calcutta, but went and came, dividing his attention and presence between the two divisions of his army under Forde and Knox. It was noticeable that men who had been absolute cowards under Governor Drake, and the other imbeciles that presided over the defence of Calcutta at the time of Surajah Dowlah's siege, were now brave, alert, and

¹ This Cojah or Khodja Wazeed, who was distinguished by the title of the "Glory of Merchants," was a person of great wealth and importance—a sort of second Omichund, who had lived a life of intrigue, serving and betraying all parties in turns. He had been an agent for the French, an agent for the English, but was latterly become an agent for the Dutch, and the secret medium by which they communicated with the nabob, and the nabob with them.

² Account from a MS., entitled, *A Narrative of the Disputes of the Dutch in Bengal.*

confident. The three English East Indiamen which had arrived after the Dutch were lying in the lower part of the river, between that squadron and the sea; but, as the Dutch ships now began to ascend the river, these Indiamen were ordered to pass them and station themselves above the English batteries at Charnock and Tanna, where fire-boats had been prepared to assist in destroying them. The Dutch commodore, on seeing the three Indiamen coming up, sent to tell Commodore Wilson that if he attempted to pass him he would fire upon him. On the 21st of November the Dutch cast anchor within range of the English cannon on the batteries; on the 23d they landed on the Chinsurah side of the river their army of 1500 men, and then dropped down with their ships to a place called "Melancholy Point"—for them appropriately so named—where the three English ships were lying ready for action. The moment the Dutch troops were landed Clive sent Captain Knox across the river to reinforce Colonel Forde, and ordered Commodore Wilson to demand immediate restitution of our vessels, subjects, and property; and, on their refusal, to fight, sink, burn and destroy the Dutch squadron. The next day (the 24th) the demand was made and refused. The Dutch had seven ships, four of them being called "capital ships;" the English had only three, and they appear to have derived no assistance whatever either from the land batteries, which were too far off, or from the fire-boats. Nevertheless, Commodore Wilson, who began the attack, ended it in two hours with the total defeat of the enemy. Apparently alarmed and stupified by the loss of their squadron, the Dutch and their Malays halted and wavered on their march to Chinsurah; and on the 25th, the day after the fight on the river, they blundered upon a wretched position, from which retreat was difficult and a further advance impracticable. Forde, with the quick eye of a soldier, saw their blunder—saw that he had them upon the hip; but there came over him a doubt and a misgiving; and, hesitating to attack the troops of an European nation not in a state of declared war, he sent a hasty messenger across the river with a note to Clive, saying "that if he had the order of council, he could attack the Dutch, with a fair prospect of destroying them." Clive, who was playing a quiet game at cards when the note reached him, took out his pencil, and, without quitting the table, wrote on the back of it—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow."¹ Accordingly, Forde fought the Dutch; and the engagement was short, bloody, and decisive. It took place in the valley of Bedarra, about four miles from Chinsurah, part of the garrison of

which place had contrived to join the Dutch, who were badly commanded by one Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, and who were put to a total rout in less than half an hour. The fugitives left on the field 120 Europeans and 200 Malays in killed; about 150, including M. Roussel and fourteen other officers, were wounded, and about 350 Dutch and 200 Malays were taken prisoners. The total loss of the English was inconsiderable. From the field of his easy victory Forde marched to Chiusurah, and, sitting down before that place, which he could have taken by a *coup de main*, he wrote to Calcutta for further orders. But the Dutch factory, in abject submission, implored for a cessation of hostilities. Deputies were appointed on both sides; the Dutch disavowed the proceedings of their squadron, humbly acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages; and upon these conditions an amicable settlement was arranged, and their captured ships were all restored to them. Three days after the battle of Bedarra the nabob's son Meerun, whom Clive seldom mentioned without the affix of "scoundrel," encamped within two miles of Chinsurah with about 6000 or 7000 horse. If the Dutch had proved victorious, he would have joined them in plundering and destroying the English; but, now that the English had obtained a complete triumph, he hoped to be allowed to share with them in the spoils of the Dutch. The terrified factory instantly applied to Governor Clive, entreating him to interpose, and not abandon them to the violence of the Mussulmans. Clive, losing no time, crossed the river to tell the young nabob what he might and what he might not do, and to save the Dutch factory from the chances of a Black Hole, or some other atrocity. Under his dictation Meerun agreed to a treaty, and then withdrew.

The few remaining months of Clive's present stay in India were devoted to various arrangements and precautions for securing the tranquillity of the country, and maintaining the always tottering authority of the pusillanimous nabob. When his intended departure was announced it filled Warren Hastings, and every one else interested in the continuance of peace, with doubt and alarm; for by all these men Clive was considered as the only Atlas that could prop up the ponderous machine. But Clive, on the other hand, had great objects in view. He knew that a peace with France was in contemplation, and he earnestly wished to arrive before such peace should be concluded, lest our negotiators, through a want of local and other knowledge, should surrender by treaty advantages and prospects which had been obtained by arms. He had previously announced his intention and wishes to the first great Pitt, then one of the principal secretaries

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Life*.

of state, and one of the warmest of his admirers, who, improving, as orators do, upon Major Lawrence's plain dictum that Clive was born a soldier, had called him in the British House of Commons "a heaven-born general—a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia." To excite what seldom required exciting—the warlike spirit and imagination of the great orator, he laid before him in this letter the immense advantages and the gorgeous empire which might be obtained in the East if the English government would only send out a thousand or two of their best troops; he remitted an exact account of the revenues of Bengal, genuine and to be depended upon, as he had got it faithfully extracted from the books of the nabob's minister;

and, as the English people were prematurely complaining of the amount of the national debt, he hinted that that burden might be got rid of by means of Indian rupees. Having prepared his way in this and in other quarters, having called that most able officer Major Calliaud from the Carnatic to Bengal, and having paid a farewell visit to Meer Jaffier at Moorsheadabad, Clive sailed from India on the 25th day of February, 1760. He had provided for the future to the extent of his means, information, or foresight; and he left brave and experienced men, trained by himself, behind him. Clive's prediction as to the result of the war in the Carnatic was justified by the fact, and by the fall of Pondicherry to English arms, an event which took place within a year after his departure.

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1759—1769.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE II. TO GEORGE III.

Colonel Coote's successes in India—His victory over Lally at Wandiwash—He captures Arcot—Capture of French settlements—Lally forms an alliance with Hyder Ali—The English troops reinforced—Pondicherry taken by the English—Clive's return to England—He is created Baron Clive of Plassey—Hostility of the Bute administration against him—Complication of Indian affairs—Clive appointed governor of Bengal—He returns to India—Shah Alum usurps the throne of the Great Mogul—He is defeated by Colonel Calliaud—He unsuccessfully attacks Patna—Difficulties of Meer Jaffier, the ally of the English—The English depose him—They set up Meer Cossim in his stead—Shah Alum defeated by Major Carnac—The English abandon their ally, Ramnarrain, to Meer Cossim—Meer Cossim turns against the English—He captures Patna—The English restore Meer Jaffier to his government—Meer Cossim's troops routed—His signal defeat at Gheriah—His cruelty to his English prisoners—He flees to Oude—Meer Cossim and his allies routed by Major Carnac at Patna—Major Monro defeats them near Sone—Negotiations of the Nabob of Oude with the English—He is defeated by General Carnac near Kurrah—He submits to the English—Increase of territory and resources to the East India Company—Clive restores order—He leaves India for the last time—War renewed in the Carnatic by Hyder Ali—His character, and the growth of his dominions—The English form a confederacy against him—The Nizam of the Deccan forsakes the confederacy and joins Hyder Ali—They compel Colonel Smith to retreat—The territories of the English wasted—Hyder Ali defeated by Colonel Smith—The English under Smith carry the war into the Mysore—The campaign planned by the civilians of the presidency—Blunders of the campaign—Its failure—Hyder's successes—His treaty with the English—The Mysore invaded by the Mahrattas—Hyder applies to the English for aid—He makes peace with the Mahrattas.



WHILE the French army was cantoned in the country round about Wandiwash, and Lally and Busby quarrelling more violently than before, Colonel Coote with the last division of his regiment arrived on the coast, and, on the 21st of November (1759), proceeded to Conjeveram, where the rest of the English troops were cantoned. As rapid as Clive, Coote fell upon the fort of Wandiwash, carried it by storm on the 29th, marched to Carangoly, and took that place also by the 10th of December. Having obtained the services of a considerable body of Mahratta horse, Lally, by some artful movements, surprised

and took Conjeveram; but he was disappointed in his expectation of finding there magazines and provisions for his half-famishing people. He next attempted to recover the fortress of Wandiwash, where the breaches they had made were still open, and where the English had hardly any artillery. But while he or his engineer officers were formalizing as to the proper construction of the battery of assault, Coote reached the spot and compelled the French to retreat. Lally's pride, however, forbade his retreating far, and he drew up in order of battle near the walls of Wandiwash. He had with him 2250 Europeans and 1300 sepoys; but as for his Mahratta allies, they kept aloof. Coote had only 1900 Europeans,

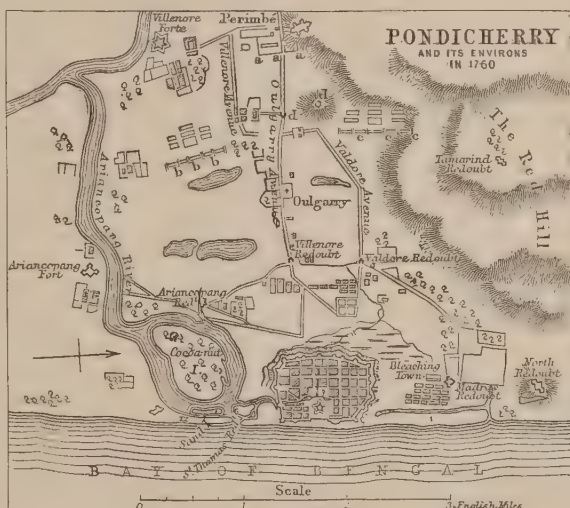
but he had 2100 sepoys, 1250 black cavalry, and twenty-six field-pieces.¹

The French were more thoroughly defeated than ever they had been up to this time. Bussy, who gallantly put himself at the head of a regiment to try a bayonet charge, was abandoned by his men and taken prisoner. Lally escaped, protected by a small body of French cavalry. He collected his shattered army and retreated to the strong hill-fortress of Gingee. Instead of following him, Coote resolved to strike across the country to recover Arcot, where Lally, some short time before, and with much theatric pomp, had proclaimed the son of Chunda Sahib Nabob or Scoubahdar of the Carnatic; and the very day after the battle of Wandiwash, which was fought on the 22d of December, he hurried forward a detachment in that direction. On the 1st of February, 1760, Coote himself arrived at Arcot, and on the 5th he began to cannonade the town from three batteries. On the 6th he commenced making approaches, and by the morning of the 9th the sap was carried to the foot of the glacis, and by noon of the same day two small breaches were made. Not three men in the garrison had been killed; the breaches were impracticable, and yet a flag of truce was held out, and Arcot was surrendered. Lally found it impossible to remain on the strong but barren hill of Gingee, and he retreated with what remained

of his half-naked famishing army, to the vicinity of Pondicherry. Repairing himself to that city, he quarrelled anew with the council and all the authorities there, blaming them for the destitute state of his troops, and calling them embezzlers and peculators; and they, retorting with true Gallic vehemence, accused him of folly, imbecility, treachery, and even cowardice. During these unseemly altercations the French flag was struck down from nearly every place where it yet floated: Timery surrendered, Devicotta was evacuated, Trinomalee surrendered, Permacoil and Alumparva were taken by storm, and the whole country between Alumparva and Pondicherry was laid waste by fire and sword. Carriacal, the most important place on the coast next to Pondicherry, was soon invested by an armament sent from

Madras, and by a detachment which descended from Trichinopoly; the garrison made a miserable defence, and surrendered on the 6th of April, before a relief despatched by Lally could reach the place. The fall of Valdore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore followed in rapid succession.

By the 1st of May the English, who had been reinforced, encamped within four miles of Pondicherry; and the French, who had received no succour from their impoverished mother country, were in a manner cooped up in that strong town, looking with a faint, declining hope for the arrival of a squadron, or some ship with help from the Mauritius or Bourbon, or some other



a a a, First encampment, July 17.
d d d, Redoubts erected, July 18.

b b b, Second encampment, Sept. 10.
c c c, Third encampment, Oct. 6.

quarter. In his extremity Lally turned his eyes towards the country of Mysore, where Hyder Ali, who was afterwards to fill a wider scene, had established his authority by force of arms, and by force of intrigue and treachery. To bring Hyder on the back of Coote, Lally offered him present possession of the fort of Thiagar, which commanded two passes into the Carnatic, and future possession of Tinnevely and Madura—that is, when Lally and Hyder should turn the tide of war and dispossess the English of those two places. A bargain was concluded, Hyder agreeing to send droves of bullocks to feed the French, and troops to fight for the French. A detachment sent by Coote to stop the march of Hyder's people, was too weak for the purpose, and sustained a defeat; but, when the Mysoreans obtained a nearer view of the English army, and a correcter notion of the real and deplorable condition of Lally's forces, they thought their bargain

¹ Coote's black horse, however, did no more for him than Lally's Mahrattas did for the French:—they kept out of the reach of shot, and would not even pursue the routed enemy.

a bad one, and, breaking it with the ordinary Indian unscrupulousness, they marched back to their own country, with troops and bullocks. Shortly before their departure six of the English Company's ships arrived at Madras, and there landed a reinforcement of 600 men. More and more force continued to pour in, and still not a ship, not a man, not a barrel of beef or biscuit arrived to sustain the French in Pondicherry. In the course of the month of October, the English fleet was raised to seventeen sail of the line, and a picturesque regiment of kilted men from the bleak Highlands of Scotland was disembarked to try their mettle and their power of enduring heat in the lowlands of Hindoostan. By means which are not explained, and which are difficult to understand, as the French had neither money nor credit, and as Hyder Ali had done little for them in that way, Lally succeeded in obtaining some supplies of provisions. On the night of the 4th of September he made a sortie, in the hope of surprising the English camp; but his troops no longer acted with concert or spirit; one of his divisions lagged behind, and the whole plan failed. The siege of Pondicherry, after the cessation of the rains at the end of November, was pressed with great vigour. Several batteries played against the town from the 8th to the 30th of December; and on the 12th of January, 1761, the trenches were opened, and the place was reduced to extremity. Nothing, therefore, was left to the fiery proud man who had arrived in India with the confident hope of extirpating the English and realizing the grand schemes of Duplex, but to seek conditions and surrender. And, on the 14th of January, a commissioner from Lally and a deputation from the council of Pondicherry, entered the English camp, and made an unconditional surrender to Colonel Coote. By order of the council of Madras, immediate preparations were made for levelling the town and fortifications of Pondicherry with the ground. The white flag of the Bourbons still floated over the hill-fort of Thiagur, fifty miles in the interior of the country—the place which Lally had promised to Hyder Ali—and over the other strong hill-fort of Gingee, about thirty-five miles north-west from Pondicherry; but the garrisons, isolated and without any hope of relief, soon surrendered; and, by the beginning of April, the French had not a single military post in all India.

In the meanwhile Clive had been received with all honour in England. The fortune he had accumulated, even without counting the jaghire conferred upon him by the nabob, amounted to £300,000, the jaghire rendered from £27,000 to £30,000 a year, and he had credit for being even far richer than he really was. He was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Clive of

Plassey, and was flattered by the prospect of a speedy elevation to the English peerage, which would give him a seat in the British House of Peers. For the present he took his seat in the House of Commons, where his wealth and his influence filled several other seats, and commanded votes besides his own. All parties courted him; but his admiration for Pitt increased on a personal acquaintance, and he steadily adhered to him till he was driven from office by the accession of George III. and the brief preponderance of Lord Bute. When Bute made overtures to him, Clive rejected them; and when this most unpopular minister precipitated his negotiations for a peace with France, he avoided consulting Clive as to the Indian clauses and conditions. The conqueror of Bengal foresaw what would follow the restitution of Pondicherry and other places. Unable to gain Clive, the Bute administration leagued themselves with Mr. Sullivan and other directors of the East India Company, who entertained a personal animosity against Clive, and aimed at diminishing both his wealth and his reputation. As yet, neither these personal enemies nor any one else raised a breath of scandal or reproach about his conduct towards Surajah Dowlah, or against his acceptance of the treasure from Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassey; but what Sullivan and his colleagues challenged as objectionable and criminal was Clive's acceptance of the jaghire, and his insisting on payment of those quit-rents from the Company. In the opinion of the best English lawyers of the day, the grant of rent which Clive had received was valid; had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal. It was in every respect unwise to enter upon a too nice and close examination of any of these Indian rights and titles; yet the hostile directors, in their anxiety to appropriate £30,000 a year, which they were bound to pay to the nabob before his transfer of the rent, and in their envy and hatred of Clive, who had treated some of them very superciliously, persevered in their attempt, and actually confiscated the jaghire, or, which was the same thing, they stopped payment of the rents, and put the money into their own coffers. Clive indignantly, and without an hour's delay or hesitation, filed a bill in chancery against the court of directors. At the same time Clive had written to his agents at Calcutta to institute a suit at law against the Company there, and to transmit a very exact account of all proceedings, that they might be taken up in England. But while the "Daring in War" was thus involving himself in the mazes of law, and the Company were battling with the man who had re-established their declining power, and

gained provinces equal to kingdoms for them, news arrived that the garrison and all the English residents at Patna had been massacred, that revolutions, undertaken and made by the council at Calcutta, had proved miserable failures, and, in short, that everything in Bengal was falling into confusion and ruin. It was felt immediately, even by the most violent of his enemies, that Clive, and Clive alone, could remedy these evils, and overtures were made to him for his instant return to India. The proprietors of East India stock, who elected the directors, and who were now determined that those directors should not through pique and party commit their property and future hopes of gain, called a meeting, and at a very full general court Clive was unanimously solicited to return. He was nominated governor and commander-in-chief of the British possessions in Bengal, with the express understanding that no other officer of whatever rank should have the power of interfering with his command there. The court took the subject of the jaghire into consideration, and soon agreed to the proposals which Clive himself made; that is, they confirmed his right to the full amount of the jaghire rents for ten years, if he should live so long, and provided the Company should continue during that period in possession of the lands round Calcutta charged with those rents.

Clive then sailed, for the third and last time, to India. He reached Calcutta on the 3d of May, 1765, and found everything in confusion and a disorganization more fearful than he had anticipated. He called the council together, and told them that he had come out to effect a thorough reform in their conduct, the source of most of the mischief which had happened; that it was his full resolution to effect a thorough reform, and for that end to make use of the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been intrusted to him.

But these gentlemen of the council, and the weak and incompetent governor, Mr. Vansittart, had, during Clive's five years' absence from India, done deeds fitted to make men's faces pale and red alternately. At the period when Clive had taken his departure for England it was rumoured that the Shah Zada had collected another army and was again advancing against Patna; but it

was conceived that a body of troops sent under that excellent officer Colonel Calliaud would enable Ramnarain, the Hindoo governor of Patna, to repel the invasion if really made. Ghazi-uddin, the vizier and master of Delhi, against whom the Shah Zada pretended in the first instance to have taken up arms, murdered the Great Mogul in a fit of desperation, and after this tragical event the Shah Zada took the state and title of emperor, and conferred the office of vizier upon Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, who had shown no great devotion to his person or fortunes the year before, when, as the rebellious son of the emperor, he was fleeing before the arms of Clive and Ramnarain.

Shah Alum—"King of the World"—was the name which the new emperor chose for himself. With the assistance of the Nabob of Oude, he soon collected a numerous army, and began his march to the Caramassassa. Crossing that river he advanced to Patna and defeated Ramnarain, who came out of the city to meet him with a very inferior force, and with only seventy Europeans and one battalion of English sepoys under the command of Lieutenant Cochrane, Colonel Calliaud being at the time engaged in some important operations on the left bank of the river between Patna and Moorsshedabad. In this



SHAH ALUM.—From a Hindoo miniature, copied in Franklin's Life of Shah Alum.

affair Ramnarain was wounded, and the sepoys were cut to pieces; but most of the English fought their way to the city, the enemy not daring to resist them, but opening to the right and left to let them pass. And Colonel Calliaud having soon come up with his 300 English and 1000 sepoys, and with a native army commanded by Meerun, Shah Alum was completely routed, and compelled once more to retire from before Patna. As, however, Meerun would not pursue with his cavalry, and as a strong body of Mahratta horse joined the other side, the young emperor, instead of retiring towards Benares, took the route of Moorsshedabad, being also joined at this time by the erratic M. Law and his small body of French. But being soon pursued, Shah Alum set fire to his camp, and fled towards Oude. Encouraged by the junction of the Naib or sub-governor of Purneah, who, after many intrigues, threw off the mask and repaired to the imperial standard with a considerable army, Shah Alum, doubling upon those who were pursuing him, got back to

Patna, which had been left almost without troops. Mr. Fullerton, an English surgeon, was the chief manager of the defence, and M. Law of the attack. Two assaults were repulsed by the gentlemen of the English factory in Patna; part of the wall was demolished and the rampart was scaled by the French; the French were again beaten back; but a renewed assault in greater force was expected, and hope was abandoning the bold little garrison, when Captain Knox, who had marched from Moorshedabad, in the hottest season of the Bengal year, with extraordinary rapidity, appeared in the neighbourhood, broke through the camp of the besiegers, and drove them from their works. A few days after, Knox, with 200 English, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about 300 horse, crossed the river opposite to Patna, and completely defeated the Naib of Purneah with his army of 12,000 men.

The unlucky naib retreated with all speed towards the north, but he was soon followed by Colonel Calliaud's fresh troops and Meerun's cavalry, who crossed the Ganges, and moved on the more rapidly, from the belief that he was carrying all the treasure of Purneah with him. Being overtaken, the naib put the treasure and the richer part of the baggage upon camels and elephants, skirmishing for a short time to give those useful animals a start, and then ran after them, leaving his artillery and his heavy baggage to the pursuers. On the 2d of July, the fourth day of the pursuit, a tremendous storm necessitated a halt, and at night the tent of Meerun was struck with lightning, which killed him and some of his attendants on the spot. After this evil omen Meerun's troops became unmanageable, and Calliaud was obliged to retrace his steps to Patna, where he arrived on the 29th of July. He quartered the Europeans and the sepoy in English pay in and round about that important town; but Meerun's people made the best of their way to Moorshedabad, where they surrounded the palace and threatened the life of Meer Jaffier, in order to obtain payment of their arrears. Nearly at the same time other bodies of men took up arms against the old nabob, whose coffers were empty, and whose former friends were nearly all alienated from him, partly on account of his poverty, and partly because he had made several treacherous attempts against them; and the weak old man's misfortunes seemed to be completed by the predatory incursions of hordes of Mahrattas, who destroyed even more than they plundered.

On the other hand, Mr. Vansittart, the new governor at Calcutta, found the treasury empty, and the English troops and sepoy almost mutinous through want of pay; and he was induced

to acquiesce in all the notions and schemes of Mr. Holwell, who had come to the conclusion that Meer Jaffier, by his treachery, cruelty, weakness, and extravagance, was the cause of all these evils, and that the English, who had made him nabob, ought, not less for the good of the natives than for their own benefit, to unmake him without loss of time. And in effect on the 27th of September (1760), before Mr. Vansittart had been two months at Calcutta, a treaty was concluded with Meer Cossim Ali, son-in-law to Meer Jaffier, and general of his army, engaging that he should be invested with full power as Nabob or ruler of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon condition of his making over to the Company the fruitful provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong. Governor Vansittart, though a mild, formal man, and one that paid homage to rules and conventionalities, went in person to Moorshedabad with the modest intention of persuading Meer Jaffier that he was unfit and unworthy to be nabob, and that he ought at once to resign his power into the hands of his more competent son-in-law. The old nabob stared with astonishment and chafed with wrath; but the quiet peace-loving governor had brought 180 English soldiers, 600 sepoy, and four pieces of cannon to second his persuasions, his own army had declared for Meer Cossim, many of his own chiefs were seeking his life, and there was no help for him. Accordingly, the old man, with his women and children, was conveyed to Calcutta, where alone he could be safe; and Meer Cossim Ali was proclaimed nabob, with a firing of guns, and a beating of drums and tomtoms, and other ceremonials that would suit the winding-up of a melodrama in a playhouse. But Messrs. Vansittart and Holwell, and the other gentlemen of the council, who had driven on this revolution, had committed a capital mistake in assuming that the new nabob would suit their purpose better than the old one. Meer Cossim soon let them know that he had a will of his own, and that he had abilities and a kind of courage which, for Bengal, might be called heroic, but which was accompanied with cruelty and ferocity.

In the month of January, 1761, Major Carnac, who had succeeded Colonel Calliaud in the command of the Company's troops in Bahar, advanced from Patna against the Emperor Shah Alum, who was once more making head in that province. Meer Cossim placed some of the troops which had belonged to Meerun under the orders of Carnac, who, being also joined by Ramnair and his forces, gained an easy and complete victory over the Mogul. In this affair M. Law, who had been so long sitting from place to place, seated himself cross-legged on one of his guns,

and in that curious attitude surrendered to Major Carnac and Captain Knox. The French, his companions, tired of the wandering life they had led with him, deserted him when the retreat began, and followed the emperor, who retired towards Delhi, and shortly after sent the new nabob, Meer Cossim Ali, his investiture as Soubahdar or Nabob of Bengal, &c.

At the same time Shah Alum offered the English the *deewanee* or receivership of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, if they would send an army into Central India to secure him in possession of Delhi, and of a throne that was tottering as it had been for generations. The project was entertained by the council at Calcutta, but they had been obliged to send a great part of the money they had received from the new nabob to Madras, to enable that presidency to prosecute the siege of Pondicherry, not yet brought to a close. Meer Cossim was incessantly called upon for more money; but he had given in presents to the governor and council for his elevation upwards of £200,000; in ceding to the Company the countries of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, he had given away a third part of his revenues. The Company's servants of all sorts, by the abuse they made of the *dustuks* or permits, exempting goods from the payment of duty, stopped another source of revenue; and he was soon as poor as his predecessor. Casting about him for some great prey, his greedy eye fell upon Ramnarain, the celebrated governor of Patna, whose treasury and life had been aimed at by Meer Jaffier, but preserved and declared sacred by Clive. Mr. Vansittart, being warned of Meer Cossim's designs, at first instructed Major Carnac to afford every protection to Ramnarain, who had received so many pledges from the English, and who had recently rendered them such valuable services in repelling the attacks of the Mogul. But it appeared to be the fate of Mr. Vansittart never to persevere in any one line of conduct, good or bad, honourable or dishonourable; he listened to the suggestions and promises of Meer Cossim, he took great offence at the free and spirited language of Major Carnac, and he sent Colonel Coote, now returned from the conquest of Pondicherry, to supersede the major at Patna. But Coote had as high a sense of honour as Carnac, and upon

seeing what was expected from him, he refused to be an active agent in, or a passive spectator of the betrayal and ruin of the Hindoo governor. Vansittart and the council then recalled Coote, and Ramnarain was left to the mercy of the new nabob: he was thrown into prison, his house was broken open and plundered, his friends and servants were tortured in order to make them confess where lay his hidden treasures—for the money actually found was a mole-hill instead of a mountain. The disappointed tyrant, fearing the indignation of the English, did not put his prisoner to death immediately; but two years later, when he had drawn the sword against those who had made him nabob, he murdered Ramnarain, together with several other chiefs, both Mussulmans and Hindoos.

The immediate consequence of this base abandonment of Ramnarain was the cessation of all friendly correspondence between the English and the native nobility, who could no longer repose confidence in the government of Calcutta. Both Hindoos and Mussulmans, thinking it wiser to conciliate the new nabob than trust to the foreigners, made offers of their money and their services; and Meer Cossim, encouraged by their adhesion and by the general and increasing unpopularity of the Company, flattered himself that he might soon be in a position to defy the English authority. He began by complaining and protesting against the abuses made of the *dustuks* or permits, by which he was deprived of his revenue; and, soon proceeding from words to deeds, he stopped goods protected by the *dustuks*, and he even stopped and searched boats going up the Ganges, not merely with the *dustuks*, but also with the Company's flag. In nearly every instance he found salt, or betel, or tobacco, or some other of the articles prohibited or reserved to the nabob in the treaty; and in many instances he ascertained that the servants of the Company had sold the *dustuks* to natives—to his own subjects, who had no right to them. Mr. Vansittart negotiated a new treaty, which, while leaving some advantages to the servants of the Company, made a surrender of others. But this inept governor had not the faculty of enforcing obedience on the wilful, rapacious crew at Calcutta and the other English factories, and Meer Cossim had neither the power nor the will to make the treaty be observed on his side.

The vacillation and infirmity of purpose displayed by the council at Calcutta led the nabob to despise what he and all Bengal had feared. Throwing down the pen, and writing no more letters of complaint, he called the boldest of his officers round him, seized two of the Company's boats that were proceeding to Patna with arms, and made preparations for getting Patna into his

¹ The following is a list of the presents acknowledged to have been received:—

Mr. Vansittart . . .	500,000 rupees, ...	£58,333
Mr. Sumner . . .	240,000 „	23,000
Mr. Holwell . . .	270,000 „	30,937
Mr. M'Guire . . .	180,000 „	20,625
Mr. Smith . . .	134,000 „	15,354
Major Yorke . . .	134,000 „	15,354
General Calliand . . .	200,000 „	22,916
Mr. W. M'Guire . . .	75,000 „	8,750

£200,269

own hands. Apprised of this latter intention, the majority of the council remitted orders to Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to anticipate the nabob's design by seizing upon the citadel. Ellis no sooner got the order than he acted upon it, by surprising and taking the citadel of Patna by night, on the 24th of June, 1763. On receiving the news of this event Meer Cossim's rage knew no bounds. Exclaiming against the treachery of the English, he murdered Mr. Amyatt, who had formerly been chief at Patna; he murdered two Hindoo bankers, supposed to be attached to the English interests; threw forward a great army to Patna; drove the English from the town to their factory outside of it, and from the factory

dates to the chiefs and to the cities of the three vast provinces, he joined the English, who were now advancing upon Moorshedabad. Meer Cossim sent three of his generals to meet them on their march, and an encounter took place on the 19th of July. The three native generals were completely routed; but they made head again near Gheriah, whither Meer Cossim sent the greater part of his remaining troops to join them. Among these large reinforcements was a regiment of sepoy, disciplined in the European manner, and commanded by an European adventurer, whose real name is lost in his Indian designation of Sumroo, and whose real country is unknown, though he is generally called a German,

and is known to have first gone to India as a sergeant in the French army.¹ On the 24th the English dispersed some detachments, and took possession of Moorshedabad without opposition; and on the 2d of August they gave battle in the plain of Gheriah. Their force amounted to about 750 Europeans, 1500 sepoy, and some squadrons of native cavalry. The number of Meer Cossim's army was as ten to one; it was supported by an immense train of artillery; the sepoy under Sumroo were perfectly well trained, and most of



PATNA.—FROM DANIELL'S VIEWS IN INDIA.

to their boats. These English troops, who had behaved as disgracefully as the supreme council at Calcutta had behaved unwisely, fled up the Ganges to Chuprah, where they were surrounded, deprived of provisions, and reduced to lay down their arms. They were sent prisoners to Monghir, where they found for their companions their countrymen from Cossimbazar, which factory had been attacked and plundered by the nabob.

In the meantime the supreme council at Calcutta had entered into new arrangements with Meer Jaffier, and had determined, as the best mode of checking the career of his son-in-law, to let him loose upon him, and set him again upon the musnud from which they had so recently pulled him down. The old nabob, passive as a nine-pin, confirmed the grants of territory made by Meer Cossim, granted an exemption to the Company's servants from all search, and from all duties except upon salt, and engaged to pay to the Company thirty lacs of rupees for the expense of this new war against his son-in-law, and to maintain at his own charge an army of 24,000 men, horse and foot. Having issued his man-

the other corps were better disciplined and appointed than any native troops the English had yet encountered. Thus the battle was maintained for nearly four hours. But at last the nabob's army was thoroughly defeated and driven off the plain, with the loss of all their cannon. They fled to an intrenched camp which Meer Cossim had formed at Oodwa. That nabob, after executing some of the chiefs who were in the English interest, and sending his family and treasure to a strong fort, left Monghir in person with the avowed intention of throwing himself into the camp at Oodwa; but when he came near that scene of danger he halted, wavered, and turned back. Yet so strong was the position at Oodwa that it detained the English for three whole weeks. At length, however, on the 5th of September, the camp was carried after some hard fighting, and the whole army of the nabob was scattered. Murdering one or two more chiefs,

¹ Sir John Malcolm says that he was told by a well informed friend that he was not a German, but a Frenchman or Swiss, of the name of Sombre, which, perhaps, had been only his *nom-de-guerre* when in the French service.

Meer Cossim fled towards Patna, and was followed by such portions of his disheartened troops as still kept together. The English advanced and laid siege to Monghir, which had been carefully fortified, and which was defended by 2000 sepoys, disciplined by Sumroo. After nine days of open trenches, the garrison surrendered early in October. Meer Cossim, who had made Monghir his capital, in preference to Moorshedabad, the old residence of the Nabobs or Soubahdars of Bengal, who had expended large sums in fortifying it, and who had entertained the hope that it could repulse the English army, was thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the news of the surrender, and his fury vented itself in ordering the execution of all the English who had been taken at Patna, with Mr. Ellis, the chief. The European adventurer, Sumroo, undertook the execution, and directed the massacre of 150 Englishmen; every soldier and every servant of the Company being brutally murdered, with the single exception of Mr. Fullerton, the surgeon. After this bloody deed Meer Cossim abandoned Patna to the care of one of his chiefs, and retreated towards the Caramnassa. The British army took Patna by storm on the 6th of November, and then continued their march to the Caramnassa, which they reached early in December, but too late to catch the fleeing nabob, who had crossed that river some days before, and had gone with Sumroo to seek the protection of the Nabob of Oude. Sujah Dowlah, the powerful ruler of Oude, and recently appointed vizier to the young emperor, was at Allahabad, and Shah Alum was with him. He had previously concluded a treaty with the ejected nabob, and, pretending to be earnest for his restoration, he marched his army to Benares, and encamped not many miles from the English.

At this critical moment an alarming mutiny broke out in the English camp, and many of the sepoys deserted. Major Carnac was soon followed by Sujah Dowlah, Meer Cossim, and Shah Alum. He encamped under the walls of Patna, and was there attacked, on the 3d of May, 1764, by an overwhelming force, foremost in which was the devil Sumroo, with the best of the disciplined infantry. But the spirit of disaffection and mutiny had vanished at the sight of the enemy; the sepoys in English pay rivalled in bravery and steadiness the native English troops; attack after attack was repulsed; and the battle, which began at noon, was ended at sunset by the defeat and rout of the assailants, whose loss had been tremendous. Almost immediately after this reverse the Nabob of Oude opened a correspondence with Meer Jaffer, the restored nabob, and offered to support him in Bengal and Orissa, if he would only cede to Oude the whole country of Bahar;

and nearly at the same time the Emperor Shah Alum sent a private message to Major Carnac, offering to abandon both the Nabob of Oude and Meer Cossim for English protection and alliance. These negotiations, however, came to nothing for the present, and the two nabobs and the emperor retreated together from Bahar into Oude. In the month of May, 1764, Major Hector Monro reached Patna with a considerable reinforcement of British troops, and assumed the command of the whole army. To put a stop to the mutiny of the sepoys, whom he found clamouring for higher pay, Monro blew twenty-four of their ringleaders from the mouths of his cannon. This extreme measure was attended with complete success: there was no more mutiny from that day forward.¹ As soon as the rainy season drew to its close, Monro led his reformed army against the enemy; and on the 22d of October, having crossed the Sone, he gave them a defeat which entirely broke the power of the Nabob of Oude, the only Mogul prince that the English had to fear. One hundred and thirty pieces of artillery were left on the field by Sujah Dowlah, who, cursing his allies, fled towards Lucknow. Shah Alum immediately repeated to Major Monro the overtures he had before made to Major Carnac, complaining that Sujah Dowlah treated him more like a state-prisoner than an emperor. Monro wrote to the presidency at Calcutta for instructions. When Monro arrived at the city of Benares, Sujah Dowlah sent to offer him twenty-five lacs of rupees for the Company, twenty-five lacs for his army, and eight lacs for himself, if he would consent to a peace and quit the country of Oude; but the major refused to treat unless the nabob previously delivered to the English Meer Cossim and Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah, who had already quarrelled with the ex-nabob and seized the treasure he had with him, urged that he could not be guilty of a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality, but that he would undertake to induce Meer Cossim to abandon all thoughts of sovereignty and flee to a distant country, where he could give no umbrage to the Company or to Meer Jaffer. As for the European, Sumroo, he was not so scrupulous, proposing to invite him to a feast, and there have him murdered in the presence of any English gentlemen Monro might choose to send to witness the punishment. These proposals were not relished in the English camp, and the negotiation with the Nabob of Oude was broken off. The treaty with the emperor was then hurried to a close, Shah Alum, as Mogul and lord of the whole, granting to the English

¹ The twenty-four victims were selected out of a whole battalion of sepoys, who, after threatening the lives of their European officers, were marching off by night to join the enemy. They were tried by a field court martial composed of their own black officers, who found them guilty of mutiny and desertion.

the country of Ghazipoor, with all the rest of the territory of Bulwant Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, and the English agreeing to put Shah Alum in possession of the city of Allahabad and the remainder of the dominions of Sujah Dowlah. As a last expedient, the Nabob of Oude, who was thus to be deprived of all his dominions, applied to Ghazi-u-din, vizier and murderer of the late emperor, Shah Alum's father; and this chief, of Mahratta race, being joined by Mulhar Rao Holkar, descended into Oude with a great army of Mahratta horse. With these allies Sujah Dowlah once more tried his fortune against the English, who had taken possession of Lucknow, the capital of Oude, and of Allahabad, the strongest fortress of the country. On the 3d of May, 1765, a battle was fought near Kurrah, the English being again under the command of Major Carnac (now General Carnac). The Mahrattas were quickly dispersed by the English artillery, and the whole of the confederate army was broken and driven across the river Jumna.

In the meantime Meer Jaffier had again vacated the musnud, and this time for good; for it was death, and not the supreme council at Calcutta, that had removed him. Having no longer any money to give, and being harassed and fretted into a fever by importunities and menaces, he was allowed to repair to Moorshedabad, where he breathed his last in January, 1765, about four months before General Carnac's great victory.

Moreover, on the very day of that victory, Clive had arrived at Calcutta. Before mentioning his bold proceedings in council, we may relate the conclusion of the operations in Oude. A few days after his defeat at Kurrah, Sujah Dowlah, having announced his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy of the English, repaired to the camp of General Carnac. The nabob assured the general that Meer Cossim had fled into Rohileund, and that Sumroo had escaped to the far-off regions on the Indus. Carnac readily agreed with him that the Company could not safely or profitably occupy the extensive dominions of Oude; that he was more capable of defending those territories than Shah Alum, to whom they had been promised by the recent treaty; and that in his hands they might be made a barrier against the Mahrattas and Afghans. As soon as Clive heard of these events, which was almost as soon as he arrived at Calcutta, he set off for Allahabad to take the negotiations into his own management, and to conclude a settlement with Sujah Dowlah and the emperor. His lordship, however, found important business to settle at Moorshedabad, where affairs had fallen into a chaos of confusion; and it was not till the end of July that he reached the English camp at Allahabad, which then contained the persons

both of the Mogul of Delhi and the Nabob of Oude. The new treaty was then taken up, the old one with the emperor—if we can call old what had been made only a few months before—being torn up as waste paper; and it was agreed that Shah Alum must rest satisfied with the possession of Allahabad and Kurrah, and that all the rest of Oude should be restored to Sujah Dowlah, who was to continue vizier to the emperor, and never on any account to employ or give shelter to Meer Cossim or Sumroo. Sujah Dowlah engaged to oppose the Mahrattas and defend the frontiers of Bengal, and the English bound themselves to afford him assistance in case of invasion. Shah Alum, in right of the imperial authority, which would have been a shadow without the Company, granted to the English the dewanee, or collection of the revenues, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in return for which he was to receive, in addition to the revenues of Allahabad and Kurrah, twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum. Along with this dewanee—which, in fact, constituted the Company masters and sovereigns of the vast and rich regions named in the grant—the young emperor confirmed the right of the Company to all the territory which they possessed in any other part of India.

To Clive's bold proceedings in council we can but briefly advert, important though they were, and encumbered with greater difficulties than all his military operations. It was as a reformer of the British rule in India that he had been sent out for the third and last time, and this mission he was resolved to accomplish, let the obstacles be what they might. He disapproved of the feeble, wavering, double-dealing policy that had first deposed Meer Jaffier, the nabob of his own making, and had afterwards turned upon Meer Cossim, the creature whom the council had set up in his room; and he showed how little reliance the natives could place upon a rule that was subject to such uncertainty and mutation. Another evil which he condemned and denounced, was the greed of the Company's officials in India; their eagerness, like the Roman proconsuls of old, to wring immense fortunes from the subject provinces during their short sojourn in India, and the manner in which they had monopolized for this purpose the whole internal trade of the country. "They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with perfect impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependants, who ranged through the provinces spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master, and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes

were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the last extremity of wretchedness."¹ Such were the evils which Clive set himself to redress, and in doing this he had nearly the whole of the British population in India arrayed as one man against him. But, in spite of their remonstrances, their prayers, and their opposition, he persisted, and was successful. He deprived the Company's servants of the privileges they had usurped, and prohibited their receiving or extorting presents from the natives. But this was not enough; he must strike at the root of the evil, otherwise it was certain to rise and flourish in double luxuriance as soon as he had departed; and this evil, he was aware, had originated in the miserably inadequate salaries of these lordly officials, which served both as incentive and apology for every kind of peculation. He therefore raised these salaries from their former low condition, to one that was more adequate to the rank, the style of living, and reasonable expectations of the holders. It was necessary, also, to find or create a fund to supply this augmentation, as he knew that however necessary the change might be, its pecuniary liabilities would not be defrayed out of the general fund by the sanction of the council. His only resource in this difficulty was the monopoly on salt, which time out of mind had formed a principal part of the revenues of the native Indian sovereigns, and which, he thought, might now be better employed for the government of the people if administered by their new British rulers. "The monopoly of salt," says the eloquent writer we have quoted, "had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born; it continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly but surely acquiring a competence."

But the most formidable difficulty which Clive had to encounter arose from the army itself, which he had so often led to victory: the sword with which he had won an empire was uplifted against his own head. After the battle of Plassey, additional pay, which was called "double batta," had been given to the officers by Meer Jaffier, for whom the victory was won, and by whom the expenses of the war were supported; but this addition, which at first was only a gratuity, soon began to be considered as a right, and as such had been preemptorily demanded during Clive's

absence in England. At his return, he issued decrees by which the double batta was only to be allowed in certain cases of actual service; at which restriction the greater part of the officers mutinied, and organized themselves into a regular conspiracy. Two hundred officers who were thus confederated, threw up their commissions in one day, thinking that, as a Mahratta invasion was impending, Clive would be dismayed at their secession, and glad to recall them upon their own terms. But instead of yielding, as even heroes have done in such a crisis, he resolved to put down the mutiny and punish the mutineers. He arrested the ringleaders, and summoned a court-martial; he gave commissions to young clerks who might be converted into good officers, to fill the places of those who had resigned; and to overwhelm those British revolvers with shame, he ordered double pay for two months to those faithful sepoys whom he employed in services which he could not intrust to his own soldiers. These instances of terrible decision arrested the mutiny; the dismay of the officers was succeeded by remorse; and those who had resigned, implored him with tears to restore to them their commissions, and accept their services upon his own terms. Availing himself of the opportunity, he made the rules of discipline and subordination more strict, and enacted severe regulations against that luxury, gambling and dissipation, by which military life in India was distinguished, and through which this dangerous outbreak had mainly originated. By these proceedings, in a few weeks every trace of discontent had vanished, and the army was restored to greater order and efficiency than before.

The power of the English in Bengal, hitherto undefined, was fixed, and became a real and sole sovereignty, by the bargains Clive had concluded with Shah Alum and the son and successor of Meer Jaffier. He, however, thought that the name of a nabob might still be of some use, particularly in dealings with the other European nations, like the Dutch and Danes, who retained their possessions in Bengal, and the French, who had obtained repossession of theirs by the recent treaty of peace. But the phantom he left at Moorsshedabad, surrounded by guards and silver maces, was in fact a mere pensioner of the Company, alike incapable of doing either good or evil in the political affairs of the country. Having restored discipline to the army, checked the rapacity of the civilians, and, as he considered, done all that he had come to do, Clive was anxious to return home, for his health was again very seriously affected. On the 16th of January, 1767, he attended for the last time a meeting of the select committee at Calcutta. In his farewell address he told them that he could now leave the

¹ Lord Macaulay.

country in peace and in a flourishing state; but he strongly advised them not to be over-anxious to increase the revenues, especially where increase could only be effected by oppressing the native landholders and tenants. A few days after, he took his final farewell of India, embarking for England in the *Britannia*. He arrived at London in the month of July, was hailed with acclamations by the court of directors, was received with unusual regard by George III. and Queen Charlotte, to whom he brought letters and presents from the Nabob of Oude,¹ and was then carried by his family and friends to Bath, to seek a cure or an alleviation to some of the worst ills that flesh is heir to—spasms, indigestion, loss of sleep, and hypochondriasis.

In the course of the year 1767 the Afghans created some alarm in Bengal by marching upon Delhi; but after devastating several provinces the invaders returned to their mountains. The presidency made a feeble attempt to restore the Rajah of Nepaul to his dominions, which had been seized by a neighbouring chief of Ghoorka. The country of Nepaul, almost surrounded by mountains, was found too difficult of access by the small force sent against it; and the officer in command of the expedition thought proper to return, after a vain application for reinforcements, which the government at Calcutta could not spare, as they had been obliged to send several large detachments to the Carnatic, where the flames of war were rekindled by Hyder Ali. This great adventurer, who became one of the most formidable of our opponents in India, had, since his expedition to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry as the ally of M. Lally, greatly increased his army, which was originally formed out of the freebooting bands and tribes that abounded in Western India, and that sought no other reward than the right and privilege of plunder. Instead of paying them, Hyder, in a manner, received pay from them—for, in enrolling under his banner, they engaged to give him half of the booty they might make. By degrees he acquired more horses, camels, and elephants, more money, and the command of more men, than his benefactor and nominal master, the Rajah of Mysore; and he accordingly made war upon the rajah, whose court and army had the usual number of disaffected chiefs and traitors; defeated him, took him prisoner, and, as a climax to his ingratitude, kept possession of all his dominions, and pensioned him off with three lacs of rupees per annum. At the end of the year 1761 Hyder's authority seemed firmly established in Mysore. But his own disposition and the habits of the marauders in his service led him to look to an extension of dominion, or to the plunder of the neighbouring

states; and the success which attended his banner, and the high notions entertained of his ability and lucky star, attracted others of the loose tribes that owned no sovereign, and no law or right save that of the sword. His abilities were undoubted—they were altogether surprising, considering the circumstances of his life and his total want of education—and they improved by practice, age, and experience. Still, however, he remained a barbarian, and the plaudits bestowed upon him by many European writers are exag-



HYDER ALI.—From a drawing by J. Leister of Madras, 1776.

gerated and absurd. That such a man could ever have extended his sway over the greater part of India, or at least that he could ever have rendered that sway durable, appears to us a most fantastic dream; and that a character stained by the darkest treachery, ingratitude, and cruelty should have found admirers in historians pedantically moral and severe in their estimates of other actors in these wars and revolutions, must be attributable to a love of paradox and contradiction, or to the predetermined plan of praising all that prevented, and blaming all that promoted the establishment of the British empire in India—that great result, not unattended with faults and crimes, which no conquest ever yet was, but admirable in its general operation, as conferring more happiness upon many millions of people than they ever had enjoyed, or could ever hope to enjoy under their native Mahometan or Hindoo rulers.

Notwithstanding some serious checks, Hyder soon undertook and achieved the conquest of the province of Malabar, and kept that country by cutting off all the nairs or Hindoo chiefs. Soon, however, he was recalled to the city of Seringa-

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *Political History of India*.

patam, which he had made his capital, and had already strongly fortified, by intelligence that a league had been formed against him by the English, the Mahrattas, and the ruler of the Deccan. The Deccan was no longer in the hands of Salabut Jung, the old ally of M. Bussy, and then of Colonel Forde. Fresh revolutions had been effected at Golconda and Hyderabad; Salabut Jung had been made a prisoner by his brother, Nizam Ali, who occupied his throne, and respected his life until the arrival of the treaty of Paris, which recognized and acknowledged Salabut as lawful sovereign, and which induced Nizam Ali to order his immediate murder. At first the new soubahdar, or as he is more generally called by our writers, the Nizam, seemed unfavourable to the English, and he actually had invaded the Carnatic and made war upon Mahomed Ali in the most barbarous and destructive manner; but he had fled before Colonel Campbell and a small British force, and since then he had concluded a treaty with the Company, confirming to them the conquests which Colonel Forde had made in the Northern Circars, on condition of their paying a small tribute or quit-rent, and holding in readiness a body of their troops for his service whenever he might want such aid. By this latter engagement, and by their conviction that it was necessary for their own safety to stop the career of Hyder Ali, the English were carried into the confederacy with the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and into the war with Mysore.

The first of the confederates to take the field was the peishwa, who covered the high tablelands of Mysore with his Mahratta cavalry. Colonel Smith, after a visit to Hyderabad, followed with a small English corps and the large but disorderly army of the Nabob of the Carnatic. He was joined by another large force raised by the Nizam of the Deccan, but before he could arrive near the Mahrattas the peishwa had listened to a Brahmin, despatched to him by Hyder Ali, and had consented, on the payment of thirty-five lacs of rupees, to quit the country and break all his engagements with the Nizam and the English. This defection rendered success doubtful, and Colonel Smith was soon obliged to think of his own safety by the important discovery he made, that the Nizam himself was privately negotiating a treaty with Hyder, the main scope of it being the expulsion of the Company from the Carnatic, from the Circars, and from every place they held on the Coromandel coast. Colonel Smith instantly separated from the Nizam's army, and hastened to defend the Carnatic, by taking possession of the ghauts or passes leading through the mountains into that country. He received some reinforcements from Mahomed Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic; but he could not secure all the

passes against three numerous armies, and his rear was soon threatened by the rapid Mahratta cavalry. Smith retreated for Changama, a town about sixty miles from Madras, but before he could reach that place he was attacked by the three armies of Hyder Ali, the peishwa, and the Nizam. His well-disciplined infantry stood their ground and repulsed their countless assailants; but the marauding Mahrattas got at their rice-bags, and carried them off, and, to avoid starving, Smith's forces were obliged to continue their retreat, and to march day and night until they reached Trinomalee, a town strongly situated on a hill and well supplied with provisions. Plundering, burning, and destroying all the open country, the enemy followed closely upon the steps of Colonel Smith, who, receiving reinforcements of sepoys, did not long remain inactive at Trinomalee, but, issuing into the open country, he endeavoured to save it from the scourges and firebrands. His efforts were not very successful, as he had scarcely any cavalry. Seizing a favourable moment, Hyder Ali detached his son Tippoo, then a youth of seventeen, to beat up the neighbourhood of Madras with 5000 horse. Tippoo's advance was so secret and rapid that he nearly succeeded in seizing the members of the presidency and the chief and richest of the English in their country-houses without the town. The fortress of Madras itself, which had repulsed Lally and a French army with battering cannon, had little to fear from Mysorean cavalry; but the town, the Black Town, the magazines or warehouses, villas, gardens, villages, all things in its vicinity, were ransacked or destroyed, the country was laid as waste and bare as a desert, and an immense loss was sustained by the English and the poor natives, their tenants or dependants. Tippoo retired as fast as he had come, and with considerable booty; but his father and his allies were not left long unmolested, being attacked and routed by Colonel Smith, near Trinomalee. The Nizam of the Deccan, who was the first to recommend this pitched battle with the English, was also the first to flee. By this time he had enough of the war and of his new alliance, and he lost no time in signifying to Colonel Smith that he was exceedingly anxious to be restored to peace and to the friendship of the English. After very little negotiation the Nizam agreed to separate his troops from the Mahrattas and the Mysoreans. Bolder and more persevering than he, Hyder and the Mahrattas resolved to try the chances of another pitched battle; and in the month of December they took the field and posted themselves near Amboor, a town in the Carnatic, about 108 miles from Madras. Colonel Smith met them there and gave them another defeat, more decisive and complete than the preceding

one. Hyder and his ally fled to Caverypatam, on the river Panaur; and the Nizam, who had waited the event of the battle before he entirely forsook the confederacy, drew off all his troops

and concluded his separate treaty with the English.

Encouraged by their successes, by the departure of the peishwa, and by the dependency of



THE BLACK TOWN, MADRAS.—From Daniell's Oriental Scenery.

Hyder, the presidency at Madras determined to carry the war into the very heart of his own dominions; and Colonel Smith, who had displayed so much bravery, rapidity, and skill, received orders to march into Mysore. Unfortunately, the civilians took it into their heads that they could direct the campaign from their sofas and easy chairs at Madras; and, instead of leaving the plan and conduct of the war to Colonel Smith, they prescribed rules for him to follow. To make matters worse still, they sent to the army two members of council as field-deputies, who were to act in concert with the presidency, and keep the war entirely under their control. Functionaries like these are sure to ruin what they meddle with. The presence and interference of the two civilians disgusted alike officers and men, and from the moment of their arrival in camp the spirit of the army seemed to evaporate. To favour its operations the presidency of Bombay sent a force to the western coast to fall upon Hyder's recent conquests in Malabar and Canara. This force, favoured by the Hindoo natives, captured Mangalore, Onore, and other places, and drew Hyder down to the western coast. This enabled Colonel Smith to arrive in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and Colonel Wood to overrun the fertile country near the frontiers. But Hyder, having succeeded in the west in expelling the English force from Bombay, returned rapidly to the east to face them there. He made overtures for a peace, but they were rejected by the two field-deputies. At this juncture the presidency, moreover, dissatisfied with Colonel Smith because he treated the deputies or their opinions in war with little respect, and because he had not taken the strong city of Bangalore, recalled that able

officer to Madras, and intrusted the entire command—always, however, subject to the benumbing influence of their deputies—to Colonel Wood, who, in a very short time, was compelled to call in all the advanced forces, to abandon every place which had been taken, and to retreat before Hyder Ali. He even allowed himself to be surprised, beaten, and deprived of all his baggage. The presidency then discovered that Wood was not the man to conquer Mysore, and they superseded him by Major Fitzgerald, who arrived just in time to save the fleeing and confused army from annihilation. By the end of the year Hyder recovered every inch of territory he had lost; and in the month of January, 1769, carefully avoiding a battle, and marching rapidly by some of the less-frequented ghauts or passes, he poured down again into the Carnatic, laid waste the English provinces of Madura and Tinnevely, and penetrated into the district of Pondicherry, where the French flag was again flying, and where there were many Frenchmen indulging in the hope that time and fortune might restore their power in that part of India.

As the most dangerous enemy of the English, Hyder was regarded as the best friend of the French, and several adroit and experienced men quitted Pondicherry to join the Mysorean chief, and to give him the benefit of their advice. These Frenchmen confirmed him in the opinion he had already formed—that he ought to avoid pitched battles with the English, and make use of his advantage in rapid light cavalry to cut off their detachments, and plunder, burn, and destroy the country from which they and their nabob, Mahomed Ali, drew their supplies. Pursuing the scheme, Hyder surprised several English posts,

took a considerable number of prisoners, whom he sent off to Seringapatam, where they were barbarously treated, and devastated all the country through which he passed. Having scarcely any cavalry, the English could neither come up with him nor intercept him: while they were wearing themselves out by forced marches on their own legs, his people on horses flitted from place to place, being seldom seen, and even seldom heard of, until they had plundered and burned some town or village. The presidency of Madras, becoming sensible of some of their follies, now restored Colonel Smith to the command, and recalled the two deputies, who had long before arrived at the conviction that their proper place was not the camp or the field, but the council chamber. They could not, however, improvise regiments of cavalry, and for want of that arm Smith's operations were for the most part impeded or frustrated. Smith did all that an able officer could do; he covered and protected several rich districts, he checked the career of many of the flying squadrons; but he could not move with sufficient rapidity to prevent the execution of a plan which Hyder had formed after paying two visits to Pondicherry, and conferring with the French there. The Mysorean, having previously sent off all his plunder and heavy baggage, made a rush upon Madras with 6000 horse, and appeared, sudden and unexpected, as a cloud in the Indian summer, upon the heights of St. Thomas, which overlook Madras. The presidency eagerly proposed terms of peace, or listened to terms proposed by Hyder, who was anxious to be well on his road homeward before Smith should draw near Madras. Negotiations were begun and finished in a very few hours. It was agreed that Hyder should restore whatever he had taken in the way of territory from the English, and that the English should restore all that they had taken from him; that he should assist the English in their future *defensive* wars, and that they should assist him, not in any offensive war, but in the defence of Mysore if it should be invaded by any of his neighbours. The treaty, concluded on the 4th of April, 1769, was soon followed by the invasion of Mysore by the Mahrattas, whose alliance with Hyder was as little binding and of as short a duration as Indian alliances usually were. The peishwa, Madhoo Row, whose cavalry was as rapid as Hyder's and

far more numerous, swept everything before him, and, burning towns and cutting off noses and ears, this savage seemed to threaten Mysore with a far more extensive ruin than that which the Mysoreans had recently inflicted on the Carnatic. Hyder called upon the presidency of Madras for the assistance agreed upon in the late treaty; but the presidency—and apparently with perfect truth—affirmed that Hyder had brought the war upon himself by making preparations to invade the territory of the peishwa, and by leaguering himself with some disaffected Mahratta chiefs; he was not, they said, engaged in a purely defensive war, and therefore they were not bound to send him aid and succour.

The Mahrattas and Mysoreans were left to fight out their own battles. Hyder and his son Tippoo were defeated in several encounters; once the father owed his life to the swiftness of his horse, and once the son saved himself by putting on the disguise of a beggar. Seringapatam, their capital, was surrounded and besieged, but could scarcely be taken by an army of horse without battering cannon. In the month of November, 1771, the Mahrattas seemed in possession of all Mysore



MAHRATTAS.—From Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, and Burnouf, *L'Inde Française*.

except Seringapatam and some of the strongest forts, and were certainly pressing upon and plundering the frontiers of the Carnatic. The presidency sent an army towards the frontiers; and the Mahrattas, who had only entered upon the skirts of the Carnatic in small plundering squadrons, withdrew altogether from that neighbourhood.

Afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder, distressed by want of provisions in the country which he had ravaged, and now not unfrequently

harassed or defeated by the Mysoreans, who had recovered heart, the peishwa listened to the mediating voice of Mahomed Ali, accepted some money from him, and finally agreed to make peace with Hyder. For a time Hyder remained humbled and quiet. During the war between him and the Mahrattas, the Rajah of Tanjore attempted to seize some territory belonging to, or claimed by Mahomed Ali, who called upon his allies, the English, for assistance and vengeance. Another war of invasion was the consequence. In the

course of the year 1771 the Company took the strong Tanjorean fortress of Vellum, and occupied two districts in the neighbourhood of Madura; in 1772 they conquered the two Marowars; and in 1773 they took by storm the often-assailed city of Tanjore, which was then defended by 20,000 fighting men. The unfortunate rajah and his family were made prisoners, and the long-coveted sovereignty of Tanjore was *nominally* vested in Mahomed Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic.

CHAPTER XX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1769—1775.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE III.

Arrangements in London for the Anglo-Indian government—Three directors sent out to Calcutta—They are lost at sea—Rise of Warren Hastings in India—Writings published on our Indian conquests and rule—Attention called in parliament to the affairs of India—Sullivan's bill on the subject—His attack on Lord Clive—Attempt of the directors of the India Company to blacken the reputation of Clive—His eloquent defence of himself in parliament—Attack made on his earlier career in India—A committee of inquiry appointed—Its hostile proceedings—Pecuniary difficulties of the East India Company—Their applications for parliamentary aid—Rigid terms on which it is granted—Changes decreed in the court of directors by the "Regulating Act"—Opposition of the directors to the innovations—Warren Hastings appointed the first Governor-general of India—Continued proceedings of Clive's enemies in parliament—They complain of the dethronement of Surajah Dowlah—Debate on the subject—Proposal to despoil Lord Clive of his Indian grants and pensions—Clive's answer—His indignation at the attack—Inconclusive end of the debate—Clive's ruined health—He commits suicide—Proceedings of Warren Hastings in his government—Famine in India—Offences charged against Hastings—Shah Alum's pension from the Anglo-Indian government stopped—He allies himself with the Mahrattas, and makes war upon the English—Troubles in India from freebooters, fakirs, and fanatics—Hastings makes a visit to Oude—His arrangements to compose the troubles of the country—His exertions for the internal government of Bengal—His success—The English invade the Rohilla country—They defeat the Rohillas—Conclusion of the Rohilla war—The parliament's new constitution for India comes into operation—Colleagues of Warren Hastings—Their hostility—Their unjust charges against him—They thwart his arrangements—Their harsh proceedings against the new Nabob of Oude—The presidency obtains a grant of the Island of Salsette—Proceedings reversed by the supreme council at Calcutta—Their tortuous proceedings.



UNIVERSAL attention was attracted to the affairs of the Company shortly after Clive's return to England; and the territorial acquisitions made in India, being exaggerated even beyond their real extent and importance, were forced upon the serious consideration of the ministry of the day. In April, 1769, an act was passed confirming to the Company the revenues of the countries they had obtained in India for five years to come, upon consideration of their paying the British government £400,000 per annum, and exporting to India certain quantities of British manufactures, &c. At the same time the court of directors resolved to send out to Calcutta three supervisors, to complete the work of reformation, and to put the revenues and finances of Bengal under better management. The three individuals selected were, Mr. Vansittart, who had so miserably misgoverned Bengal before; Mr. Sraffton, whose abilities and

local knowledge and acquaintance with the language of the country were of inestimable value; and Colonel Forde, who had conquered the Northern Circars and disposed of the Dutch at Bedarra. They took their departure in the *Aurora* frigate, which is supposed to have foundered at sea with every soul on board, for she never reached Bengal, and was never heard of anywhere else after leaving the Cape of Good Hope.

Without supervisors, the government of Bengal was left in the hands of Mr. Cartier; but in less than two years it was notified by the court of directors to Mr. Warren Hastings, who had continued to rise in estimation, that he was nominated to the place of second in council at Calcutta; and that, as soon as Mr. Cartier should retire, it was their wish that he should take upon himself the charge of government till further orders. The transactions in India, which for a long period were regarded with indifference, or with the feeling that it was impossible for people

in England to comprehend them, were now daily attracting more and more attention. Orme, the friend of Clive, who had himself taken no inactive or unimportant part in those affairs, had published the first part of his *History of the Military Transactions in Hindoostan*, and had spread the renown of Clive, the real hero of the romantic story, making known at the same time the vastness and importance of that Indian world. Other works of less name had treated the same subject, and many pens and tongues had been engaged in demonstrating that the glory acquired by British arms was now tarnished by abuses and corruption; and that the splendid fabric, like a *fata morgana*, was disappearing faster than it had risen. Moreover, few men not holders of India stock could reconcile themselves to the anomaly presented in Leadenhall Street, nor possibly conceive how a dozen or two of plain citizens called directors, and some hundreds of shareholders called proprietors, could be competent to the management of 15,000,000 of people at the distance of many thousands of miles. Nor was there much faith in the disinterestedness or moderation of a body so constituted, nor any confidence that their uncontrolled power could be exercised upon pure principles of right and wrong.

Indeed, in opening the session of parliament in January, 1772, the speech from the throne had, by implication, recommended to attention the subject of India, as being among the dependencies of the empire, of which it was said that "some of them, as well from remoteness of place as from other circumstances, are so peculiarly liable to abuses and exposed to danger, that the interposition of the legislature for their protection may become necessary." And about two months after this speech, and about four months before the first application of the directors to the Bank of England for money, Clive's old antagonist, Mr. Sullivan, then deputy-chairman of the court of directors, moved in his place in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company and of their servants in India, and for the due administration of justice in Bengal." Sullivan's principal object in the speech with which he introduced and supported this motion was to shift all blame from the court of directors, and to throw it wholly and solely upon the servants of the Company abroad. He did not spare the great Clive himself, but pointed at him more or less directly as the fountain-head of mischief. There was little danger in pursuing this course, as Sullivan well knew that the conqueror of Bengal was hated at the India House, was now unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided parliament, was considered too proud and unbending to procure the support of the court

and ministry, and was rendered by various arts and practices an object of popular odium and detestation. These practices had begun on the same day with his stern reforms at Calcutta, and they had been kept up ever since by many heads, hands, and purses.

Sullivan and his party, which had now become the stronger in Leadenhall Street, were alarmed and exasperated by reports, not unfounded, that the premier, Lord North, and Lord Rochford, then secretary of state for the colonies, had invited Clive, through his friend Wedderburn, to aid them with his counsel and experience in settling some plan for the better government of India; and it was no secret that Clive, on all occasions, insisted that the cause of what was wrong lay rather in the court of directors than in their servants abroad; that all attempts at reformation abroad, until a thorough reformation took place at home, could only be temporary, and in the end futile; that if an able, honest, and independent court of directors could not be procured at home, there was no salvation for the Company.¹ Under these feelings the directors had recently put every engine in play to blacken his reputation; and about a fortnight before the opening of the present session of parliament they had, by the Company's secretary, informed him that the court of directors had lately received several papers containing charges respecting his management of affairs in Bengal, and that copies of these papers were inclosed. These charges were signed by no one, and they were vague as well as anonymous. They, however, were known to the public before parliament met; and Sullivan, in his speech, hinted at them. Clive, who was in the house, rose to speak in his own defence, and he delivered a speech which astonished every one, by its strong sense, high spirit, and even high eloquence. He had seldom spoken before, and on those few occasions in a brief and homely, or negligent manner; but this time he had prepared himself for the defence of his honour and his property, which were equally aimed at, and he convinced the most practised and most applauded speakers that he might easily have made himself a great orator. The first Pitt, now Earl Chatham, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and he declared that it was "one of the most finished pieces of eloquence he had ever heard in that house."

One effect of this remarkable speech was that Clive's enemies changed their mode of attack, and, leaving his last administration in India as unassailable, turned their arms against the events and deeds of his earlier life. On the 13th of April it was represented by the opposition that the suspicions of the country were excited, and

¹ Clive's letters, in *Life* by Sir John Malcolm.

that a full inquiry into the past ought to precede any legislation for the future; and a motion was made and carried for the appointing a select committee. Thirty-one in number were appointed by ballot, and Colonel Burgoyne, who had proposed it, was chosen chairman. Burgoyne, who was distinguishing himself as a debater, and giving that trouble to ministers which is said to have led to their employing him in America a few years after, was exceedingly hostile to Clive. Governor Johnstone, another leading orator in the house, and brother to Mr. Johnstone, a very corrupt member of council at Calcutta, whose face Clive had made pale and long, was also a member of the committee, and took a leading part in their proceedings. There were other men in it almost equally hostile to Clive; but his lordship himself was a member, as was also his friend and dependant, Mr. Strachey, who had accompanied him in his last mission to Calcutta. The most violent personal feelings instantly showed themselves; instead of inquiring, in the words of Burgoyne's motion, into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, and of the British affairs in the East Indies generally, the select committee directed their inquiry almost exclusively to the conduct of Lord Clive, carefully shunning his last administration, and going back fifteen years to the dethronement of Surajah Dowlah.

The parliament had hardly risen when the pecuniary embarrassments of the Company became too great and pressing to be concealed. On the 17th of March, in their anxiety to captivate the shareholders, the court of directors had recommended an augmentation of the dividend from twelve to twelve and a half; and the necessary votes were carried through both courts by overwhelming majorities, and this, too, though many must have known there was not money enough in the treasury to meet the bills that were falling due. On the 15th of July the directors applied to the Bank of England for a loan of £400,000 for two months, which was granted; and on the 29th of July they asked a further loan of £300,000, but only got £200,000, the bank directors being somewhat alarmed. On the 10th of August Mr. Sullivan and the chairman waited upon the minister, and announced the insolvency and ruin of the Company as inevitable if they were not allowed to borrow at least a million more from the public. It happened to them as to other men when reduced to the disagreeable condition of borrowers: those from whom they asked money thought proper to give them advice, and to interfere in their affairs. They were in a manner at the mercy of ministers, and ministers soon determined to re-model their constitution. For the present, however, Lord North received the

chairman and deputy-chairman with dryness and reserve, merely referring them to parliament for the aid and assistance they wanted.

The dissatisfied court of directors had therefore no resource but in parliament; and, on the 24th of February (1773), after having reduced their dividend from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent., a general court passed a vote that application should be made to the House of Commons for a loan of £1,500,000 for four years, at 4 per cent. interest. This demand, or humble petition, was presented on the 9th of March. Ministers, making some material alterations in the Company's propositions, offered to lend £1,400,000 at 4 per cent., and to give up the claim of £400,000 a year, which the Company had been paying from their territorial revenues, till this debt should be discharged; but insisted upon binding them strictly never to raise their dividends above six per cent., until this liquidation was effected. By complying with these and some other restrictions and conditions, the Company were to remain in possession of all the territories they had acquired for six years to come, when their charter would expire. The Company petitioned against these terms, as harsh, arbitrary, and illegal; their orators in the house harangued vehemently; but all was of no use; they could not do without the money, the minister was determined to let them have it only on his own conditions, and everything he proposed was carried by a large majority. Nor did Lord North cease his interference here. Clive and others had represented to the minister, and also to the king, who was neither without previous information nor the previous determination or wish to un-democratize the constitution of the East India House, that the court of proprietors was a bear-garden, ever full of noise, confusion, anarchy, and the lowest and most selfish intrigues, and that their mode of checking the court of directors, and the direct influence and intimidation they exercised over the directors when elected, must for ever prove an obstacle to all good and permanent management and government. As if to prepare his way by an act of kindness, the minister, on the 27th of April, granted the Company that fatal leave to export tea to America duty free—a bonus which led to the tea riots at Boston, and which assuredly hurried on the American revolution—and then, on the 3d of May, he introduced a series of propositions, tending to an entire, and, as we think, beneficial change in the constitution of the Company. The principal of these were:—1st. That the court of directors should in future, instead of being chosen annually, be elected for four years; six members annually, but none to hold their seats for longer than four years; 2d. That the qualification stock should be £1000 instead

of £500; that £3000 should give two votes, and £6000 three votes; 3d. That, in lieu of the mayor's court at Calcutta, the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes, a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief-justice and three puisne-judges, should be appointed by the crown, with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England, their servants and dependants, residing within the Company's territories in Bengal; 4th. That a governor-general, with four counsellors, should be appointed to Fort William, and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences occurred, the opinion of the majority was to be decisive; and this board was to be directed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the directors, who were, within fourteen days of the receipt of their despatches, to furnish copies of them to one of his majesty's secretaries of state, to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinations which they made; and these were, if disap-

proved by his majesty, to become null and void. It was further proposed that the nomination of the first governor-general and members of council should be vested in parliament by the act, and should be for five years, after which the nomination to those high offices should revert to the court of directors, but still subject to the approbation of the crown. Lastly, it was to be enacted that no person in India, in the service either of the king or of the Company, should henceforth be allowed to receive any presents from the native nabobs, rajahs, ministers, agents, or others; and that the governor-general, members of council, and judges, should be excluded from all commercial pursuits and profits. The "Regulating Act," as it is called, was to come into operation, in England, on 1st October, 1773, and in India on 1st August, 1774.

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The court of directors, the court of proprietors, and nearly all men who had a personal interest in the affairs of the East Indies, raised a storm ten times louder than before; and they courted and obtained the influence of the corporation of the city of London, which was then in the most determined opposition to government, and to everything done or proposed by Lord North. Remonstrances and petitions were poured in upon parliament, but they did not affect the votes of the large ministerial majority.



WARREN HASTINGS.—From a picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In proceeding to the choice of the first Governor-general of Bengal there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the person most fit for the responsible, delicate, and difficult post. Long experience, proved ability, and other merits, all pointed to Mr. Warren Hastings, who was accordingly named by the new parliamentary authority. Clive, though he had not invariably had cause to be pleased with the conduct of Hastings, once his *protégé*, considered him the best man that could be selected; and he hastened to congratulate him on the honour of being the first GOVERNOR-

GENERAL; in so doing, however, Clive expressed a doubt, in the shape of a hope, and this was, whether his colleagues in the council would act in harmony with him. It is especially deserving of observation that the principal misgiving Clive entertained with regard to Warren Hastings was, that he might err through overmuch good nature and easiness and amiability of temper. The four members of council appointed with Warren Hastings, and each with powers nearly co-extensive with his own, were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Philip Francis.

In the meanwhile, two Indian committees of the House of Commons, the "select" and the "secret," had continued their occupations; and the first of the two, urged on by Burgoyne, the

chairman, by Governor Johnstone, and by other men from whom impartiality and candour were as little to be expected, had taken a still more inquisitorial and personal turn. Clive was subjected to incessant examinations and cross-examinations; mutilated evidence, taken out of the Company's records by the Company's own servants, was received as good evidence, upon the plea that it was impossible to spare time sufficient to search for facts among the vast mass of papers at the India House. The palms of the patriots sitting in either committee must have itched at the long array upon paper of rupees and lacs of rupees; and it may be pretty safely doubted whether there was one of Clive's accusers and tormentors that would, at Moorshedabad, have rested satisfied with the large sum he took, when it was so easy to make it larger, when there was absolutely no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. On one occasion, the scenes of the past were forced upon his mind and upon his vision as a present reality; he vividly described his entrance into Moorshedabad and into the rich treasury of the fleeing tyrant, Surajah Dowlah:—There was the new nabob, Meer Jaffier, a creature of his making, and absolutely dependent on his will; there was a populous and opulent city offering immense sums to be saved from a plunder which was never intended; there were the Hindoo seits or bankers bidding against each other for his favour; there were vaults piled with gold and crowned with rubies and diamonds, and he was at liberty to help himself;—and then, bursting away from a picture as dazzling as Sinbad's valley of diamonds, he exclaimed, "By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

On the 10th of May of the following year, 1773, on the order of the day being read for taking into consideration the report of the select committee appointed in the preceding session, and also certain reports lately presented from a similar committee appointed in the present session, Colonel Burgoyne, who, as chairman, had brought them up, declared the said reports contained an account of the most atrocious and most revolting crimes. The Black Hole and its horrors were all forgotten; the cruelty, the perfidy of Surajah Dowlah were consigned to the same charitable oblivion; and it was represented by the military orator, who had no friend or brother in the horrible catastrophe at Calcutta, that the dethronement of that prince was the greatest of crimes, and the real cause of all the revolutions and mischiefs which had ensued since then. He maintained that Clive ought to be stripped of his wealth, as it had been extorted by military force, and as, like all acquisitions made from foreign powers, it of right belonged to the state; and he

moved three resolutions to this effect. Clive made another very able speech, but a speech not calculated to conciliate any party. His were not the parliamentary tactics of a mean, low mind, of one to whom truckling, duplicity, and deception cost nothing when they suited his interest and purpose. His friend Wedderburn, who was at issue with Thurlow, the attorney-general, but backed by the other great lawyers, made an eloquent and argumentative speech against Burgoyne's resolutions, representing that they were founded in envy and illiberality, narrow, pointed at individuals, and not at that future reformation of our management of Indian affairs which ought to have been the grand object of the committee's inquiry; and that above all, the evidence on which some of the facts rested was indecisive and defective, and the conclusions drawn from other facts erroneous and unjust as far as concerned Lord Clive personally and without the council. Thurlow, who is said to have been previously consulted, and to have recommended the spoliatory process as a good means of making up part of the deficiencies in the Leadenhall Street treasury, replied as a lawyer to Wedderburn; and in the end Burgoyne's resolutions were carried without a division. Just one week after this—on the 17th of May, 1773—Burgoyne followed up his successes by pointing his charges directly against Clive. He protested that he wished not to plunder or impoverish his lordship; yet nothing was so clear as that he must reduce him to poverty as well as disgrace, if he could command the majorities which had hitherto gone along with him. Thus the donation at Moorshedabad was to be annulled; thus the jaghire was to be made void! But it entered not into Burgoyne's law or morality, or into the notions of any of them, that the money and rents ought to be restored, or the right of the nabob to give them questioned.

Wedderburn again took an active part in the debate, strenuously opposing the motion on grounds both of law and equity. He said that the house was in danger of being led to commit rashly and inconsiderately an act of crying injustice against one of the most illustrious men of the age. He argued that the acceptance of presents by Clive was justifiable by the ancient laws and usages of India; that there was no law, order, or by-rule of the Company prohibiting their servants from accepting them; and that to adopt the present resolution would be to condemn his lordship upon an *ex-post-facto* law. He treated the select committee with very little respect; said that the evidence they had gone upon was of the most unsatisfactory kind, that their report was necessarily a prejudiced one, and that for the house to proceed upon it would be an act of flagrant

¹ The *Parliamentary History* says on the 19th.

injustice. In the course of the debate Clive once more spoke for himself, and with the same uncompromising, unconciliating tone as on the previous occasions. He said, "After rendering my country the service which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of, and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare and the particular benefit of the East India Company, I little thought that such transactions would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in proceedings like the present, tending to deprive me not only of my property, and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me—my honour and reputation." He observed that, trained in the school of war and politics as he had been for twenty years, he was now improving in the school of philosophy, and, if patience was a virtue, he had no doubt of soon being very virtuous indeed. But in reality this long-enduring patience was foreign to his nature, and was incompatible with his present state of bodily suffering. Always quick and susceptible, he had become morbidly sensitive and irritable, from the continuance of mental torture and bodily disease, in reciprocal action and reaction. The insults he had received from the select committee had gone through him like an Indian arrow, and as he spoke he seemed to show the barb with the poison and his heart's blood upon it. "I have served my country," said he, "and the Company faithfully; and, had it been my fortune to be employed by the crown, I should not have been in the situation I am in at present: I should have been differently rewarded; no retrospect would have been had to sixteen years past, and I should not have been forced to plead for what is dearer than life—my reputation. . . . The two committees seem to have bent the whole of their inquiries to the conduct of their humble servant, the Baron of Plassey, and I have been examined by the select committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this house." After some debate, further consideration of the motion was

deferred till Friday, the 21st of May. On that day the active Burgoyne moved that certain witnesses should then be examined. The examination was ordered, and Clive's own evidence before the committee was read; upon which his lordship said a few words; concluding with—"Take my fortune, but save my honour"—and then retired from the house. Burgoyne's triumphant course stopped here; the house would not follow him from generalities to special facts, and to individuals; would not, upon loose and defective, and for the most part *ex-parte* evidence, find a distinguished man guilty, and then apply to him an *ex-post-facto* law. There was a spontaneous reaction in favour of Clive, a reaction apparently not explicable by any of the then ordinary rules of parliamentary management and manoeuvre. After a variety of inconclusive motions and rapid divisions, it was moved by Wedderburn—"That Robert, Lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country," and this passed in the affirmative. And thus terminated all these proceedings as far as Clive was concerned.¹

But "the be all and the end all" was not there, nor could depend any further on resolutions, motions, and votes. The "Daring in War" had received his death-blow from orators' tongues; or, at the least, his mind and body had been so harassed for many months, and his cruel maladies so exacerbated, that there no longer remained a gleam of health, or hope, or cheerfulness. He had been acquitted—he had been applauded; some of the highest in the land and some of the most liberal and intellectual abroad—men like Voltaire, who had the right of genius to be the dispensers of fame—testified their admiration, and admired him the more for the ordeal he had gone through; but he could not take these flattering unctions to his soul; he brooded over the indignity of having been accused, charged in the eyes of the whole world, not only with horrible crimes, but with mean, petty vices, most hateful and maddening to his pride. His liver was en-

¹ Of the proceedings of parliament on this occasion, Mr. Macaulay says:—"The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the house accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen not blinded by faction. The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis XV. had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille, and after years of suffering left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in ante-chambers, sunk into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The commons

of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out wherein he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the parliaments of France. Indeed, he seems at this time to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr. Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburn took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime theophilanthropy, stolen from the New Testament and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical Brahmins."—*Crit. and Hist. Essays*.

tirely deranged, his attacks of bile were frequent and dreadful; he suffered the excruciating agonies of gall-stones, and he had long had recourse to the dangerous aid of opium, which in many cases maddens or depresses in the morning more than it soothes or exhilarates at night. In the month of November of the year which followed his acquittal by the commons (1774), being at his splendid town-mansion in Berkeley Square, he had a violent access of his most painful malady. On the 21st and 22d he endured extreme agony, and had recourse for relief to additionally powerful doses of laudanum; the drug did not soothe, and a paroxysm of irritability and impatience was added to the paroxysm of the disease: in the course of the 22d he died by his own hand. He had only just completed his forty-ninth year.

Warren Hastings, who extended and consolidated the empire which Clive had called into existence, and whose Indian career ended in a prosecution more famous and more formal than that to which his lordship was subjected, began his administration at Calcutta under every possible disadvantage. A famine occurred in 1770, under the government of Mr. Cartier, and only a few months before Hastings succeeded him. It was a tremendous visitation; the natives, and above all the Hindoo portion of them, who, on religious grounds, make little or no use of animal food, perished by hundreds and thousands; and it was calculated that, in all, from one-fourth to one-third of the teeming population of Bengal was swept away. In the summer of 1769 the rains had failed; hence the earth was parched up, the tanks for the purposes of irrigation became empty, and the rivers shrank within their beds. The same natural causes had always been attended by the same dreadful consequences, and wide-wasting dearths were frequent in India long before Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape, or the name of the English was known. But natural causes did not satisfy the popular mind in England, where it was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by buying up all the rice of the country, and by refusing to sell it except at ten or twelve times the price at which they had bought it. A short time before the breaking out of the famine, Syef-ul-Dowlah, the son and successor of Meer Jaffier, died of small-pox; and his brother Muharek-ul-Dowlah, a boy, was appointed to the musnud. Not a few had

been inclined to apply to Syef the process of rapid curtailment and reduction which Regan applies to the household of old King Lear; and it appears to have been pretty generally thought that too much money was wasted upon a merely nominal nabob, a puppet, a man of straw—for so had Syef-ul-Dowlah been designated by a leading member in the Calcutta government. But as soon as the magnates in Leadenhall Street knew that Syef was dead, they sent out orders for making retrenchments on the allowance of his young brother. It fell to Mr. Hastings to carry these orders into execution, and he was afterwards censured and condemned as if the acts had originated with himself. The saving made, however much it may have improved the morals of the young nabob's court, had no visible effect on



CALCUTTA, BAZAAR ON THE CHITTORE ROAD.—Fraser's Views in Calcutta.

the treasury at Calcutta; and Hastings was left to struggle through all the perplexities and cares resulting from an empty exchequer, and a daily increasing debt, while every ship, every despatch from his masters, brought demands for money—money—money. Other and much more questionable instructions were sent out by the directors, and were carried into effect by Hastings—at times sorely against his conviction and will. Yet his obedience to orders was afterwards imputed to him as a crime, and the very body who had sent him his orders and had profited by their execution, appeared among his accusers and prosecutors.

Clive, in his treaty with the Emperor Shah Alum, had guaranteed to that poor and forlorn potentate the quiet possession of Kurrah and Allahabad, and the annual tribute or stipend from the Company of twenty-six lacs of rupees—about £260,000 sterling. In the profundity of their own debts and embarrassments, the court of directors and the court of proprietors at home, and the impoverished people of Bengal abroad,

had long grudged this money. It appears that the lacs were at no time very punctually paid, and that for considerably more than two years payment had been withheld altogether. Hastings had good reasons to plead for stopping the stipend, though it unfortunately happened that the cases were not specified or provided for in Clive's treaty, or, as it is usually called, the treaty of Allahabad. In spite of the disapprobation of the government of Calcutta, Shah Alum had thrown himself into the arms of the Mahrattas; and, quitting his territories of Allahabad and Kurrah, the only possessions he had, and which he owed entirely to the English, he, in the beginning of the year 1771, took the field with a mixed but numerous army. It is said that he was secretly encouraged by Sujah Dowlah, Vizier and Nabob of Oude, who wished to be free of his presence in order to recover possession of Kurrah and Allahabad, which had formerly belonged to Oude, and which, he calculated, might be restored to his dominion with permission of the English, and upon a pecuniary bargain with them. By the end of the year 1771 the Mahratta chiefs carried the poor Mogul in triumph into Delhi; but, though in the palace of Aurlingzeb, Shah Alum found that he was a mere state-prisoner, compelled to do whatever the turbulent chiefs required of him. He was soon hurried into the field by these Mahrattas, who were eager for the plunder, if not for the permanent possession of Rohilcund, a country which was equally coveted by the Nabob of Oude, who had for some time kept his eye upon it, in the hope of obtaining it by the assistance of English troops or English-trained sepoys. The Rohillas, however, found themselves obliged to apply for the insidious aid of this vizier-nabob; and they obtained his promise not only to assist them himself, but also to procure for them the more potent co-operation of the Company. At the same time he intimated to Sir Robert Barker, the general commanding the Company's forces, and to the governor and council at Calcutta, that to allow any stipend or tribute to the Mogul would be only sending money to the rapacious and turbulent Mahrattas, who were deadly enemies to him, the close ally to the English, and who were, or soon would be, the most powerful enemies of the Company itself. But long before this intimation, and apparently before Shah Alum marched away from Allahabad with the Mahrattas, the payment of the tribute had been suspended, upon the cogent pleas that the trade and revenue of the English provinces suffered a visible decay by this annual diminution of their specie.¹ But if this had been held sufficient cause

to suspend the Mogul's allowance, his departure with the Mahrattas was considered as a throwing up on his part of all right or claim to English money and English protection, and the strong arguments of the Nabob of Oude had no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Hastings before he received that nabob's letters and messages.

It was perfectly clear that twenty-six lacs of rupees per annum was too great a price to pay for the merely ceremonial investiture of the Company in the dewanee of Bengal, over which neither the reigning Mogul nor his predecessor had ever had the least control; and the state of mutual obligations between Shah Alum and the English appears to be not unfairly described by Hastings, who taxes the Mogul with the basest treachery and ingratitude, and says, "Of all the powers of Hindoostan the English alone had really acknowledged his authority; they invested him with the royalty he now possesses; they conquered for him and gave him a territory; they paid him an annual tribute, the only pledge of fealty which he has ever received."² The territory here spoken of was Allahabad and Kurrah; and shortly after Hastings learned that the helpless Mogul had ceded both Kurrah and Allahabad to the Mahrattas, who were declaring their intention of taking immediate possession. This was considered as equivalent to a complete discharge from all the obligations of Clive's treaty. Moreover, the Nabob of Oude, as the faithful ally of the English, claimed their assistance in preventing the Mahrattas from obtaining a settlement in provinces that lay in the heart of his own country, and that would bring them close upon the frontiers of the Company's territories. The English at once threw a garrison into Allahabad, where the Mogul's deputy or governor received them with a welcome, declaring that his master was no longer a free agent, but a prisoner to the Mahratta chiefs, who were in the habit of subjecting him even to the degradation of blows and other personal chastisement when he hesitated to sign such grants, firmans, or decrees as they required. Hastings, who was most anxious for the preservation of peace, as the only possible means of restoring the prosperity and trade of Bengal, would gladly have stopped here, and for some time he was deaf to the prayers and representations of Sujah Dowlah, who continued to believe that the Mahrattas, after subduing the Rohillas, would overrun the whole of Oude, and then, descending the Ganges, spread havoc over Bahar and Bengal. As a little episode, however, Hastings sent a detachment, under Captain Jones, to drive the Bootans, a resolute and daring people, out of

¹ Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke, in Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*.

² Letter from Hastings to Sir George Colebrooke, in Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*.

Cooch-Bahar, and to annex that healthy and fertile province to the Company's dominions, to which, geographically considered, it belonged. At the same time the attention of the governor was called to the inroads and devastations of the Senassie fakirs, an assemblage of men who



SENASSIE FAKIR.—From an original sketch in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society

united the several characters of saints, living martyrs, jugglers, robbers, and cut-throats, which, according to Indian notions and superstitions, were not irreconcilable. Tribes and hordes of the same species had long been in the habit of wandering throughout India, almost naked, pretending to live by alms, but stealing, plundering, murdering, and committing every act of obscenity and violence. A host of this kind, headed by an old woman who pretended to the gift of enchantment, had defeated an army of Aurungzebe, and caused that emperor, when at the height of his power, to tremble on his throne at Delhi. They were not the least of the many scourges and curses to which the country was periodically liable under the weak and divided empire, and imbecile government of the native princes. The present swarm fell upon Bengal, rapidly and silently, like a flight of locusts. They rushed in search of their prey in bodies each two or three thousand strong, and wherever they penetrated they burned and destroyed the villages, and committed every abomination. Hastings hurried on detachment after detachment to follow the track which the fakirs usually took on their return. Yet, after every possible exertion by all these corps, no great execution could be done upon the marauders, who, crossing rivers and mountains, got back to the wild country that lies between India, Tibet, and China.

Soon after the departure of the fakirs, Hast-

ings set out on a visit to Oude; for various circumstances had induced him to change or modify his pacific policy, and to give a more ready ear to the prayers, plans, and suggestions of the ambitious nabob of that country, who now earnestly solicited a personal conference at Benares, in order to arrange new bargains and treaties with the English.

The Mahrattas, too, were really making war upon the Rohillas, the allies of Oude; and a considerable part of the English army, under Sir Robert Barker, had marched into Rohilcund, where they found the Mahrattas more inclined to retreat than to fight, and the Rohillas more disposed to regard the English or the troops of the Nabob of Oude as enemies than as friends. And, in fact, the sovereign of Oude had conceived, and had some time before this communicated to the English governor at Calcutta, a plan of conquering the Rohilla country and annexing it to his dominions; and the correspondence upon this subject, more than anything else, had induced the proposal of an interview. Hastings left Calcutta on 24th June, and arrived at Benares on 19th August, 1773. He found the vizier-nabob waiting his arrival, and eager for business.

The troops of Oude had been of little service, but the troops of the Company had cleared the country of the Mahrattas; and yet the Rohilla chiefs, though bound by a solemn treaty with the vizier-nabob, refused to pay the forty lacs of rupees or any part of them. The Rohillas had always been turbulent and dangerous neighbours to Oude, and must keep the nabob poor and in constant need of English assistance, unless those powerful allies, by one great effort, for which he was willing to pay a liberal price—and he knew how much the Company wanted money—should conquer that Afghan race, who were themselves but conquerors of a recent date, without any right but that of the sword, and without any consideration or mercy for the original and peaceful occupants of the soil, who were still tenfold more numerous than themselves. Hastings ingeniously compared Rohilcund to Scotland before the union with England; but the Scots were one race thinly scattered over a poor country which had no other inhabitants, while the Rohillas were scattered over a rich country peopled by a different race, who regarded them as intruders and harsh task-masters, and heartily wished for their expulsion. Upon all these, and other considerations, Hastings consented to employ an army against the Rohillas, and to unite the country to Oude, the vizier-nabob engaging to pay the entire expenses of the army, according to a liberal scale fixed by the English themselves, and to pour into the empty treasury at Calcutta forty lacs of rupees.

When the meeting at Benares broke up, Sujah Dowlah proceeded to reduce some forts and districts in his neighbourhood that were still held by the Mahrattas, and Hastings returned to Calcutta rejoicing in the money he had made, and in the money he had saved. Hastings now applied himself to the internal administration of Bengal—to the establishment of something like an efficient police; to the posting detachments, so as to prevent the incursions of the fakirs and other marauders; to the formation of local courts in the districts; to the regulation of taxes and of the collection of the revenue—a tremendous task!—to the protection of native trade and industry; to the removing absurd regulations and impolitic taxes, duties, and fees upon native marriages;¹ to the suppression of peccation and rapacity in the Company's servants up the country or in

or was rapidly assuming a different aspect. The fearful gaps made in the population by famine and disease began to be filled up by the removal of the impolitic checks upon marriage, by the improved condition and more abundant food of the natives, and by the frequent immigrations of quiet laborious people from other parts of India, who sought and found that protection and encouragement under the government of Hastings which they could find scarcely anywhere else in a country kept almost in a constant state of anarchy and misery by revolutions, petty feuds, and the ravages of flying Mahratta hordes, or of hordes of a still more destructive and murderous description—Afghans, Jaats, Dacoits, Thugs, Beels—and others of that long array of monstrosity which gives to the authentic story of Hindoostan the appearance of fable or of a horrid dream.

With rajahs and nabobs, with khans and other grandees, the case may have been somewhat different; but the native merchant, manufacturer, weaver, tiller of the soil, artisan—all that we call people—throughout the wide extent of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were brought to consider Hastings as a benefactor, and to revere his name.

It was probably to this period he alluded, when he said in private conversation many years after, when nearly all England was accusing him of



BENARES, THE CHURRUN PADOOKHA AND MUNIKURNIKA GHAT.
From Prinsep's Views in Benares.

remote districts, and to other cares and occupations almost innumerable. Some of the means adopted may not have been of the purest or highest kind, several may not be reconcilable either with our modern notions of political economy, or of morals and of justice, some may have been *pro tempore* expedients; but the present end attained was most indisputably a great benefit, and a wonderful improvement on the immediately preceding state of things. Even those who were no encomiasts of Warren Hastings confessed that since his return to Calcutta as governor of Bengal (in 1771), the whole country had assumed

monstrous cruelty and oppression—"I could have gone from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and from Moorshedabad to Patna and Benares, without a guard, without a sepoy, without any protection but what was to be found in the good-will and affection of the natives."

Encouraged by some successes he had obtained over the Mahrattas, and by a new league he had struck up with Shah Alum, who had escaped from his Mahratta bondage, and had actually engaged to assist the nabob with his small army in the reduction of Rohilcund, Sujah Dowlah applied eagerly for the instant marching of the English brigade which was quartered at Allahabad. Though the 210,000 rupees per month were acceptable, the suddenness of this application rather disconcerted Hastings. No time, however, was lost; and the brigade, under the command of Colonel Champion, received orders to march into the province of Oude, with the declared purpose of invading the Rohilla country. From

¹ In allusion to this and some other reforms, he says:—"Of my foreign policy I have no cause to be ashamed; but that on which I chiefly congratulate myself is the abrogation of laws and usages oppressive to the people, and of one most destructive to population, which, though requiring little more than the stroke of a pen to remove it, I particularly mention, because, though little known and perhaps forgotten, it is one to which my mind ever recurs with self-satisfaction—the abolition of the duties and fees on marriage."

the middle of February till the middle of April the brigade remained in Oude doing nothing; but then the vizier-nabob with his forces joined Colonel Champion, and the open southern frontier of Rohilcund was immediately crossed. The Rohilla chiefs took up a good position on the side of Babul Nulla: nearly their entire force, which probably amounted to about 25,900 fighting men, was collected on that spot; and they had cavalry, artillery, and rockets. But when they were attacked by the British brigade, on the morning of the 23d of April, superior discipline and tactics, and better arms, led to the usual result. They were thoroughly defeated and routed; but their valour and stamina were proved by their fighting at unusually close quarters for two hours and twenty minutes, and leaving 2000 of their number on the field before they broke and fled. Several of their *sirdars* or chiefs were slain, and among them Hafez Ramat, the head of the confederacy. Fyzoola Khan collected the greater part of the dispossessed, fugitive Rohillas, and took up a very strong post near the frontiers of the country, expecting to be joined by other tribes of the great Afghan family, to which he and his Rohillas belonged. It was, moreover, apprehended by Sujah Dowlah that the Mahrattas would come down also; and his fears induced him to open negotiations with Fyzoola Khan. This turn of affairs was promoted by the temper of the English troops, who, disgusted with their ally and all his concerns, dispirited by long marches, short commons, and the total absence of prize-money and of any chance of it, were not very anxious to attack a bold enemy, in a formidable position among rocks and hills, and defended by trenches, stockades, and other works. A treaty was, therefore, hurried to a conclusion, Fyzoola Khan surrendering one-half of all his effects to the Nabob of Oude, and that nabob granting him a jaghire in Rohilcund. Some few chiefs remained on the frontiers with Fyzoola Khan; but the large majority, with their vassals or followers, went into other countries to seek new settlements with sword and spear. The Afghan race might almost be said to be rooted out of Rohilcund. Their entire number probably never exceeded 80,000, counting all classes, and men, women, and children. The Hindoo population that now remained under the rule of the Nabob of Oude was estimated at 2,000,000.

Just as the first Rohilla war came to this conclusion, the new constitution, as framed by parliament, commenced its operations. General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived at Calcutta, on the 19th of October, 1774. Mr. Barwell, the fourth member, had been in India long before. On the following day the existing government was dissolved by proclamation,

and the new council, consisting of the four gentlemen named, and Hastings with the rank of Governor-general of Bengal, took possession of its powers. Of his four colleagues not one seemed very acceptable to Hastings. Three appeared to have come with the predetermination of opposing him in all things, and one of the three—Francis—hated him from the beginning with an intensity of which few English natures are capable. But among the judges who had arrived with the members of this new council, Sir Elijah Impey, the senior in rank, was an old and dear friend of the governor-general. They had been school-fellows at Westminster.

The general letter of the court of directors, which was read at the first meeting of the new council, recommended above all things unanimity and concord among those to whom the powers of the government were delegated. But such unanimity was incompatible with a body so constituted, and with tempers, interests, and views so diametrically opposed. The temper of Francis alone was enough to introduce discord into a paradise—and Calcutta was far from being any such sojourn of beatified, peaceful spirits. Besides, he, and Clavering, and Monson, who had never been in India before, had come out to detect and reform abuses, which the long local knowledge of Hastings and Barwell viewed in a different light, or with a better acquaintance with the primary causes of them, and the difficulty of making any sudden change. Correctors of abuses and reformers, particularly when deficient in information, find more abuses than really exist; and no class of men are more intolerant.

Francis, Clavering, and Monson began to assert, by implication, that Hastings had embarked in an unnecessary and unjustifiable war—the war with the Rohillas—for private and sordid motives; and that his whole connection with Sujah Dowlah had been a series of bad actions, fraud, and selfishness. As far as money was concerned, these aspersions were unjust to the utmost extent of injustice. Hastings was actually a poorer man now than when he quitted his inferior employment at Madras in 1771! He had made savings and gathered large contributions, and perhaps neither the economy nor the gain had proceeded upon strict principles of justice; but he had made them solely for the Company's benefit, and mostly at the Company's express command. He was above the motives imputed to him; he was, as many other men have been, and are, constitutionally indifferent to money, for himself. As Francis—we must put this name first, as he was ever the most active and by far the most able of the trio—Clavering, and Monson constituted the majority of the council, they assumed all the powers of government, and for a time reduced

Hastings, with his adherent Barwell, to the condition of a cipher. Of course they soon turned the government into an anarchy. One long-continued cause of quarrel was the Rohilla war. The majority declared that war to be monstrous, and the dispossessed and tyrannical tribes to be brave but meek and inoffensive people. The Rohillas were what we have described them; and to their qualities remain to be added those of craft and treachery in a degree excessive even for India, and a bloodthirstiness like that of famishing tigers. But, though the war was to be reprobated and the Rohillas pitied¹—though Champion and his brigade were to be instantly ordered to evacuate Rohilcund—the price of the war was to be poured into the Company's exchequer, the Nabob of Oude was to be made to pay to the last rupee of what he had promised, and he was to be bullied into earlier payments than he had stipulated for. Thus, if they considered the war as diabolical work, they could still love the devil's money. In vain Hastings and Barwell remonstrated; they were but two to three, and the determinations of Francis and his colleagues were carried into execution. Their behaviour vexed and terrified Sujah Dowlah, and may have contributed to hasten his departure from the cares of this world, for he died a few months after their arrival, at the very beginning of the year 1775, dictating in his last moments a letter to Hastings to implore his friendship and protection for his son.

This son, who took the name of Asoff-ul-Dowlah, succeeded without opposition to Oude and its dependencies, which now included the country of the Rohillas. The majority in council were as hard towards the son as they had been towards the father; they called upon him for prompt payment of all that was owing, and at the same time they declared that their treaty was dissolved by the death of the old nabob. Mr. Middleton had been succeeded at the court of Oude by Mr. Bristow, who took his orders from Francis, Clavering, and Monson. Bristow compelled the young nabob to accede to a treaty which contained an incomparably more questionable arrangement than Hastings' engagement for the expulsion of the Rohillas. By this treaty the Company guaranteed to Asoff-ul-Dowlah the possession of Kurrah and Allahabad; but the nabob, in return, *ceded to the Company the territory of Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, which was not his to cede, and which had been solemnly guaranteed to the rajah by Hastings.* The revenue of Cheyte Sing's territory thus alienated was estimated at 22,000,000 rupees (£2,475,000); but as this took nothing out of the pocket of the young Nabob of Oude, he was bound in the same treaty

to discharge all his father's debts and engagements whatsoever with the Company, and to raise greatly the allowance to the Company's brigade. Hastings indignantly refused to sanction this treaty, which nevertheless met the warm approbation of the court of directors at home.

The supreme council, as provided by the act, asserted their authority over the other presidencies, and required from each of them a full report of its actual condition, political, financial, and commercial. The political status of the presidency of Bombay, which had long been so quiet and removed from the struggle of war, was at this moment as troublesome as war and politics could make it, for the council there had entered upon the stormy and incomprehensible sea of Mahratta politics. The first temptation lay in Salsette, that rich island that lay in their immediate neighbourhood, and that had been coveted for more than a hundred years by the English at Bombay. The directors at home had fully partaken in this desire, and in 1769 had greatly applauded an attempt made to obtain Salsette by negotiation with the Mahrattas. In 1773, after various other attempts had failed, advantage was taken of the confusion and civil war which ensued on the assassination of Narrain Row and the election of a new peishwa; the presidency of Bombay despatched a considerable force to Salsette, which carried the principal fort by assault, and then took quiet possession of the island.² To secure this valuable possession, and to obtain future advantages and cessions of territory in the neighbourhood of Surat, the presidency concluded a treaty with Ragoba, whom, for the occasion, they chose to consider legitimate Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who were themselves much divided in opinion whether the right or the might lay with Ragoba, or Futtee Sing, or Row. Ragoba, who counted upon English aid as certain, made a grant of Salsette, Bassein, and other places; and the presidency sent Colonel Keating with 500 European infantry, eighty European artillerymen, 1400 sepoys, and 160 lascars, with a field-train and some heavier pieces, to assist Ragoba, who had himself a large army of horse. On the 18th of May, 1775, Keating, on the plain of Arras, repulsed the attack of one of the Mahratta confederacies hostile to Ragoba; but he lost a considerable number of men, and found his future movements impeded by the discontents of the peishwa's troops, who refused to cross the Nerbudda until they should be paid their arrears. But in the month of July, when Ragoba had got money and had weakened the hostile confederacy by detaching some of its most powerful members, the road to Poonah, which was a kind of

¹ The real objects of pity in Rohilcund were rather the poor Hindoos than the Rohillas.

² See the plan of Bombay and adjacent coast, given at p. 675 of this volume.

Mahratta capital, seemed open to him and his English allies. At this point the supreme council at Calcutta judged it proper to strike in; and they did so with the same temper they had displayed on other occasions. They rated the members of the council of Bombay as if they had been a set of schoolboys; they called them to account for daring to enter upon such important operations without their consent and sanction; they ordered them instantly to withdraw their troops and to recall their resident from Poonah; and after this they sent an agent of their own to undertake treaties and pursue a different line of policy. Colonel Upton, this new agent, did not reach Poonah till the end of the year 1775. His instructions were to treat with the chiefs of the Mahratta confederacy, which the supreme council considered as likely to be the stronger party in the end; but he was also furnished with a letter from the council to Ragoba, in case he should prove the stronger. If the confederacy prevailed the letter might be burned; but if they should be defeated then it would serve as an introduction to negotiation with Ragoba. Such was the straightforward policy of Philip Francis, for Francis led Clavering and Monson hoodwinked. But Upton had been only a few days at Poonah ere he found that the Mahrattas

were much in the same uncertain state of mind as the supreme council. "For," said he, "the chiefs of this country are quite at a loss which side to take, and are waiting to see what the English will do."¹ The pertinacity of the Mahratta chiefs confederated against Ragoba, in insisting on the immediate restoration of Salsette, Bassein, and all that had been acquired by the recent treaty with Ragoba, removed the doubts and vacillations of the supreme council, who finally determined that the peishwa recognized by the presidency of Bombay was to be recognized by them also as the rightful sovereign, and that the cause of Ragoba was to be supported "with the utmost vigour, and with a general exertion of the whole power of the English arms in India." But Ragoba gained nothing by this high-sounding resolution. His enemies jockeyed him when he thought himself close to the winning-post. As they would not be satisfied with less, the confederates agreed to yield Salsette and the small islands near it; upon which the majority of the supreme council agreed to abandon the cause of Ragoba and give up their claims to Bassein and the other territory which the lawful *then* and unlawful *now* peishwa had given to the presidency of Bombay as part of the price of their assistance. A treaty to this effect was concluded by Colonel Upton.

CHAPTER XXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1776—1786

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.—GEORGE III.

Mahratta invasions of Oude—Dissensions in the India presidency—The governor-general recovers his ascendancy—French intrigues in India—Faction among the Mahratta chiefs—Hastings sends aid to one of the parties—Difficult land march of an army sent under Colonel Goddard—A Bombay army compelled to submit to the Mahrattas—Goddard refuses to be bound by the treaty—He reaches Surat—His successes—He defeats Scindia and Holkar—Victories over the Mahrattas by Captain Popham—Popham takes the strong fortress of Gwalior—Quarrels and duel between Hastings and Francis—Francis returns home—The Mysoreans resume hostilities—Their successful inroad upon the British dependencies—Defeat of Colonel Baillie by Hyder Ali at Conjeveram—Exertions of Hastings to repel the invasion—Hyder Ali aided by French officers and troops—He is successively defeated by Sir Eyre Coote—Events and changes of the Mysorean war—Death of Hyder Ali—He is succeeded by his son, Tippoo Saib—Tippoo continues the war against the English—He defeats General Mathews—Successful operations of Colonel Fullerton beyond Tanjore—Treaty of the British with Tippoo—Prosperous results of the war for the English—Moderation of the rule of Warren Hastings—His courageous proceeding at Benares—His severe measures for raising money in Oude—Vindictive conduct of Sir Philip Francis against him in England—His attacks on the proceedings of the governor-general—Departure of Hastings to Europe—Coalition against him on his arrival in England—He is impeached—Accusations against him—His acquittal—Attempts to involve Sir Elijah Impey in the prosecution of the governor-general—Charges brought against Impey—His acquittal—His upright character.



URING the progress of these events in Western India, other hosts of Mahrattas descended into the valley of the Ganges from Agra and Delhi, and plundered the more northern parts of the dominions of the young Nabob of Oude, who is

described as being as great a coward as his father, and destitute of ability, which his father was not. These devastations, which went to stop the current of supplies to a treasury which the supreme council had emptied, were accompanied by rumours of a new coalition between the emperor,

¹ Letter to the council, as quoted by Mill, *Hist. Brit. Ind.*

the Mahrattas, the Sikhs, the Rohillas, and other Afghan tribes, for the purpose of conquering the whole of Oude. The plans adopted by the supreme council to break or resist this league were not very wise or consistent; and Asoff-ul-Dowlah owed his safety for the present to quarrels which broke out among the members of the coalition, and to the poverty and indecision of Shah Alum. But for various other accidents, this incompetent, self-seeking trio would have lost all that Clive and Hastings had won in India. In all consultations in council the voice the least heeded was that of the governor-general. The hostile majority continued to heap accusations against him. "These men," said he, "began their opposition on the second day of our meeting. The symptoms of it betrayed themselves on the very first. They condemned me before they could have read any part of the proceedings, and all the study of the public records since, all the informations they have raked up out of the dirt of Calcutta, and the encouragement given to the greatest villains in the province, are for the purpose of finding grounds to vilify my character and undo all the labours of my government." Francis, Clavering, and Monson had got hold of the great informer or arch-devil of Bengal, the notorious Nuncomar, and were now inciting him to collect evidence and bring charges against Hastings. But on the 25th of September, 1776, the majority was reduced to an equality by the death of Colonel Monson. There thus remained only two on either side; but the casting vote of the governor-general gave him the superiority. "It has restored me the constitutional authority of my station," he wrote the very next day to the minister; "but without absolute necessity I shall not think it proper to use it with that effect which I should give it were I sure of support from home." It appears, however, that he at once used his re-acquired authority with boldness and effect, deciding all measures by his casting vote, and leaving Clavering and Francis to declaim and protest, as they had recently left him to do. Colonel Monson's place in the council was soon supplied by Mr. Wheler, who commonly voted with Francis; but before that party could recover their confidence, it was again reduced to a minority by the loss of General Clavering.

It was high time that there should be more unanimity, for danger was approaching on various sides. Most of the Mahratta chiefs who had been parties to the treaty with Upton were already weary of their bargain; fresh intrigues and combinations were forming at Poonah, and a French ship had put into one of the Mahratta ports, and a French agent was reported to be living at Poonah and exercising great influence in that capital. The war in our American colonies was raging,

and, as Frenchmen of name and rank were taking part in it without any declaration of war from the court of Versailles to the court of St. James's, it was not imagined that the French would be very scrupulous in India, where in fact they had never once ceased their intrigues since the treaty of Paris had restored Pondicherry and allowed them their factory at Chandernagore. Besides, every letter from England complained of the interference of France in the American quarrel, and announced hostilities with that power as inevitable. The presidency of Bombay, who were nearest to the scene of Mahratta intrigue, and likely to be most affected by it, wrote alarming letters to the supreme council at Calcutta, and recommended a new alliance with Ragoba, in order to anticipate the designs of the French and the Mahratta chiefs. They were eager for the recovery of Bassein and the other territory which had been given up by Colonel Upton; and their last advices informed them that the court of directors disapproved *in toto* of that treaty, and thought that much more advantageous terms, *i.e.* more territory and more revenue, might have been secured by supporting Ragoba. Hastings, too, disapproved that treaty—the work of Clavering, Monson, and Francis—which he would have prevented at the time if he had been able. The Mahrattas had scarcely performed one article of it when the Chevalier de St. Lubin arrived at Poonah with letters and presents from Louis XVI. The governor-general, who had long been accustomed to reflect on the best means the English possessed of defending their Indian empire, and the most likely means the French had for recovering their ascendancy, had come to the conclusion that our greatest danger would proceed from a union of the French with the Mahrattas, and that any attempt of that kind ought to be met on the instant, and if possible prevented by arms, leagues, combinations, by the utmost exercise of our power and policy. At this critical juncture he received intelligence that there was a fresh quarrel among the Mahratta chiefs at Poonah, who constituted a sort of regency; and that a powerful faction, headed by Baboo, had resolved to declare for Ragoba, and had actually applied to the English at Bombay for assistance. It appeared also that the presidency of Bombay had committed itself to this party by promises or encouragements, and that its territories would be in danger if the faction opposed to Baboo and Ragoba should prevail in this new contest. Without hesitation Hastings proposed in council that every assistance should be given in men and money; and that an army should be sent from Calcutta to Bombay. He was supported by Barwell, and opposed by Francis and Wheler, who protested as usual; but, as usual, the governor-

general's casting vote settled the matter. Ten lacs of rupees were immediately sent to Bombay by bills; and on the 23d of February orders were issued for assembling an army at Culpee, on the east bank of the Hooghly River, and about thirty-three miles in a straight line below Calcutta. There then arose a fresh dispute in council as to the fittest way of sending these troops on their long journey; if they went by sea, they would have to go round nearly the whole of the immense peninsula of India, and it was not the proper season for such a voyage, nor were there transports to carry the troops, or ships of war to give them convoy; to make such a march by land was a bold idea that had not yet presented itself to the mind of any Anglo-Indian, soldier or statesman; but Hastings, who had studied the capabilities of the native troops, who had a high reliance on their steadiness and powers of endurance, and had long wished for an opportunity to show the might of the Company to some of the princes and potentates of the interior, who, from the remoteness of their situation, had hitherto remained strangers to it, or but very insufficiently informed upon it, after consulting with some officers, confidently proposed the land march right across the peninsula—a peninsula vast enough to be called a continent—through the hostile and unknown regions that intervened between the banks of the Ganges and the Gulf of Cambay.¹

The army was composed of six native battalions, a corps of native cavalry, furnished by the Nabob of Oude, and a company of native artillery, altogether amounting to 103 European officers, 6624 native troops, with 31,000 followers, including the bazar, carriers of baggage, servants of officers, and families of sepoys; and this host had to march upwards of 1000 miles through countries where nearly every kind of obstacle had to be overcome. The command was intrusted to Colonel Leslie, who did not prove worthy of executing so daring and brilliant a conception. Except the officers, there were no British or Europeans of any other nation. The army began its march on the 12th of June, 1778; and it had not proceeded far when a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the English consul at Cairo, brought to Calcutta the news that war had been declared both in London and Paris. Francis and Wheler then insisted that the army should be recalled, as they considered that Bengal was as likely to be attacked by the French as Bombay, and as some great difficulties were already presenting themselves to the advance of the troops; but Hastings insisted that the army should go on, and that the river Hooghly, Calcutta, and Bengal could be very well defended without it.

Clive himself could not have kicked down obstacles and projected delays, or have acted in all respects with more determination than did Hastings on this trying occasion. He seized Chander-nagore, which had not been refortified, and all the French factories in Bengal; he sent orders to the presidency of Madras to occupy Pondicherry instantly—but, in infraction of the last treaty of peace, Pondicherry had been refortified, and could not be taken without a desperate siege—he threw up strong works near Calcutta; and,



SEPOYS OF BENGAL, COSTUME OF THE TIME.
From Solovy, *Les Hindous*.

still further to impede the approach to that capital, he collected a vast number of vessels, of all kinds, shapes, and riggings, and improvised a regular marine establishment; he raised nine new battalions of sepoys and a numerous corps of native artillery; and, being thus perfectly at ease in this quarter, he directed his attention to the westward to the march of the army, and to the proceedings at Poonah. The presidency of Bombay, under whose orders Colonel Leslie had been told to consider himself from the moment he crossed the Jumna, vacillated very miserably, and embarrassed that officer, who, upon trial, did not prove equal to the exigencies of the case. Hastings recalled Colonel Leslie to Bengal, and confided the command of the army to Lieutenant-colonel Goddard, a much more active and enterprising officer, who had been his second in command. Goddard was immediately freed from the orders which had tied the hands and feet of his predecessor; he was instantly released from the authority of the presidency of Bombay, which might interrupt but could not promote his success. He forthwith quitted "the detested land of Bundelcund," and, taking the road through Malwah, he

¹ Captain Williams, *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, from 1757—1796*.

continued his march a long while in peace, ease, and plenty, without experiencing or expecting any of the numerous impediments which Leslie had so long complained of.¹ He soon crossed the Nerbudda, and reached the city of Nagpoor, which Hastings, with a prospective glance, had declared to be the exact and proper centre of all our possessions and connections in India! By the 1st of December, Goddard had established friendly relations with the Mahrattas of Berar. Here he received despatches from Bombay acquainting him that they had at last put an army in motion for Poonah, and expected that he would meet it in the neighbourhood of that city. This Bombay force, 4500 strong, under Colonel Egerton, quitted the coast, advanced boldly through the Ghauts, arrived at Condal, and, by the 4th of January, 1779, were in full march for Poonah. Egerton therefore kept advancing till the 9th of January, when he was only sixteen miles from Poonah, in which neighbourhood he was to meet and form a junction with Goddard. But here a halt was suddenly ordered, for a large army of Mahratta horse was seen in front. Unfortunately for the credit of the expedition, the Bombay government had sent two civil commissioners to share the authority and direct the movements of Egerton. The civilians allowed themselves to be overcome by unmanly fears, and, upon pretext that the subsistence of the troops would be very precarious if they advanced—they had still in camp provisions for eighteen days!—they ordered a retreat. The Mahratta army of horse followed and almost enveloped them, cut to pieces 300 or 400 men, and carried off the greater part of their baggage and provisions. The two commissioners fell into a state of helplessness and despair; and even Colonel Egerton declared it to be impossible to carry back the army to Bombay. The three deserved hanging. A deputation was sent to the Mahrattas to know upon what terms they would condescend to permit their quiet march back to the coast. The Mahratta chiefs demanded that Ragoba should be delivered to them. With this demand Colonel Egerton and the commissioners complied, excusing the breach of honour and hospitality by alleging, what was probably true enough, that Ragoba, despairing of success, had opened a correspondence with the enemy. When the Mahratta chiefs had got Ragoba into their hands, they asked another price for permitting the retreat, and this was nothing less than a new treaty, by which the English should agree to give up all the acquisitions they had made in that part of India since the year 1756, and send orders to Colonel Goddard to return peaceably to Bengal. Egerton and the commissioners did as they were commanded, and signed a treaty to this

effect. The Mahratta chiefs then asked for hostages, intimating that they must be men of importance. The army recommended that the two commissioners should be delivered over to them; but it was finally arranged that two other civilians should be sent to the Mahratta camp. The dishonoured army was then told it might pursue its march to Bombay without fear of molestation. In the meanwhile Goddard had continued advancing upon Poonah, in the full confidence that he should meet Egerton and his army near that city. But when he reached Boorhanpoor, the ancient capital of Candeish, 980 miles from Calcutta by the route he had taken, Goddard too was brought to a halt by perplexing letters and advices. By one letter from the field-commissioners, written in compliance with their treaty, he was told that he must retrace his steps; by another from the same field-commissioners he was told that he must pay no attention to what they had said; but these lack-brains gave him no account or intelligible hint of what had befallen their Bombay army. In this state of doubt Goddard remained at Boorhanpoor till the 5th of February, when he learned the real state of affairs. Luckily he was no Egerton, and had no field-commissioners with him. He would not be bound by a treaty made by fools and cowards, who had no right to include him in their disgrace; and he bravely determined to continue his march to the western coast, avoiding Poonah, where the game for the present was lost; and making direct for Surat, where he would be in an English settlement, with the sea open to Bombay, and ready to act as occasion, or his orders from Calcutta, might require, Goddard and his sepoy performed the 250 miles' march in nineteen days, and entered Surat amidst acclamations. They had achieved a triumph more valuable than any victory; they had left a moral impression which could not be soon effaced, and which was scarcely overrated by Hastings. "Be assured," wrote the governor-general to one of the directors, "that the successful and steady progress of a part, and that known to be but a small part of the military force of Bengal from the Jumna to Surat, has contributed more than perhaps our most splendid achievements to augment our military reputation, and to confirm the ascendant of our influence over all the powers of Hindoostan. To them, as to ourselves, the attempt appeared astonishing and impracticable, because it had never before been made or suggested. It has shown what the British are capable of effecting."² Ragoba, escaping from his confinement at Poonah, took refuge in Surat. Goddard took the field again at the beginning of January, 1780. In a few days he reduced the fortress of Dubhoy, and carried by storm the im-

¹ Hastings' letter to Sullivan.

² Letter to Sullivan, as given by Mr. Gleig.

portant city of Ahmedabad, the ancient capital of Gujerat. He was recalled in the direction of Surat by intelligence that a Mahratta army under the two great chiefs or princes, Scindia and Holkar, was approaching that city. On the 8th of March his rapid advance had brought him nearly up with this army. It was 40,000 strong, but he resolved to give battle. By the more nimble movements of their cavalry, Scindia and Holkar were for many days enabled to avoid an attack; but on the 3d of April, between night and morning, Goddard, with a small but select part of his army, surprised them in their camp, and gave them a thorough defeat. Flying in the greatest confusion to the Ghauts, the Mahrattas left Goddard undisputed master of all the country between the mountains and the sea.

In the meantime, Hastings had formed an alliance with a Hindoo prince commonly called the Ranna of Gohud, who possessed an extensive hilly country on the Jumna, between the territories of the great Mahratta Scindia and the kingdom of Oude; and Captain Popham with a small force had been detached to assist the ranna in expelling a Mahratta invasion. Popham had taken the field at the beginning of the year, and had not only driven out the Mahrattas from the dominions of the ranna, but had crossed the Sind, had followed them into their own territory, and had taken by storm the fortress of Lahar, the capital of Cutchwagar. Hastings recommended the immediate reinforcing of Popham as an officer capable of shaking the power of Scindia and Holkar in the heart of their own country. Francis protested against any extension of the war, but it was resolved to send another detachment. Before it had time to arrive, Popham, with extraordinary skill and daring, took by escalade the fortress of Gwalior, one of the very strongest and most important places in all India, built upon a lofty and almost perpendicular rock, and then defended by a numerous garrison. It had long been deemed impregnable by the natives: it was only about 190 miles from Delhi and not more than fifty from Agra, which was then Scindia's capital. The Mahrattas abandoned all the neighbouring country, and carried their feelings of terror and dismay into Agra.

The opposition to this brilliant campaign of Popham was about the last public act in India of Francis. A hollow reconciliation had been effected between the governor-general and this member of the supreme council, Francis agreeing to cease or moderate his opposition, and Hastings

agreeing to allow Francis a larger share in the distribution of places of honour and profit. But the temper of one of these contracting parties was uncontrollable, and so were the suspicions and antipathies of the other. If Hastings on



THE FORTRESS OF GWALIOR, from the N.W.—Hodge's Views in India.

vital occasions could suspend his resentments, he was not of a forgiving temper; and Francis had offered him insults difficult to be forgiven by any man, unless on a death-bed. He attributed the far greater part of the agony of mind he had endured, and of the risks he had run, to the "incendiary impressions" of the ex-clerk of the War Office. "Francis," said he to a confidential correspondent, "is the vilest fetcher and carrier of tales to set friends, and even the most intimate friends, at variance, of any man I ever knew. Even the apparent levity of his ordinary behaviour is but a cloak to deception."¹ Under all these circumstances it was utterly impossible that the compact should be binding, or that the truce between the governor-general and his opponent should be lasting. Incensed at the renewal of opposition and the pains taken to thwart the campaign of Popham, Hastings, on the 14th of July (1780), in answering a minute of council, declared:—"I do not trust to Mr. Francis' promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." Upon this, Francis challenged the governor-general; and, not being veiled and defended by the impenetrable cloud that hung over Junius, he was shot through the body. The wound, though dangerous, did not prove mortal; but he resigned his place, and returned home a few months after receiving it.

Between Goddard and Popham the most bril-

¹ Letters to Sullivan.

liant successes had been obtained, and the Mah-ratta war promised a complete triumph, when the Mysoreans again took the field, threatening ruin to the English power and possessions on the Coromandel coast. For the space of seven years Hyder Ali had been concerting schemes with the French at Pondicherry, improving and increasing his army, and preparing the nerves of war by a financial system which has been much applauded, but which appears to have consisted mainly in extortion from his subjects, and plunder from his neighbours. The treasury of Mysore was certainly well filled, and all the weight which money could give was on the side of Hyder, when, in the summer of 1780, after prayers in all the mosques, and ceremonies in all the Hindoo temples, he quitted Seringapatam and poured through the Ghauts with 15,000 drilled infantry, 40,000 peons, 28,000 cavalry, 2000 artillery and rocket-men, and 400 Europeans, Frenchmen and other adventurers. There was a complete staff of French officers to direct operations according to the best rules. The artillery exceeded 100 pieces of all calibres. To meet these long preparations and this immense force, the presidency of Madras had an empty exchequer, a divided and factious council, an army not exceeding 6000 men, counting sepoys, who formed by far the largest part of it; and these troops, wholly unprepared, were scattered over a wide tract of country, in Pondicherry, which had been taken from the French, in Trichinopoly, in Arcot, in Madras, in cantonments far apart, and in forts incapable of resisting a battering train, or badly supplied with provisions and stores. As for the forces of their ally, the Nabob of the Carnatic, there was no reliance to be put on them: they ran away, or they deserted to Hyder, as soon as his army defiled through the Ghauts. Portonovo, on the coast, and Conjeveram, close to Madras, were captured and plundered; the people were flying in all directions from fire and sword towards the English presidency; and the flames kindled by Hyder were seen by night from the top of Mount St. Thomas. Blacks and whites gathered under the guns of Fort St. George, as the only place where they could be safe; and the neighbouring villas, the Black Town, and Madras itself were deserted by their panic-stricken inhabitants. Almost the first thing the presidency did was to despatch a fast-sailing ship to Calcutta, with letters and agents, to implore the governor-general to send them help, but above all money; and Hastings and the supreme council were told that if they sent money all would go well, but that without money everything must be lost, and a death-blow be given to the British empire in India.

To complete the embarrassments of the presi-

dency of Madras, the arrival of a French armament on the coast, to recover Pondicherry and co-operate with Hyder, was confidently reported. Colonel Baillie, with a lamentable deficiency of judgment, allowed himself to be surrounded, near Conjeveram, by the whole host of Hyder, with upwards of sixty cannon. But the bravery of his small body of men was even more conspicuous than his own folly. Though worn out by forced marches, and almost sinking with hunger, sepoys as well as British kept their ground with a spirit that has rarely been surpassed. But for the French staff around him, Hyder would have given up the contest and retreated. The English repelled charge after charge, and the fire of their platoons, as regular as the motions of a machine, inflicted terrible slaughter. But, at half-past seven in the evening, when the battle had lasted for many hours, and when Hyder's troops appeared to be commencing a retreat without orders, two tumbrils blew up, killed a number of men, overset their guns, and left the English almost without ammunition. Still they kept their ground, and they continued fighting on till nine o'clock, when all the sepoys that remained were broken and cut to pieces. The British that survived—less than 400 in number, and most of them wounded—gained the ridge of a hill and formed in square, the officers fighting with their swords, the men with their bayonets, or only now and then burning a cartridge. They resisted many attacks, and would have resisted more, if Colonel Baillie had not gone forward to ask for quarter, waving his handkerchief and ordering them to lay down their arms. It is said that Baillie committed a mistake in supposing that his signal was favourably answered; it is said that some of his men would not lay down their arms, and continued to use them; but the undisputed termination of the affair was a cowardly butchery of one-half of the English, and a horrible captivity to the rest. Of eighty-six officers thirty-six were killed and thirty-four wounded and mangled. A great part of the country was again laid waste; and, within a few weeks from Hyder Ali's first descent, Wandiwash, Chingleput, Vellore, and Arcot were either captured or closely besieged. But for Hastings, there was an end to our power not only in the Carnatic but also in the Northern Circars. He too had to contend with an empty treasury, and with a council that was still far from unanimous. Money, however, was procured, and fifteen lacs of rupees were sent off to Madras as a present supply for the army. More money was promised, and the governor-general's mis-sives and agents were sent flying through the country to procure it—at Moorsshedabad, at Patna, at Benares, at Lucknow, in every place where Hastings had a claim or could invent one

—for all considerations gave way in his mind to the paramount duty of preserving the British empire in the East. If he could have coined his body, and his soul too, into lacs of rupees, he would have done it at this tremendous crisis.

The inept governor of Fort St. George or Madras was recalled, and Sir Eyre Coote, who had



SIR EYRE COOTE.—From a print after H. Morland.

fought under Clive at Plassey, was invited to take the command of the fort and the entire management of the war with Hyder Ali. Peace was concluded with Scindia, and the brave Pop-ham was recalled from the Jumna. Hastings at every demur or hesitation of the council, offered, in the manner of Clive, to take all the responsibility upon himself. He strained every nerve, and sent troops from Calcutta to Madras both by land and sea. Colonel Pearse made a wonderful march of more than 1100 miles, and through a country intersected by many rivers, which were all to be crossed where broadest, or nearest their mouths. Hyder Ali abandoned Wandiwash, raised several of his sieges, and he would have fled altogether, or have entered into a treaty with Coote, but for the arrival of a French fleet on the coast. Again the governor-general was implored to send help, but above all *money*. Hyder now moved on the right flank of the English with the intention of keeping open his communications with the French; but he cautiously avoided a battle. The French ships, having landed supplies, sailed away. Sir Edward Hughes with an English squadron destroyed Hyder's infant navy in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore, and then carried some reinforcements to Coote. Tippoo, the son of Hyder, laid another fruitless siege to Wandiwash. Coote thoroughly defeated Hyder on the 1st of July in his fortified camp at Cuddalore, so that the old Mysorean raved and tore his clothes in rage and utter help-

lessness. He began to have a correcter notion of the spirit and resources of his enemy, and he bitterly regretted having allowed himself to be drawn into the war by French counsels. "The defeat of many Baillies," said he, "will not destroy these English. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea." He risked another battle on the 27th of August, and another on the 27th of September; he was defeated by Coote in both, and then retreated with terrible loss. In the meantime an able and a truly excellent man, Lord Macartney, had arrived from England as governor of Madras. His lordship brought intelligence that the Dutch had joined the French, Spaniards, and Americans, and that war had been declared between England and Holland, and his first care was to make himself master of all the Dutch factories or settlements on that coast. One of them—Negapatam—stood a siege, but soon surrendered. An expedition was then sent to drive the Dutch out of Trincomalee in the island of Ceylon; and this was completely successful.

Colonel Brathwaite, while in Tanjore, was surprised, enveloped, and destroyed on the 18th of February, 1782, by Tippoo and a French corps. This severe blow was almost immediately followed by the arrival on the coast of M. de Suffrein, with ships, and an army 3000 strong, two-thirds being veteran French troops, and the other third Caffres, picked up at the Isles of France and Bourbon. Sir E. Hughes with a very inferior force gave Suffrein battle, but could not succeed in interrupting his operations. On the 12th of April, Hughes fought another drawn battle, in which the number of killed and wounded on either side was about equal.

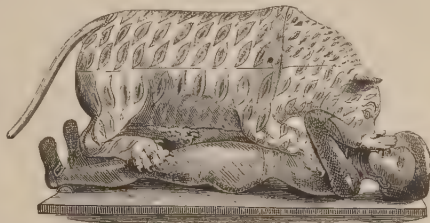
The 2000 French and the 1000 Caffres were under the command of M. Bussy, who, no more than Coote, was the man he had been twenty years before. They united with the army of Tippoo, and besieged and captured Cuddalore. From this important conquest Bussy and Tippoo advanced against Wandiwash; but Coote, though suffering from a recent and violent apoplectic attack, advanced rapidly to the relief of that place, and on the 24th of April, encamped on the very spot where he had defeated Lally and Bussy in the year 1760. Instead of accepting the battle he offered, Bussy and Tippoo retreated before Coote and his prestige. The English then threatened the strong fort of Arnee, where Hyder had deposited plunder and provisions. The old Mysorean advanced in person for the defence of this place, and fought a loose, irregular battle, in which he sustained great loss; but while he was thus facing Coote, his son Tippoo succeeded in carrying off the plunder and provisions from Arnee. After these operations Bussy retreated

towards Cuddalore and Pondicherry. Hyder put himself in quarters near the coast, and Tippoo and some strong French detachments hurried away to Calicut, where the affairs of his father seemed going to utter ruin, for the nairs or Hindoo chiefs of the Malabar coast, who had been cruelly oppressed by the Mysoreans, were rising in arms, and joining a British force under Colonel Mackenzie. At this juncture, when experience had shown him that even with the aid of his European allies he could not face the British, Hyder was thrown into dismay by learning the result of Hastings' successful policy, or the conclusion of the treaty between the British and the Mahrattas. He expected every moment to have the Mahratta confederacy upon him; and the Mahrattas alone had on a former occasion proved more than a match for him. His health, which had been declining for some time, was shaken by his anxieties and still increasing suspicions. He had long been haunted by visions of conspiracy and murder. He, however, permitted himself to be persuaded by Bussy that the war in the Carnatic was far from hopeless, and he prepared to co-operate with Bussy in an attack upon Negapatam.

On the 3d of July Suffrein and Hughes fought another drawn battle, in which both fleets were greatly damaged. Suffrein was the first to be ready for sea, and making for Ceylon, and dashing into Trincomalee Bay, he captured the town and the forts there, which Hughes had so recently taken from the Dutch. Hughes was soon after him; and on the 2d of September there was another fierce engagement, in which the French lost more than 1000 killed and wounded, and the British, two captains of ships killed, and about 330 men and officers in killed and wounded. Suffrein ran back to Trincomalee, and Hughes returned to Madras, where he found Sir Eyre Coote almost deprived of the use of his limbs by another attack of paralysis. The monsoon obliged Hughes to go round to Bombay. At the setting in of that stormy season a whole fleet of merchant ships loaded with rice for the garrison and the town of Madras, and for the army in the field, was wrecked. There had been a scarcity before, but now there was absolute famine. Thousands of the poor natives of the Carnatic, who had fled from Hyder to seek refuge under the guns of Fort St. George, were the first to feel these horrors; they died by hundreds, and they soon had fellow-sufferers.

Sir Eyre Coote, in a deplorable state of health, set sail for Calcutta soon after. The command devolved to General Stuart, who reinforced Negapatam, and sent 400 Europeans to co-operate with the Bombay army under Goddard, who was preparing to invade Mysore. Tippoo was gone

to the Malabar coast with an army of 20,000 men and a French corps 400 strong. Colonel Humberstone Mackenzie was pressing on Mysore from the south, and was not many marches from Seringapatam, when the return of Tippoo constrained him to retreat towards the coast. Mackenzie halted at Paniany, a seaport town about thirty-five miles from Calicut, and there resolved to defend himself against Tippoo and the French,



TIPPOO SULTAN'S TIGER ORGAN.¹—From the original in the Museum of the East India House.

who were close on his rear. A tremendous conflict took place on the 28th of November. The Mysorean sustained a great loss, and the victory of the British was chiefly owing to that pride of Highland regiments, the gallant 42d. At this juncture Hyder Ali died, and it behoved Tippoo to hasten to Seringapatam to look after his inheritance, for he had brothers and cousins. The "Tiger"—for such being translated, is the appropriate name of Tippoo—had reached the manly age of thirty years when he assumed the reins of government, with an army of 90,000 men, a treasury containing three crores of rupees in hard money (£3,350,000), and a mass of booty, jewels, and other valuables, estimated at an immense amount. With these resources, with the French alliance, and with a passion for war and aggrandizement, Tippoo scorned all overtures for a peace with the British—overtures which his wiser father would certainly have accepted, if he had lived a few months or a few weeks longer. He took the field at the beginning of 1783, but soon retreated before General Stuart. Tippoo recalled his garrisons from Arcot and other places, and was evidently evacuating the Carnatic, in order to make head against the British, who were carrying

¹ This ingenious piece of mechanism, which perhaps illustrates with tolerable accuracy the savage and barbarous spirit of some Indian princes as displayed even in their amusements, belonged to the celebrated Tippoo Sultan. It represents a tiger standing over a prostrate man, whose figure and dress are intended for a British officer. His screams, with the accompanying growls at intervals of the ferocious beast, are imitated by an internal apparatus resembling that of an organ, and acted on by the turning of a handle on the outside, which is ingeniously made to appear as one of the black stripes of the animal's skin. The man's arm is likewise raised by the action of the machinery in a supplicating attitude immediately before he utters the cry. Such a contrivance for royal amusement may remind the reader of the bull of Phalaris.

everything before them on the Malabar coast, under the command of General Mathews, who had arrived from England with king's troops. Onore was taken by storm, and the rich capital of Bednore surrendered to Mathews without firing a gun. Most of the other forts surrendered at or before a summons; but Ananpore and Mangalore held out. Ananpore was soon carried by storm, and Mangalore surrendered as soon as a breach was made. Through the covetousness of General Mathews, who wanted to keep nearly all the booty to himself, quarrels broke out, and some of the best officers left the army in disgust. Mathews then acted like a madman, scattering his army all over the country, and fixing his head-quarters in the city of Bednore, without laying in ammunition, or doing anything to strengthen the forts. In this state of stupid security he was surrounded by Tippoo with an immense army, and on the 30th of April he was compelled to capitulate. Instead of permitting the general and his troops to withdraw to the coast, according to the terms of the capitulation, Tippoo bound them with chains or ropes, and sent them into Mysore to be thrown into horrible dungeons, excusing his conduct by accusing Mathews of purloining some of the public treasure which he had agreed to leave in the fort.¹ But this mode of treating prisoners was all along a fixed rule of conduct both with Hyder and his son. After this success Tippoo went through the Ghauts and laid siege to Mangalore, into which the brave 42d and some fragments of Mathews' army had thrown themselves. There the Mysorean was detained for months.

Sir Eyre Coote had returned to the coast to resume the chief command in the Carnatic, but a third fit had proved fatal to him. The French had formed strong lines at Cuddalore, and from these General Stuart was determined to drive them. On the 13th of June a very unfortunate assault was made by the English. On the next day Sir Edward Hughes appeared in the offing to co-operate with Stuart; but the French Admiral Suffrein appeared at the same time, and succeeded in getting between Hughes and Cuddalore. After many manœuvres another sea-battle was fought on the 20th of June. As it grew dark these two old antagonists separated, each with a good number of killed and wounded on his decks, but without either capturing a single ship; and thus indecisively ended the fifth and last engagement between Sir Edward Hughes

and M. de Suffrein. A few days after this, when General Stuart was just ready for another desperate assault on the lines of Cuddalore, news arrived that a treaty of peace had been concluded between France and Britain. Tippoo, who resolved to continue the war even without French assistance, remained with his whole army at Mangalore. Nor were military operations suspended by the British. Colonel Fullarton, an excellent officer, and, in his way, a man of genius, had made, and was still making wonderful progress in the country beyond Tanjore; he had gained the attachment of the Zamorin or ancient Hindoo sovereign of Calicut, and of nearly all the rajahs on the Malabar coast, whom Hyder had dispossessed and most barbarously treated; he had captured many forts and towns; he had made the most astonishing marches through the most difficult of countries; and he had opened to himself a new and direct road to Seringapatam, which was not then the strong place it became at a later date, where his prestige was destroyed by an order to return instantly to the Carnatic.

Colonel Campbell, who had behaved like a hero, and who had sustained a siege and blockade of nine months, agreed, on the 23d of January, 1784, to quit Mangalore upon honourable conditions. Tippoo had lost before those rotten walls, by war, sickness, and desertion, nearly one-half of his immense army; but he considered the place as a charm, on the possession of which the fortunes of his house depended; and he was made so happy by entering into it, that for once he kept his engagements, and allowed Campbell, with his troops and baggage, sick and wounded, to march unmolested to Tellicherry. At that place Campbell died soon after, worn out by the fatigues and sufferings he had undergone. General Mathews, a very different man, who had capitulated at Bednore, was deliberately murdered in prison, together with several of his officers. Campbell would not have capitulated even when he did, but for the knowledge that both the British government and the Company were determined to make peace with the Mysorean ruler, and to give him back not only Mangalore but also every place on the Malabar coast which had been taken from him. Another campaign would have finished the story of Tippoo Sulthan. It was, however, that tyrant's fate that he should be left to scourge his kind, and to renew his contest with the British when he should be again encouraged by the French. The treaty with him was finally concluded on the 11th of March, upon the condition of a restitution by both parties of all they had gained in the war. Peace may be so made as to be more unjust and cruel than the worst wars. By this treaty the poor Malabar Hindoos, whom we had excited to insurrection, and to whom we had promised pro-

¹ Mathews had certainly gained a bad character for rapacity and selfishness; but Tippoo's accusation was probably not more true than the charge brought against him by his own army, which made the plunder he had secured amount to more than £800,000 in money, besides jewels! Bednore had once been a very wealthy city, but it had been visited too often by Hyder to be very rich now.

tection against Tippoo, were by us restored to the dominion of that vindictive and ferocious prince. The tales told by the English prisoners of war, whom he now liberated, excited horror and indignation in our army, and by themselves alone rendered the duration of any peace with him very problematical.

Compared with the danger and despondency at the beginning of the war, or with the result of the national contests in other parts of the globe, this was a most advantageous peace for England. The real danger in the Carnatic was over so soon as Sir Eyre Coote gained the battle of Porto-novo. The French power in India had been destroyed; vast acquisitions of territory had been made; and the impression had been produced among nearly all the native princes that the power of Britain was irresistible. The extent of these operations was magnificent and astounding—it embraced the two sides of the vast triangle of India, from the mouths of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and from Cape Comorin to Bombay and Surat and the Gulf of Cambay; and inland it nearly traversed the base of the triangle. India was saved when our empire in the West was lost. No Briton, we presume, can even now reflect without a shudder upon the effect which would have been produced in Europe if the loss of our Indian empire had been added to the loss of the thirteen provinces of North America—and that this had not happened had been owing to the genius and spirit of one great man. But the expenses of this Indian war had been tremendous; and, as the far greater part of the money could come only from Bengal, Warren Hastings had, in some few instances, put no trifling burden upon his conscience to procure it. His only principle of action was that the Carnatic must be rescued, that India must be saved, cost what it might; and, as the first step to that salvation was the obtaining of money, he determined that money should be obtained by whatever means lay in his power. Some of the neighbouring princes that owed their political existence to the power of British arms, and that were entirely dependent upon the government of Calcutta, were known to possess hidden treasures of vast amount. The plan was to squeeze them; for, although they owed everything to the English, and their destruction must be involved in that of the Company, they would not willingly part with their money even when they saw themselves threatened with that destruction. Oude and Benares, though

nominally independent states, were to all intents and purposes conquered and tributary countries, and they would not have hesitated to have so acknowledged themselves. Even Sujah Dowlah, who “wanted neither pride nor understanding,” would have thought it an honour to be called the vizier of the King of Britain, and had actually offered to coin his money in the name and with the effigies of George III.¹ If the offer of sovereignty had been accepted—if the Company or nation had frankly proclaimed themselves, what they were *de facto*, the lords and rulers of Oude and Benares—if when, by arms or by policy, the English obtained dominion over principalities and powers, they had assumed their proper style and title, instead of calling themselves protectors, allies, auxiliaries, and the like, with a false moderation of language which deceived no one, either in Europe or in Asia—Lord Clive, as well as Warren Hastings, would have been relieved from many a false position; and actions not warranted by their *nominal* relations with the native princes would have been reconcilable to the law of nations.

In one of his financial operations Hastings had exposed his life. After submitting to the pressure several times, Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares, refused to furnish any more money. The governor-general went from Calcutta to Benares, and there, on the 15th of August, 1781, he put the vassal rajah under arrest. This provoked a popular insurrection, and the massacre of four companies of sepoy with all their British officers. Hastings fled to the fortress of Chunar, built on a rock, about seventeen miles from Benares. On



FORTRESS OF CHUNAR, on the Ganges.—From a drawing by Capt. R. Smith, 44th Regt.

the 29th of August the liberated Cheyte Sing surrounded the rock with 30,000 men, but he was defeated, and his forces were scattered by the faithful sepoys who had marched hastily up the country to rescue their much-loved governor-general. The rebellious rajah fled into Bundel-

¹ Letter from Hastings to Mr. Elliot.

cund, where he passed the rest of his life in exile and poverty. Hastings took the entire management and jurisdiction of the city and country into his own hands; but as a puppet rajah was considered indispensable at Benares, he selected a nephew of Cheyte Sing to fill that part.

By this revolution an addition of about £200,000 per annum was made to the revenues of the Company; but ready money there was none, and this must be procured somewhere. The governor-general therefore determined to apply the screw to Asoff-ul-Dowlah, Nabob of Oude and master of Rohilcund, and one of the most extravagant, debauched, and contemptible of Indian princes. On the rock of Chunar, to which he was summoned, the nabob undertook to extort money from the two begums, his mother and grandmother, who had hoarded an enormous treasure, to which their original right was very disputable, and who had concealed it in the oriental manner. Mr. Middleton, the British resident at Lucknow, and the people of the nabob got at this hidden treasure, and in so doing committed several acts of great oppression and cruelty. In all, about £1,000,000 sterling was obtained in Oude. This money, procured at a most critical moment, had all gone to feed the war—Hastings had not appropriated a rupee of it.

Francis had returned to Europe, with the wound inflicted by Hastings' pistol fresh on his body, and with the bitterest feelings of animosity rankling in his heart. He was one of the most ambitious as well as the most vindictive of men—he aspired to the post which Hastings filled; and almost to the last day of his life he flattered his imagination with the brilliant dream that, by some strange combination, he should be Governor-general of India. He had made the acquaintance of Burke before he went to the East; he corresponded with him during his residence at Calcutta; and on his return he had full possession of his ear, and filled Burke's generous and excitable mind with false and horrible tales against Hastings, and against all who had supported that governor-general in his struggle with Francis, Clavering, and Monson. From the moment of Francis' arrival in England, by means of pamphlets, books of travels, harangues at public meetings, private discussions, and parliamentary orations, a merciless war was commenced against the great man who was saving, and who in the end did both save and enlarge our Indian empire. It was soon resolved to impeach Hastings for the means he had employed to effect the great object. If India had been lost—as it must have been but for the means he had employed—he would have been impeached for losing it.

Mr. Pitt's government, though long averse to the impeachment, did not give the governor-gene-

ral all the protection which he merited. Hastings, however, was not recalled, he resigned. The two last years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity and prosperity which had not been known for many ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. In the supreme council all opposition had ceased or become of the mildest kind; and the records and protests which Francis, Clavering, and Monson had left behind them were read with astonishment and indignation, and with the intimate conviction that if their schemes had been followed, India would have been lost like America. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the Company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as Europeans. During his voyage, which was unusually short for those times, he amused himself with reading, and with writing verses; and in the course of the last novel occupation, he translated that well-known ode, wherein the Roman poet expresses his philosophic indifference to wealth and worldly grandeur, and his love of a humble retirement, with an ease not to be purchased by jewels nor by gold.¹ And of gold Hastings had comparatively but little. It has been calculated that he might with ease to himself have brought home from £2,000,000 to £3,000,000 sterling: what he brought was less than £130,000, was less than the fortunes which had been made by Barwell and other members of the council—far less than what the patriotic Francis had made in six years; and Hastings, who had been thirteen years a governor-general, had been altogether more than thirty years in India.

He was most favourably received at court; but his enemies did not leave him long tranquil. Francis had obtained a seat in parliament, ranging himself on the side of the most active and the most eloquent opposition party that the country had yet seen; and through Francis and his too credulous ally, Burke, the prosecution of Hastings was made a party question. It took some time and trouble to convert Charles Fox, but at last that statesman entered into the crusade against the governor-general with his constitutional heat and impetuosity. Sheridan, Sir Gil-

¹ "Otium Divos rogat."—Horace.

bert Elliot, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Windham, Mr., afterwards Earl Grey, and all the great Whig orators either preceded or followed Fox; and for many years their efforts were united to effect the ruin and disgrace of Warren Hastings, who was no orator, who had no seat in parliament, and who had to contend with nearly every possible disadvantage. The mere outlines of the proceedings would fill a volume—they lasted altogether more than ten years; and without details still more voluminous, an adequate notion could not be conveyed of this unprecedented persecution. We can here do no more than give the results.

On the 4th of April, Burke charged Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor-general of Bengal, &c., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles; and on the 6th of May, another charge, being the *twenty-second*, was added to the long and bewildering list. But the several accusations were finally confined to four heads:—The oppression and final expulsion of the Rajah of Benares; the maltreatment and robbery of the begums (or princesses) of the house of Oude; and the charges of receiving presents and conniving at unfair contracts and extravagant expenditure. The sessions of 1786-7 having been consumed in preliminary proceedings, the House of Lords assembled in Westminster Hall, February 13th, 1788, to try the impeachment; and on the 15th the preliminary forms having been gone through, Mr. Burke, in the name of the Commons of England, opened the charges against the prisoner in a comprehensive, elaborate, and most eloquent speech, which lasted upwards of three days. He was assisted in the management of this most arduous cause by Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and others. The sessions of 1788, 1789, and 1790 were consumed in going through the case for the prosecution. In 1791 the commons expressed their willingness to

abandon some part of the charges; with the view of bringing this extraordinary trial sooner to an end; and on the 2d of June, the seventy-third day, Mr. Hastings began his defence. This was protracted until April 17, 1795, on which (the 148th) day he was acquitted by a large majority on every separate article charged against him.¹

The opposition party, who at that time almost monopolized the public press, had deeply blackened the character of the benefactor of his country and the *people* of India; yet public opinion changed greatly during the long trial, and Hastings came to be regarded as an oppressed, instead of an offending man. The malice of Francis was so far defeated; but the law charges of the defence had exhausted the very moderate fortune of the late governor-general; and but for an annuity of £4000, and a loan of ready money granted to him by the East India Company, in 1796, the illustrious and (in private life) amiable Hastings might have been left to end his days in a prison or a poorhouse.

Strenuous and unscrupulous efforts were made by the parliamentary opposition to couple Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief-justice of Bengal, with the first governor-general. Philip Francis, who was the prompter in all these proceedings—who was accuser, witness, and in a manner judge—hated the chief-justice as much as he hated Hastings. It had been part of Sir Elijah's duty to sentence Francis to pay heavy damages for a *crim. con.* case at Calcutta; and the chief-justice, together with the three other judges of the supreme court, upholding the laws and the regulating act, had repeatedly declared themselves against the high proceedings of Francis, Clavering, and Monson, when, as a majority of the supreme council, they endeavoured to deprive the governor-general of his authority. Impey, in other matters, had frequently disagreed with his friend and school-fellow Hastings. At times there was a complete alienation between them, the chief-justice manfully defending the powers

¹ "It is admitted, even by those who condemned part of his conduct, that Mr. Hastings, during a time of unexampled public embarrassment, and at a moment when he had to contend against those from whom he should have derived support, showed all the active energy of a great statesman, and by his spirited and extraordinary exertions saved the interests of his country in India from that ruin with which they were threatened, and in which they undoubtedly would have been involved had a man of less resolution, fortitude, and genius held the reins of government. This is his praise, and no man could wish higher; but the most strenuous advocates of this distinguished person, while they defend his personal integrity, are forced to acknowledge that the whole system of the government over which he presided was corrupt and full of abuses. The control, or rather the right of superintendence, given by the act of 1774 to his majesty's ministers, had tended more to increase than diminish the radical defects of the system. The ministers were vested with a right of interference, but had little if any responsibility with respect to the conduct of the Indian government. Their favour and aid were indispensable to the governor-general;

and to secure its continuance it became necessary, that in addition to the friends of the directors of the Company, those of the ministers of the crown should be served. Thus the exercise of his patronage in India became the chief, if not the only means through which the governor-general could expect support in England; and the canvassing nature of the constitution of that country made it unlikely that any minister would cast away such a source of strength as a share in the rich appointments of the East. Consequently this system, corrupt and inefficient as it was, might have long continued had not an unwearied spirit of investigation dragged the voluminous records of the Company into light with the view of criminating their principal agents. The first or secret committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. Dundas was president, commenced the attack; and its reports were soon followed by those of the select committee, which, acting under the direction and guidance of Mr. Burke, one of the wisest men and greatest orators England ever boasted, disseminated among all classes a general knowledge of the affairs of the Company."—Sir John Malcolm, *Sketch of the Political History of British India*, p. 39.

with which his sovereign and the regulating act and charter had invested him. But Francis chose to represent Impey as the slave and tool of Hastings, and to accuse him of having unjustly put to death the Rajah Nuncomar, in order to screen the governor-general from the accusations of that discredited and infamous Hindoo. The rajah was tried for forgery, a capital crime by the existing laws of Calcutta; he was tried by a most respectable jury, before all the four judges; and as there was no appeal made, and no petition for mercy submitted to the court, the rajah was hanged, as any other man would have been under the same circumstances. A petition was sent by the rajah to General Clavering; but the general never produced it until several days after the execution; and then the majority in council—Francis, Clavering, and Monson—ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, as it contained a shameful libel against the judges. Sir Elijah Impey had had much less to do with this trial than any of the judges; he had treated the criminal with the greatest indulgence, and if he had pronounced the sentence upon him, it was only as president and organ of the bench. Yet, prompted by Francis, and acting in concert with Burke, Fox, and the rest of the opposition leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, denounced Sir Elijah, in the House of Commons, as the single sole murderer of the Rajah Nuncomar, and moved his impeachment upon that and upon five other charges. On the 4th of February, 1788, a petition was presented from Sir Elijah, praying to be heard in answer to the charges, before the house proceeded any farther. As a matter of common justice, permission was granted; and, on the 8th, the late chief-justice delivered at the bar of the house a convincing and most triumphant reply to the horrible Nuncomar charge, compared with which the other five charges were insignificant. On the 9th of May, Sir Elijah was acquitted of the Nun-

comar charge by a parliamentary majority, and this put an end to all proceedings against him. Although in the course of Hastings' long trial the impeachment-managers frequently reflected upon the late chief-justice, they never attempted to go into any more of Sir Gilbert Elliot's charges. However much defamed by faction—whose inventions and calumnies have even recently been repeated as historical truths—Impey retained the friendship of many of the honestest, best, and most enlightened men of that day. He was requested by the king to return to his important post; but he had suffered too much in India, in health of body and tranquillity of mind; and he passed the rest of his days in England, on a very limited fortune, but in a happy and honoured retirement. We have had access to documents and materials which other writers have not sought for or have purposely kept out of view; we have devoted much time and labour to the inquiry; and we can now confidently affirm that Sir Elijah Impey was an honest, impartial, merciful, and fearless judge, and in private life one of the most amiable and exemplary of men.¹

Next to the American war, which we have related, and the war of the French revolution, to which we are now fast approaching, the events in the East Indies form by far the most important part of the history of George III. We now quit them and return to the course of events in England, and neighbouring states in Europe.

¹ For the most convincing proofs, we refer the reader to an interesting volume, published in 1846, entitled, *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., First Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal; with Anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and other Contemporaries, compiled from authentic documents, &c., &c.* By Elijah Barwell Impey. Before its appearance, we carefully examined all the documents which form the substance of this volume, and can pledge our faith for the correctness with which they are printed from the original papers existing in the East India House, the privy council, and in family collections of manuscripts.



ARMS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, cir. 1600-50.
From Minute Books of the Company.

CHAPTER XXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1786—1789.

GEORGE III.

Attempt of a female maniac to assassinate George III.—Account of her character and proceeding—Offensive conduct of the Whigs towards the king—Death of Frederick the Great—Fruitless attempt of England and Prussia to reinstate the Prince of Orange—Failure of France in the same object—Meeting of parliament—Debate between Fox and Pitt upon the treaty with France on commerce and navigation—Speeches of the parliamentary leaders on the treaty—Discussion upon the debts of the Prince of Wales, and his alleged marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert—The marriage denied and the debts paid—Troubles of Holland—Journey of the Princess of Orange to the Hague—Her rough treatment on the journey by the revolutionists—Her compelled return to Nimeguen—Indignation of her brother the King of Prussia—His demands for satisfaction—The Prince of Orange and the Prussian army advance upon Utrecht—The Orangeists apply for aid to England and the Dutch democrats to France—Violent proceedings of the Dutch democrats—Advance of the Prussians into Holland—They threaten the bombardment of Amsterdam—The democrats submit and the Prince of Orange is reinstated—The Austrian Netherlands offended at the violent reforms of the emperor, Joseph II.—Changes imposed by him on the schools and colleges of the Netherlands—Their revolt in consequence of the changes and impositions—Unprovided condition of the emperor to suppress the revolt—His indignant remonstrances and threats—He gratifies the Netherlands by concessions—The uproar commences afresh in Brussels—It is appeased by the governor, Count Murray—The Emperor Joseph confirms the “Joyous Entry” of Charles V.—Debate on the Netherlands revolt in the British parliament—Movements and petitions against the slave trade—The subject brought before parliament by Mr. Pitt—Declarations of the leading members against the slave trade—Restrictive measures upon it decreed—Petition from Liverpool against the abolition of the slave trade—George III. attacked by his mental malady—Manœuvres of the Chancellor Thurlow on the occasion—Parliament adjourned—It reassembles—Deliberation about the government during the king’s illness—Committee appointed to examine the king’s physicians—Proposal of Fox that the Prince of Wales, as heir apparent, should be invested with full regency—Pitt’s reply—The Whig party insists on the prince’s right—Debate on the question—Earnestness of Fox on the claim—He is ably seconded by the Whig party—The limited regency bill of Pitt carried—Symptoms of the king’s recovery—His full recovery announced—Enthusiastic loyalty of the period—Proceedings in parliament on the slave-trade question.



GEORGE III., who had made up for the neglected education of his youth by quiet study, and by an unvarying attention to business, was now exceedingly popular with the great body of the nation. On the 2d of

August, as his majesty was alighting at the garden door leading from the park into St. James’s Palace, a female, who had placed herself by the door, presented a petition, and, as he was in the act of receiving it, struck at him with a knife which she had previously kept concealed. She aimed at the heart, but the blade being weak in the middle from frequent grinding, doubled or bent, and the king stepped back without receiving the slightest wound. Before the maniac could repeat the stroke one of the king’s yeoman of the guard caught her arm, and one of the king’s footmen wrenched the knife from her hand. The king’s nerves were not easily shaken: he said—“I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her.” On being examined before the privy council it appeared that her name was Margaret Nicholson, that she came from Stockton-upon-Tees, that she was a common needle-work woman and very mad, having taken it into her head that the crown of England was by right

hers, and that England would be drowned in blood for a thousand generations if she did not get her right. After undergoing another examination by Doctor John and Doctor Thomas Munro and the lords of the privy council, who were unanimously of opinion that she had been and was insane, the poor creature was conveyed to Bedlam, where she lived for many years. In the meantime the king, who had come up to town for the purpose of holding a levee, had dressed himself and taken his station as if nothing had happened. It was scarcely a subject for jesting; for, though the woman was mad, if she had used a stronger knife there would have been blood and very possibly death; yet the wits of the opposition party took up even this business as a matter of joke and burlesque. They ridiculed the notion of a sempstress regicide, as if a sempstress could not kill a king; they maintained that there had not been the slightest danger from the attempt; and that the addresses and congratulations from loyal counties, boroughs, universities, and bodies corporate—some of them, no doubt, exaggerated and silly enough as compositions—were all hollow farce and nonsense. It was the king’s pleasure to confer the honour of knighthood on some of the bearers of these addresses,

who, in several instances, had come from the furthestmost parts of the kingdom to present them. The Whig wits immediately christened them all the "Knights of St. Margaret." It is said that George III. could laugh at these jests at his own expense; but many of them, hurtful to all kingly pride and state, must have rankled in his mind; and we can very well believe that the Whig party was injured by these bitter jokes, and by their own violence in parliament, and that Pitt's newly formed administration really profited by these mistakes of their rivals.

But another step taken long before this made the breach broader and more irreparable; the Whigs had rallied round the Prince of Wales, and two of their principal leaders and ornaments, Fox and Sheridan, continued to be the chosen boon companions of the heir apparent, whom—or so, at least, thought the king and queen—they encouraged not less in his extravagance and dissipation than in his political opposition to his father and Mr. Pitt.

On the 17th of August of the present year (1786) Frederick the Great of Prussia expired in the seventy-fifth year of his age, self-possessed and cynical to the last gasp. He was succeeded by his nephew Frederick William, who determined to interfere immediately in favour of the expelled Prince of Orange, who was married to his own sister, a woman generally supposed to have a more manly spirit than her husband. By the democratic party, who were represented, according to men's opposite principles or prejudices, as enlightened patriots or as a stupid and selfish faction, the house of Orange had been in effect deprived of the stadtholdership and driven into a kind of exile at Middleburg. At first his new majesty of Prussia was willing to try the effects of diplomacy and peaceful negotiation, and, jointly with the King of Great Britain, he offered himself as a mediator between the Orangeists and the democratic party. But this offer of mediation was rejected by the democrats upon the ground of partiality, George III. being considered to be as friendly to the house of Orange and quite as adverse to the popular party as Frederick William himself. His Prussian majesty then proposed joining in the mediation the King of France, who had all along sustained the democratic party. The court of Versailles embraced the idea, but proposed that the King of England should be left out, and that the mediation should be managed solely by France and Prussia. It was an insult to England, but Frederick William accepted this proposal. The animosities of the two contending parties were enough to defeat any attempt at a pacific arrangement. As soon as the negotiations began, M. de Rayneval, the French minister, and Baron Goertz,

the Prussian minister, acted as if they had met rather to make a war than to establish a peace; the Frenchman insisted that the Prince of Orange must surrender nearly all his privileges or prerogatives, or at least so much of them as would have left him with scarcely half the power of an American president; and the Prussian insisting that the Prince of Orange, as stadtholder, should have more power than he had hitherto possessed. It was surely ominous to the French monarchy that, lately in America and now again in Holland, it should be committed and pledged to the support of democratic principles, and that it should persevere in so dangerous an anomaly as that of an absolute and arbitrary government making itself the protectress and champion of thorough-going and enthusiastic republicans; and that too at a time when France was in a most discontented and fermenting condition.

The French minister was the first to break off the negotiations, which he did in an abrupt manner at the end of December, and set off for Paris. The Dutch democrats were too far gone in their madness to feel that the French assistance might be as dangerous to the independence of their country as any Prussian invasion. Their confidence in French virtue and disinterestedness, and their assurance of obtaining whatever aid they might require, were kept alive, not so much by the ministers and envoys of Louis XVI., as by a numerous swarm of political propagandists from Paris and other parts of France, who were studiously initiating themselves in Holland in the craft and mystery of revolution, which they were so soon to practise on an infinitely grander scale in their own country.

A.D. 1787. In Lord North's time parliament was generally assembled as early as the month of November; but the rule seems now to have been adopted, that it was not to meet until after the Christmas holidays. The house met on the 23d of January. The speech from the throne dwelt almost solely upon the treaty of navigation and commerce which had been concluded with the most Christian king. This treaty of commerce and navigation had been negotiated and finally signed at Versailles on the preceding 29th of September by Mr. Eden, who had abandoned his former political connections to become the supporter and friend of Mr. Pitt. Hence the Whig opposition were equally inveterate against the negotiator and the treaty. In the debate upon the address, Mr. Fox censured the recent arrangements, and sounded the old trumpet of war and national hatred. He declared that all the wars of Great Britain with her neighbour had been on her part wars of necessity; and that jealousy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to

lay aside, had been our safeguard and preservation. Pitt, as usual, replied to his great rival with his own mouth. His speech is memorable, as exhibiting so striking a contrast to the many speeches he delivered in after years when he was pressing for a war and general crusade against France, and when Fox was as earnestly recommending peace and good fellowship with the French republicans, who had by that time made France as powerful and dangerous as he chose to represent it now. Pitt denied the necessity or policy of a constant jealousy and animosity in regard to France, and reprobated the doctrine of our being ancient and natural foes that never could and never ought to agree. These doctrines, he contended, were opposed both by humanity and by common sense. A treaty like the present would, he said, make it the interest of each nation to cherish and preserve friendly connections, and would essentially tend to implicate and unite the views, conveniences, and interests of a large part of each kingdom, and so to insure the permanence of the present peace in Europe. If war was the greatest of evils, and commerce the greatest blessing that a country could enjoy, then it became the duty of those to whom public affairs were intrusted to endeavour, as much as possible, to render the one permanent and to remove the chances of the other. Subsequently, in alluding to the recent American war, he allowed that France had, at that moment of our distress, interfered in the hope of crushing us;—this was a truth over which he did not desire to throw even the slightest veil. Of that unhappy war—unhappy, yet scarcely inglorious—Pitt spoke with a lofty English feeling. “Oppressed as this nation was,” said he, “during the last war by the most formidable combination for its destruction, yet had France very little to boast of at the end of the contest that should induce her again to enter deliberately into hostilities against this country. In spite of our misfortunes, our resistance must be admired, and in our defeats we gave proof of our greatness and almost inexhaustible resources, which, perhaps, success would never show us:—

*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus,
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algidis,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animunque ferro.”*

Fox rose to answer the chancellor of the exchequer, to repeat his condemnation of the treaty, and to assert again that France ought to be considered not only as a rival, but as a nation with whom there ought never to be any political or commercial connection whatever. The sentiments he uttered may be considered as alien to his nature—as opinions dictated merely by his party position at the moment—yet they were uttered with every appearance of conviction and earnestness. He spoke of the restless ambition of France, and even of the character of Louis XVI., with the greatest bitterness. He too alluded to the American war, but, though his views had once been very different, it was only to heap angry coals of fire on the heads of the French—to accuse them of treachery and duplicity, to point out the mean way in which they had taken advantage of our difficulties, and to revive the national animosity on that account;—and he reaffirmed that no doubt could be left on the mind of any thinking man but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country.

Burke, though he knew more of the science of political economy than any man then in parliament, took a prominent part against the treaty. It was, as usual, turned into a party question, and was opposed by all who were habitually in opposition to Pitt's government. Numerous petitions were got up against the treaty among our merchants and manufacturers. It is certain, however, that, as at later periods, the English had not a monopoly of all the anti-free trade notions; the French were raising a terrible clamour that the treaty would ruin their trade and manufactures. The treaty was, however, sanctioned by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament; and an excellent beginning was made to that system of reciprocity which preceded the present popular system of free trade. After a lapse of more than seventy years, justice is now being rendered to Pitt's commercial treaty of 1786; and the arguments which he used in support of the measure are now daily repeated by all such as hope to maintain the peace of Europe, by promoting friendly commercial relations with France. It was not Mr. Pitt's fault that his grand scheme was so soon interrupted by the French revolution.¹

¹ The large views of Mr. Pitt, in opposing Fox on this occasion, indicate a new era, and anticipated the discussions of our own day. They prove how thoroughly he appreciated both the true interests of Britain and the mutual dependence of different countries on each other, as established by Divine Providence for uniting them by the bonds of friendly intercourse. The following extract shows what prejudices he had to overcome:—“Considering the treaty in its political view, he should not hesitate to contend against the too frequently advanced doctrine that France was, and must be the unalterable enemy of Britain. His mind revolted from this position as monstrous and impossible. To suppose that any nation could be unalterably the

enemy of another was weak and childish. It had no foundation either in the experience or in the history of man. It was a libel on the constitution of political societies, and supposed the existence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man. But these absurd tenets were taken up and propagated; nay, it was carried farther; it was said that by this treaty the British nation was about blindly to throw itself into the arms of this constant and uniform foe. Men reasoned as if this treaty was not only to extinguish all jealousy from our bosoms, but also completely to annihilate our means of defence; as if by treaty we gave up so much of our army, so much of our marine; as if our commerce was to be abridged, our navigation to be lessened, our colonies

Much time was occupied during this session of parliament by discussions on the Prince of Wales's debts and his alleged marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Whigs, who now considered the prince as one of their party, increased their unpopularity by the course they pursued in these matters. Sheridan, who was ready to do whatever the prince asked him, and to perform offices which no man of honour would undertake, greatly damaged a character which stood before in want of repair. In the end it was determined that there was, and could be no marriage between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert; £161,000 were paid out of the civil list to pay the prince's debts, and a further sum of £20,000 on account of the works at Carlton House. Philip Francis had a face of bronze, and an amount of cunning and impudence never surpassed; but during the session, while displaying his implacable hostility to Warren Hastings, he was covered with confusion, and would have fallen into contempt if he had not been supported by Burke and the whole phalanx of opposition. He was asked by what means he had acquired so great a fortune in so short a time; and it was proclaimed by men who were conversant with

all the facts, that his ambition and avarice were seeking their gratification as well as his revenge. On Wednesday, the 30th of May, the king prorogued parliament in person, with a gracious speech, that dwelt principally upon the unhappy dissensions which prevailed in the United Provinces, which, as a friend to the republic, he could not see without deep concern.

These Dutch troubles had indeed reached a terrible height, and insults had been offered, offensive to all the royalty of Europe. After the complete failure of the negotiations between Baron Goertz, the Prussian, and Rayneval, the French minister, and after the state of Holland had collected an army on its frontier, the senate of Amsterdam gave strong indications of favouring the cause of the Prince of Orange; and shortly after the States-general and the council of state for the Seven Provinces, a body of the highest dignity, being alarmed at a coalition on the part of the aristocrats with the burghers, declared openly in favour of the stadtholder. The Orangeists then threatened to reduce the city of Utrecht by force of arms; and the council of state for the Seven Provinces passed a resolution forbidding the marching of

to be cut off or to be rendered defenceless, and as if all the functions of the state were to be sunk in apathy. What ground was there for this train of reasoning? Did the treaty suppose that the interval of peace between the two countries would be so totally unemployed by us as to disable us from meeting France in the moment of war with our accustomed strength? Did it not much rather, by opening new sources of wealth, speak this language: that the interval of peace, as it would enrich the nation, would also prove the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hostility should come? It did more than this. By promoting habits of friendly intercourse and of mutual benefit, while it invigorated the resources of Britain, it made it less likely that she should have occasion to call forth those resources. It certainly had at least the happy tendency to make the two nations enter into more intimate communion with one another, to enter into the same views even of taste and manners; and while they were mutually benefited by the connection, and endeared to one another by the result of such common benefits, it gave a better chance for the preservation of harmony between them, while so far from weakening it strengthened their sinews for war."

France, indeed, has been slow to learn what Pitt trusted she would learn ere long, that it was better for her to have Britain for a friend than a foe. Alluding to the part she had taken in the American war, he says, "When France perceived that in that dreadful contest, when, with the enormous combination of power against us, it might truly be said that we were struggling for our existence, we not only saved our honour, but manifested the solid, and he might also be tempted to say, the inexhaustible resources of the land; reflecting that, though she had gained her object in dismembering our empire, she had done it at an expense which had sunk herself in extreme embarrassment; and reflecting, also, that such a combination of hostile power against us, without a single friend in Europe on our side, can never be imagined again to exist, may I not be allowed to cherish the plea, that seeing the durable and steady character of our strength, and the inefficacy as well as the ruin of hostility, France would eagerly wish to try the benefits of an amicable connection with us?" The advantages of a reciprocity treaty with France are exhibited with all the enthusiasm of a free-trade orator of our own times:—"It was a singular argument which he had heard, and which he saw was also propagated out of doors, that the

treaty would prove objectionable if it should be found that, though advantageous to ourselves, it would be equally so to them. It was ridiculous to suppose that the French would consent to yield advantages without an idea of return. The treaty would benefit them; but he did not hesitate to pronounce his firm opinion, even in the eyes of France and pending the business, that though advantageous to her, it would be more so to us. The proof of this was short and indubitable. She gained for her wines and other produce a great and opulent market; we did the same, and to a much greater degree. She procured a market of 8,000,000 of people, we a market of 24,000,000. France gained this market for her produce, which employed in preparation but few hands, gave little encouragement to her navigation, and produced but little to the state. We gained this market for our manufactures, which employed many hundreds of thousands, and which, in collecting the materials from every quarter of the world, advanced our maritime strength, and which, in all its combinations, and in every article and stage of its progress, contributed largely to the state. . . . It was in the nature and essence of an agreement between a manufacturing country and a country blessed with peculiar productions, that the advantages must terminate in favour of the former; but it was particularly disposed and fitted for both the connections. Thus France was, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, gifted perhaps more than any other country upon earth with what made life desirable, in point of soil, climate, and natural productions. It had the most fertile vineyards, and the richest harvests; the greatest luxuries of man were produced in it at little cost, and with moderate labour. Britain was not thus blessed by nature; but on the other hand it possessed, through the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, an energy in its enterprise and a stability in its exertions which had gradually raised her to a state of commercial grandeur; and not being so bountifully gifted by Heaven, it had recourse to labour and art, by which it had acquired the ability of supplying its neighbour with all the necessary (manufactured?) embellishments of life in exchange for her natural luxuries. Thus standing with regard to each other, a friendly connection seemed to be pointed out between them, instead of the state of unalterable enmity which was falsely said to be their true political feeling towards one another."—See *Pitt's Speeches*, vol. i. p. 237.

any troops from any of the other provinces without consent of the States-general or the council of state. At this critical moment, and while blood was shedding in skirmishes or paltry contests between the Orangeists and the democrats of Utrecht, the Princess of Orange set off for the Hague, accompanied only by Count Bentinck and a few attendants, with a view of negotiating with the leaders of parties there. The princess had advanced on her journey as far as Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, when her carriage was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, who were soon joined by a detachment of light horse, whose commander, the Prince of Hesse-Philipstal, had gone over to the stadtholder, like nearly all the officers of rank in the Seven Provinces. The light horse were now under the command of a rough burgher, the captain of the free corps. This man treated the princess with great rudeness, refused to let her continue her journey, and kept her stopped for some time upon a narrow road with a canal running on either side of it. At last that proud and irritated woman submitted to be conducted back to a small town, there to await the further will of those who governed the democratic party. She was shut up in the room of an inn, while one of the burgher guards, stationed at the outside of the door, swilled his beer and smoked his pipes remorselessly. After some hours, commissioners arrived from the head-quarters of the democrats. They behaved more like gentlemen, but they positively refused to permit the princess to continue her journey to the Hague, and recommended her, as the day was spent, and as accommodations were bad at the place she was in, to choose some neighbouring town where she might pass the night. She named Gouda as the nearest. They objected to that place, as they were not quite sure of its politics, and were rather apprehensive that the arrival of the princess as a prisoner might provoke an insurrection unfavourable to their cause. At last it was agreed that she should pass the night in the town of Schoonhoven; and thither she was conveyed, to all intents a prisoner. Upon her first detention the princess had despatched letters or messengers to her husband the stadtholder, and also to the grand pensionary, who still was in possession of some power, though over-ridden by the contending factions, who were all furious to a degree little short of madness, and who had all their clubs, combinations, and volunteers.

The princess, receiving no answers, after staying at Schoonhoven two nights and a day, set out, on the morning of the 30th, on her forced return to Nimeguen, being escorted part of the way by one of the commissioners and a troop of horse. On the road she met messengers from the

stadtholder, who had remained quietly at Nimeguen all the time, merely despatching a letter to the States-general to claim their interference for the liberation of the princess, as well as for satisfaction for the insult which had been offered. The States-general, who might be considered at the moment in a state of war with the democratic party, had not had the power to prevent the insult, nor had they now the power to give satisfaction for it, or avenge it. It was true that a large part of the army, and even of the forces drawn up in cordon on the frontiers of the state of Holland, had declared for the stadtholder, and would have obeyed any orders of the States-general; but, unassisted, they were hardly in a condition to redress the grievances of the Princess of Orange, who, boiling with indignation, applied to her brother, Frederick William. It is extremely doubtful whether, even without this last provocation, the new King of Prussia would not have interfered in the affairs of the United Provinces; but, on receiving the letters of the Princess of Orange, he set no bounds to his rage and indignation. His majesty, on the 10th of July, transmitted a strong memorial to the states of Holland. In sending off this memorial, Frederick William sent for the Duke of Brunswick, now the commander-in-chief of the army which had been organized and left by Frederick the Great—an army regarded, traditionally, with respect and awe by all the continent of Europe. The states of Holland, obeying the democratic impulse, and cherishing a confident hope that the French, who had led them on, would not abandon their cause, or ever permit the Prussians to overrun the Netherlands, passed a resolution justifying and approving the conduct of their commissioners in the arrest of the Princess of Orange. At the same time the States-general, who claimed and who had formerly been allowed a superior authority over Holland and all the rest of the Seven United Provinces, sent a very different paper to the King of Prussia, deploring what had happened, and stating that they had made repeated applications to the states of Holland upon this unfortunate affair; and that, since the states of Holland had disregarded these applications, they must be left to abide the consequences, without expecting favour or protection from the States-general. In the month of August Frederick William sent another memorial to “their noble and grand powers” the states of Holland and West Friesland, which was followed by a note from the Prussian ambassador at the Hague, specifying the degree of satisfaction the king required. The terms were very humiliating. The republican pride was deeply wounded; but pride was unsupported by strength; and, so far were the democratic party from being in a con-

dition to resist a great Prussian army, that they could scarcely keep down the Orangeists within their own towns and territories. And now events had happened which ought to have made them despair of French assistance. Still, however, they relied, if not on the court of Versailles, on a stirring part of the French nation, and they resolved to make a stand for their dignity; as the first step towards which, they issued their orders for laying the whole country under water the moment any Prussian troops should make their appearance on the frontiers of the republic. In the meantime the Duke of Brunswick held councils of war and collected troops on the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, which belongs to Prussia and borders the territories of the United Provinces: and the Prince of Orange succeeded in capturing the strongly fortified town of Wijk, in the province of Utrecht, a place in every way important, and situated within twenty-four miles of Amsterdam; as also in taking Harderwijk, a town of Gelderland, advantageously situated on the Zuider Sea; and the whole province of Zeeland declared almost unanimously in favour of the stadtholder, who advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht. While the democrats had been looking to France, the Orangeists had been again applying for the mediation or assistance of the King of England, who was himself not distantly related both to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and who had, during the American war, several strong reasons for regarding with hostility the party which had brought Holland into the confederacy against him. In the middle of August, Sir James Harris, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses the States-general, deploring the continuation of discord and troubles which threatened the most grievous consequences to all the provinces; mentioning how often his Britannic majesty had shown himself "a good friend and neighbour of the republic," and how often he had endeavoured to co-operate in re-establishing peace among them; and further mentioning that the states of Zeeland and Friesland had declared their disposition to ask the mediation of some neighbouring powers. This note signified very little, for their high mightinesses had an exceedingly small power, and having identified themselves with the Orangeists, they could scarcely look to any other issue than that of arms. The democrats applied to France more earnestly than ever, not for mediation, but for armies, or, at the very least, for an army to be stationed along the northern frontier of France to overawe the Prussians. But the French government, without money, without credit, agitated and absorbed by its own affairs—for the great revolution had, in fact, begun—

could do nothing. The Marshal de Segur, then minister of war, did indeed represent the danger and disgrace there would be in permitting the invasion of Holland, and the necessity there was for forming a camp at Givet; but the minister of finance shuffled off the decision in council from day to day, and could not find, in time, the necessary funds.¹ It is possible that the democrats of Holland, who had begun their contest three or four years too soon, were deceived by French promises; for, though they could hear of no armament or assembling of troops in French Flanders, and though they must have known that from 60,000 to 70,000 Prussians were in the duchy of Cleves, with 140,000 veteran troops behind them, they kept up a very high and insolent tone. The military hero of this party, whose views were as extreme as any that were shown four years later by the French republicans, was no less a personage than the Rhingrave of Salm, a younger brother of the reigning prince of that house, who had about him a considerable number of Frenchmen, some officers seeking employment not to be found under their own government, some enthusiastic republicans of honest zeal and gentlemanly character, and a great many more propagandists of a lower description—adventurers and desperadoes who might have boasted, in their own persons, a real *sansculottism*. The result was not the same, but some of these French had assisted in arresting and insulting the Princess of Orange, as if they were rehearsing for the sad drama that was afterwards played at Varennes. After denouncing the stadtholder, the democrats declared it to be a high crime and misdemeanour to wear the orange colours; and they openly hanged two men in the streets for this kind of treason against the sovereign people. These proceedings of Dutch democrats have been overlooked and swallowed up in the grander revolution and triumph of Jacobinism which followed so immediately after; but a close inspection would show how near a resemblance, in miniature, there was between the democracy of Holland and the democracy of France. At last, having obtained encouraging assurances from the English court, Frederick William gave his orders to march; and on the 13th of September the Duke of Brunswick quitted the duchy of Cleves and entered Gelderland with 30,000 men, divided into three columns.

On the 17th the duke bombarded the town of Gorkum, which held out the white flag almost immediately, and surrendered without the loss of a life on either side. The greater part of the inhabitants put on the orange ribands, and welcomed the duke as their deliverer from anarchy. Shortly after the surrender the duke's adjutant—

¹ Count Segur, *Memoir of Frederick William*.

general, at the head of seven Prussian hussars, brought in as prisoners a whole troop of Dutchmen who had been interrupted in their attempt to open the sluices in order to lay the country under water, and who had surrendered in a panic without firing a musket. As the Prussian columns intersected the country, and their detachments of light troops and cavalry showed themselves in all directions, their numbers were magnified by fear, and the Dutchmen were made to believe that the entire forces of the Prussian monarch were upon them; they fled from post to post, abandoning town after town, and not a few of them throwing away their arms and mounting the orange cockade. Some of the fugitives committed sad excesses in plundering and burning the houses of the Orangeists. Several villages were reduced to ashes, and the blame was laid on the Prussians. Each of the three columns advanced unopposed; Nieuport, Schoonhoven, Dort, Leyden, Haarlem, Rotterdam itself, surrendered without firing a gun; the Rhingrave of Salm, with his French staff and rabble army, fled from Utrecht to Amsterdam. The *débâcle* was universal. The waters upon which they had counted were low in most places, so that the country could not be flooded; and in most parts where the waters were higher, or the country lower, the sluice-breakers were prevented by the inhabitants or by the Prussians, who moved rapidly along the chief canals and ditches. The little army of the stadtholder, first collected at Amersford, had grown great by the junction of volunteers; the three Prussian columns were concentrating round Amsterdam, where not only the Dutch gentry, but a great part of the populace, were enthusiastic Orangeists; there was no sign of succour from France; the people at the Hague, assisted by some Swiss soldiers who had formerly composed the prince's state-guard, rose upon the republican volunteers, drove them out of the city or made them prisoners, and decorated the town, like a bride, with orange flowers and orange-coloured silks. It was clear that the game was up. On the 25th of September, less than a fortnight after the frontiers had been crossed, a deputation from Amsterdam repaired to the Duke of Brunswick's head-quarters to solicit an accommodation. The duke granted a short truce, and the business of negotiation was transferred to the Hague, where the Prince of Orange had been received in triumph and with every demonstration of joy several days before. On the 30th of September the truce expired, and, as the negotiators had come to no conclusion or agreement, the Duke of Brunswick recommenced hostilities by making an attack on Amstelveen, which commanded some of the approaches to Amsterdam, which was abundantly provided with artillery and artillerymen, mostly French,

which was strong by art, and still stronger from its situation in the midst of swamps and waters. But an English officer, serving as a volunteer under the Duke of Brunswick, crossing the Haarlem Meer in an open boat, examined the nature of the ground at the back of the fort and lying between it and Amsterdam, and established there a detachment, which he piloted in boats to the place. Nearly at the same moment in which this detachment established themselves in the rear of the fort, the Duke of Brunswick made an attack in front, advancing along a narrow dike with deep water on either side. Here there was some fighting, for the Frenchmen stood to their guns; but in the course of the night and the following morning the batteries were all taken, and Amstelveen was occupied by the Prussians, who had lost four officers and two or three hundred men. The prevailing authorities in Amsterdam now sent another deputation to the Duke of Brunswick, who was erecting batteries to bombard their city. The terms these deputies proposed were inadmissible. The duke sent back the deputies, seized the suburb of Overtoom, fixed his head-quarters there, and continued his preparations both for a storm and bombardment. The Amsterdamers despatched with all speed deputies to join a general deputation from the provinces, which had met in the meantime at the Hague, and there concluded a treaty with the Prince of Orange. The Amsterdam deputies acceded to the conditions proposed to them; and on the 10th of October the keys of the Leyden gate were surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick. The result of the whole sad turmoil was, that the stadtholder was reinstated in all his rights and prerogatives, and allowed to assume powers which had not before belonged to his office; and that the defeated party remained sullen, discontented, vindictive, and ripe for another insurrection whenever an opportunity should offer. This opportunity occurred sooner than might have been expected; and when the French republicans invaded the United Provinces their progress was as much favoured by the democrats as the advance of the Prussians had been helped by the Orangeists.

Although the French government, for the strong reasons already stated, had formed no camp at Givet, they took an early opportunity of remonstrating with the cabinets of Berlin and St. James's, and made a great parade about fitting out the Brest fleet. Pitt and Dundas got a good English fleet ready in earnest, and replied to the diplomatic notes in a very decided tone, intimating that England was not going to take any active part in the contest, and that France should not, unless she were prepared for a declaration of war.

While the Dutch were struggling to decide upon principles of government, their neighbours

in the Austrian Netherlands (the fine country now called Belgium) were engaged in insurrections against their emperor about forms of law and forms of faith. Joseph II., who had commenced his reign as a reformer, and who had committed the great mistake of reforming too rapidly and absolutely, without sufficient attention to the prejudices of his subjects, had created much dissatisfaction among the devout or superstitious Netherlanders by suppressing monasteries, expelling monks, and interfering in other matters. That people also retained an unpleasant recollection of their baffled hopes on the subject of the free navigation of the Scheldt—hopes which Joseph had raised and then blighted with the volatility of a schoolboy. The spirit of discontent was encouraged, not merely by the monastic order, which probably was most influential on the poorer classes and the peasantry, but by the whole body of the clergy, who do not always make common cause with the monks, but who, not knowing how far the emperor might extend his reforming processes, trembled for their own wealth and possessions, which, collectively, included a very large portion of the riches of that fat and plentiful land. The public mind was in this state when the emperor promulgated, on the 1st of January, 1787, certain edicts of a most sweeping kind, annihilating what was left of the old municipal liberty, changing and new modelling the courts of judicature, and, in fact, establishing an entirely new form of law and government, in direct contravention of the compact made by the Emperor Charles V., and called the “Joyous Entry.” The states of Brabant took the lead in a determined opposition to these measures; they were soon joined by the states of Flanders and Hainault, and in a very brief space of time the spirit of resistance manifested itself in all the fine, antiquated, and picturesque towns that so thickly dot the surface of that exuberant country. It appeared as if Philip van Artevelde, the brewer of Ghent, had risen from his grave to teach the burghers and peasants how to beard kings and defy the chivalry of Europe. And yet, as if there were not already sufficient causes for discontent and universal excitement, the emperor chose this very moment for trying a fresh innovation. The university of Louvain, in Brabant, which had once been among the foremost schools of learning in Europe, was rather ancient, and so proud of its antiquity, that it seemed to consider it an article of faith to revere and pertinaciously defend everything in it and about it that was old.¹ In this spirit it had retained all the nonsense of the old schools, still teaching philosophy and divinity as they were taught in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, and still clinging to the most extravagant notions and pretensions of the Papal See. Perhaps, without even excepting Salamanca, there was not a university in Europe that more required new light through “chinks which time had made,” or that more called for improvement and renovation. It had sat for ages like a huge nightmare on the breast of Flanders and Brabant; and, perhaps, its effects are not yet obliterated from the popular intellect. But a reform, to be efficacious, ought to have been mild and gradual; professors and pupils, doctors and masters of art, ought to have been weaned from their old opinions before new ones were imposed upon them by edicts from the aulic council at Vienna; and it was irrational and unseemly in the Emperor Joseph to pretend to force a better philosophy and a more tolerant theology down men’s throats by swords and bayonets, by Pandours, Croats, Hungarian hussars, and native-bred Austrian grenadiers, who had not been hitherto considered anywhere as proper teachers of the Baconian and Newtonian philosophies. Regardless of the *odium theologicum*, which an old proverb would have told him was the sharpest of all hatreds, Joseph began with theology first, resenting probably the promulgation of university opinions which confirmed the people in their belief that in suppressing rich monasteries, and thereby putting some millions of florins in his treasury, he had been guilty of robbery and sacrilege. By a stroke of his imperial pen he suppressed all the colleges in which theology was exclusively taught, turned off the old professors, who were chiefly monks, and established a new seminary, in which divinity was to be taught thenceforth, not according to St. Thomas Aquinas and the old fathers of the Romish church, but according to Joseph II., by the divine grace Emperor of Germany, Duke of Austria, &c.

The states of Brabant, being convened at Brussels in the month of April, took cognizance of all these acts of oppression; refused the customary subsidies to the emperor, declaring that they would not vote them until their grievances should be redressed; issued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues to pay no more money into the exchequer; presented a startling remonstrance to the governor; and declared that they would resolutely defend their laws and their religion. In Holland it had been a mad contention between party and party: but here there was but one party and one spirit; and we cannot consider the Flemings, fanatic as might be their theology, or murky as might be their philosophy, as entitled to less respect than the republican faction in Holland. The states of Flanders and of Hainault would not be left behind by the states of Brabant. The Flanders body declared that there

¹ The university of Louvain was founded A.D. 1426, by John, fourth Duke of Brabant.

were mutual relations and obligations between subjects and sovereigns, and that they would vote no subsidies till the emperor revoked his edicts and mended all that had been done amiss or contrary to their privileges. Belgioso, the governor-general or viceroy, a nobleman from Milan, was perplexed and petrified at Brussels; the members of the Austrian cabinet were petrified at Vienna by this unheard of audacity; the emperor was petrified at Cherson, on the Black Sea, whither he had gone to meet the Czarina Catherine, in order to arrange with her the conquest and partition of the Turkish empire—they were all petrified. And when they quitted this state of being, it was to order the collecting and marching of troops towards the Netherlands. But the whole disposable force of Austria was wanted, through Joseph's new schemes, on the Danube, and he was thinking more of Constantinople than of Brussels. The march, too, was long, and not unattended with difficulties; for the Netherlands were wholly detached from the other dominions of the emperor, so that the territories of other princes had to be traversed. But, before a courier could go and return from Cherson, the governor, who had very few troops of any kind, saw the necessity of yielding to the determined will of the people; and he suspended, until the further will of the sovereign should be known, a variety of obnoxious orders and regulations. This produced a jubilee throughout the Low Countries, and for some short time no doubt seemed to be entertained as to the sovereign's ratification. But news from Vienna, and a letter from Prince Kaunitz, the emperor's prime minister, awoke suspicion and alarm, and the people began to enrol themselves and to practise military exercises, in order to maintain the decree if necessary by arms. At Brussels and in all the principal towns the respectable inhabitants formed themselves into volunteer companies, and equipped themselves with uniforms and cockades. Early in July, Joseph returned to Vienna, and instead of a ratification he despatched to the Netherlands an angry mandate, expressing his astonishment and indignation at the intemperate and violent measures which the states had adopted, and demanding and requiring them to send deputies to Vienna. A deputation was appointed, respectful but strong representations were drawn up by the several states, and towards the end of July the deputies took the road to Vienna. They were not far advanced in their journey ere they were alarmed by rumours that a mighty army was about to march into the Low Countries; that the princes of the empire whose territories intervened had already granted the promise of a free passage to the imperial troops; and that the regiment of Bender, making forced marches, was already close upon the frontiers of Luxembourg.

The last part of the rumour was perfectly correct, and it seemed to authenticate the rest. The deputies continued their journey with doubt and dread; the volunteer corps at home drilled and exercised more than ever; and at this moment certain applications were made or repeated to the French court for aid and assistance. Count Murray, a gentleman of Scotch descent, now held the chief authority at Brussels, for the Count Belgioso had been summoned to Vienna. Murray sent a message to the states of Brabant acquainting them that, if they would permit the regiment of Bender to enter the provinces, the march of an imperial army might be suspended. The states, who had little to fear from a single regiment, submitted to this test of obedience. On the 15th of August, when the deputies had been three days at Vienna, they were admitted to an audience. The emperor's countenance was severe and his manner ungracious. He told them that his states in the Netherlands had been guilty of high offences, that they had insulted their sovereign and defied his authority, and that nothing but his own moderation and affection for them had prevented the immediate employment of military force. The deputies were further told that their complaints could not be listened to until certain preliminary articles should be executed.

When the articles were communicated to the states by Count Murray, they were rejected almost unanimously, and the volunteers continued exercising. But when the march of the grand army was expected, fresh advices were received from the deputies at Vienna, who informed the states that his imperial majesty had since admitted them to several private conferences, had listened to their complaints and representations with marked kindness and attention, and assured them that he had meant no harm, and was well disposed to restore the charter of the "Joyous Entry" to its primitive vigour. It was a good wind for the Flemings and Brabanters that blew the emperor to the shores of the Black Sea, as, but for the arrangements he had entered into with the Empress Catherine, the whole or part of the army of 100,000 men, which were marched soon after this to the Danube, would have been sent into the Netherlands. As matters went, the states and the people enjoyed a complete triumph over their sovereign. They refused to execute the emperor's articles even after they had been materially qualified; but, as the danger seemed over, the volunteers consented to lay down their arms by a given day. When that day arrived—the 20th of September—a quarrel arose between the volunteers in Brussels and the regular troops that garrisoned the city for the emperor, and several shots were fired and returned. The people

ran to take part with the volunteers, and some companies of regulars that were quartered in the suburbs ran to support their comrades. The cry was spread that the emperor's troops were acting on a concerted scheme, and were aiming at nothing less than the slaughter of the good citizens and the enforcement of all the suspended edicts. The excitement was terrible: the pavements of the streets were torn up, and the stones were carried to upper windows and to the tops of the houses to overwhelm the soldiery. The peasants from all the country round about Brussels trooped into the town armed with clubs, scythes, and other rustic implements. A considerable quantity of blood was spilled, and a great deal more must have flowed, if Count Murray had been a less wise or less brave man. But Murray went from house to house showing to the respectable inhabitants how perfectly unfounded were their apprehensions, and how small the numbers of the regular troops; he walked through the streets though bullets and paving stones were flying about; he reasoned with the volunteers, got the regulars into the barracks, and finally succeeded in restoring tranquillity. Captivated by this temperate and wise conduct, and by the firmness and moderation of his views, the states voted the subsidies, and the volunteers laid by their arms and uniforms a few days after; and thereupon Count Murray published the emperor's declaration, that the fundamental laws of the provinces should all be preserved entire according to the tenor of the "Joyous Entry." If Joseph II. had been studying to show how governments may be sunk into contempt and sovereignties overthrown, he could not have given a better demonstration than that which was afforded by the course and the termination of these affairs. We shall find presently, indeed, that the apparent termination was only a suspension of the contest. In England it was, however, considered expedient to reassemble parliament much earlier than had been usual for some years past; and it met on the 27th of November. The speech from the throne opened with the same subject with which the speech at the last prorogation had closed—"the unhappy differences subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces." It announced that commerce and revenue were in a flourishing state, and that the country was likely to continue in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, &c.; his majesty at the same time regretting that the tranquillity of one part of Europe was unhappily interrupted, as war had broken out between Russia and the Porte. In the debate on the address in the commons, Lord Fielding, after expressing his approbation of what had been done by ministers, intimated a doubt whether they had not missed a favourable opportunity for in-

sisting on the demolition of the stupendous works that were carrying on at Cherbourg. Fox followed Lord Fielding; he gave his fullest approbation to the energetic conduct of ministers in preventing France from interfering in the affairs of Holland; and he declared that he was invariably of opinion—that it was a fixed and unalterable maxim with him—that this country ought, whenever occasion required, to take an active and vigorous part in preserving the balance of power in Europe. He called the revolution which had been effected in Holland by Prussian arms "the restoration of the independence of the United Provinces." Pitt expressed his satisfaction at the unanimity which prevailed in the house upon these subjects.

A.D. 1788. Since the beginning of the present reign several petitions had been presented to parliament against the slave-trade altogether, or for a more humane treatment of the unfortunate Africans that were made slaves and carried to the West India Islands. In England, as in America, the Society of Friends had taken the first step in this direction; but they had been followed by Englishmen of all sects and classes; the subject had been taken up by orators, popular poets, and other writers; and by degrees a strong feeling, wide and general enough to be called a national feeling, had been created on the subject. Mr. Ramsay had published his *Essay on the Treatment of and Traffic in Slaves*, which had made a great sensation; Mr. Thomas Clarkson had published his *Essay on the Slavery of the Human Species*, which had made a still deeper impression; and Mr. Wilberforce, encouraged and aided by many warm religious friends, had determined to devote his parliamentary life to this one great subject. "God Almighty," says the devout orator in his private journal, "had set before me two great objects—the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners."¹ A society of twelve opulent London merchants and bankers, including the excellent Thornton, and having for their chairman the philanthropic Granville Sharpe, had formed themselves into a committee, and had adopted measures in order to raise funds and collect the information necessary. The society had increased rapidly, and committees had been established or subscriptions raised in Manchester and other great towns. Influential ladies had also devoted their exertions to this humane and benevolent object, and had everywhere made converts to the cause of the abolitionists. With thirty petitions lying on the table, Pitt was induced to consent to issue, in the month of February of the present year, a summons to certain

¹ Journal, as quoted in *Life* by his sons. The date of the entry is October the 28th, 1787.

members of the privy council, to examine, as a board of trade, the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. The first witnesses heard by the privy council were some whom the African merchants had deputed, and who endeavoured to prove not only the absolute necessity, but the absolute humanity of the slave trade. Counter-evidence was procured by Granville Sharpe and the London committee, it having been previously

next session the inquiry instituted by the privy council would be brought to such a state of maturity as to facilitate the investigation, and enable the house to proceed to a decision, founded equally upon principles of humanity, justice, and policy. Burke, who, it is said, had thought of taking up the subject of the slave trade eight years before, expressed his regret at the delay now proposed; and Fox exclaimed that he had almost made up his mind to immediate abolition. Sir William Dolben called the attention of the house, not to the sufferings of the negroes on the African coast, nor to their sufferings from the planters in the West India Islands, but to that intermediate state of tenfold misery which they suffered on their voyage from the coast to the West Indies. This, he said, called for an immediate remedy; for if they waited till the beginning of the next session, an average of 10,000 lives would be sacrificed before, in close and horrid slave ships! He wished, therefore, that this part of the subject should be taken into consideration instantly; and that some regulations should be adopted for restraining the captains from taking above a certain number of slaves on board, according to the size of their vessels, and for obliging them to let in fresh air and provide better accommodations for the slaves during their passage. Pitt's resolution was agreed to; and, on the 21st of May, Sir William Dolben moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the transportation of slaves. One of the most important regulations he proposed was, that no ship should be allowed to carry more than one slave to each ton of her burden or register, or that a ship of 250 tons should carry 250 slaves, a ship of 300 tons 300 slaves, and no more.

On the 26th of May a petition was presented from the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, stating that the suppression of the slave trade would be attended with consequences little short of ruin to many of the petitioners, who, under the faith of parliament, had embarked in the trade and invested their whole property therein; that it would be highly injurious to the interests and public revenues of this country, and operate as an effectual bar to future commercial emulation and enterprise; and praying to be heard by counsel against the abolition or restriction of the trade, before any resolutions or bill should be passed. Accordingly, on the 2d of June, counsel were heard at the bar of the house. These learned gentlemen, as instructed by their clients, endeavoured to prove that even Sir William Dolben's bill would be ruinous to Liverpool; and that the regulation of the number of slaves allowed to be put on board each vessel in proportion to its tonnage would of itself prove the ruin of the slave trade and of all



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.—After Sir T. Lawrence.

determined that the London committee should alone appear, whilst the leaders of the cause should direct their movements for a while in secrecy.¹ Wilberforce, however, undertook to bring forward a motion in the House of Commons in this session. As he was member for one of the greatest counties in the kingdom, the known close friend of the prime minister, an admirable speaker, and a man universally esteemed, the matter could scarcely be in better hands, nor could a better beginning have been easily made. But Wilberforce fell ill, retired to Bath, and left the motion to be made by the premier, who was solicited thereto not merely by his friend, but by Granville Sharpe and the London committee. It was on the 9th of May that Pitt rose in his place, and, after mentioning the bad state of health of his friend, moved the following resolution—"That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave trade complained of in the petitions presented to the house, and what may be fit to be done thereupon." He added, that before the

¹ Letter from Sir Charles Middleton, as cited in *Life of Wilberforce*.

engaged in it. They produced their witnesses to speak to this effect, and to prove that the captains of the ships ought to be the proper judges as to what amount of living human cargo they could cram into their vessels. But the only effect of the arguments and evidence was, that the house was induced to allow, instead of one ton to each slave, three tons to every five slaves. (Within a few years these unwisely cruel slave merchants of Liverpool were compelled to confess that this forced sacrifice to humanity had actually increased their profits by decreasing the rate of mortality on the voyage from what it had been in their crammed and foul old ships.) Sir William Dolben's bill being carried by considerable majorities through the House of Commons, was taken up to the lords on the 10th of June. There it was vehemently opposed by Admiral Lord Rodney, who was a good and humane man, by Lord-chancellor Thurlow, who was neither humane nor good, and by several other peers. Their lordships passed the bill, but introduced several amendments, which were considered as spoiling its spirit, and as trenching on the privileges of the lower house. The commons therefore passed a new bill with the utmost possible rapidity, and sent it up to the lords, who finally concurred, though by a reduced majority. The bill received the royal assent on the 11th of July. It was an immediate and important benefit to the English sailors engaged in the slave ships, and to the poor Africans that remained to be transported year after year to the western world; and the victory obtained served as an encouragement to Ramsay, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thornton, and the other active friends of the blacks, whose numbers and whose means continued to increase rapidly.

On the 11th of July the king in person prorogued parliament. The speech from the throne mentioned that the Emperor of Germany had joined the Empress of Russia in the war against the sultan; and also that his majesty had entered into treaties with his good brother the King of Prussia and with the States-general of the United Provinces, which he hoped would be productive of the happiest consequences.

The king appeared to be in his usual robust state of health; but some weeks after the prorogation it was rumoured that he was unwell, and that he had gone to Cheltenham by the advice of his physicians. At that pleasant sojourn his majesty was seen much abroad; but in the autumn, when he returned to Kew, he almost disappeared entirely from the public eye, and mysterious whispers got into circulation abroad that his mind was deranged. The belief was confirmed by his not holding the usual drawing-rooms at St. James's. As if to remove the im-

pression a drawing-room was held on the 24th of October; but the king's manner and conversation only confirmed the suspicion in those who approached him. When the court broke up, Pitt attended him in the closet. It is said that the minister clearly perceived the unhappy condition of the sovereign, and was deeply affected by it: but if this were the case, Pitt certainly took no notice of it at the time; and the next day the king was allowed to leave London for Windsor as if he were sane and well. Great pains were taken, and had evidently been taken for some time previously, by the queen and the household, to conceal the dreadful malady; but the secret could not be kept long, and the sufferer himself had a fearful glimpse of the worse which was to follow. On the 5th of November he mounted his horse and rode wildly about the forest and the country round Windsor for five hours, and, meeting his second son, the Duke of York, who had recently returned from Germany, he burst into tears, and said, "He hoped he should die, for he was going to be mad!"¹ That night the king was in a maniac state, and the madness was accompanied by a bilious fever, from which, for several days, his life was despaired of as well as his reason. The Prince of Wales joined his brother the Duke of York at Windsor, and Pitt, as prime minister, and Thurlow, as chancellor, made journeys thither to devise what should be done in case the sovereign should recover from the fever, but not from the madness. It is said that Pitt paid assiduous court to the queen, assuring her of a proper share of authority in case it should be necessary to appoint a regency; and that Thurlow, as soon as he conceived the king's malady to be incurable, paid the same sort of court, but more secretly, to the Prince of Wales. There had never been much harmony between the chancellor and the premier,² and the disgrace of abandoning and betraying his official colleagues was a trifle in the eyes of Thurlow, if thereby he should be enabled to preserve his post under the regency and keep the great seal from the eager clutch of his rival, Lord Loughborough, who was now putting himself forward as the chief adviser of the prince.

Fox was absent on the Continent, but his return was daily expected and most anxiously

¹ Letter to Sheridan from Captain Payne, in Moore's *Life of Sheridan*.

² "Their tempers were indeed ill suited to co-operate for a length of time, though necessity and ambition had united them against Fox. Thurlow was sullen, and often intractable; Pitt, imperious, inflexible, and dictatorial. Many causes had combined to widen the breach."—Sir N. W. Wraxall's *Posthumous Memoirs*. But Thurlow—who, with all his roughness, was one of the greatest dissemblers that ever lived—would certainly have continued to act as Pitt's steady friend, but for his convictions that the king would not recover, and that Fox would be prime minister under the Prince of Wales.

looked for by the Whig party. As parliament stood prorogued for the 20th of November, and as there was now no voice competent to prorogue it again to a more distant day, it was resolved to assemble a full cabinet council at Windsor to consider of the measures which might be required in so unprecedented a conjuncture. The council met, and Thurlow, who by possessing the great seal had in a manner all the sovereignty that was left in the land, took a part in the deliberations without revealing his plans or intentions. The physicians were examined, and their report convinced Thurlow that the king would never again be capable of holding the reins of government. When the anxious consultation was ended and the council broke up, Lord Camden asked the chancellor if he would accompany him back to town. Thurlow excused himself, saying he had a friend at Windsor, to whom he wished to pay a visit. Lord Camden's suspicions were excited, and he contrived to learn that Thurlow's friend at Windsor was no other than the Prince of Wales, to whom he no doubt communicated all that had passed in the council. During the sharp political contest which followed, Thurlow was discovered to have been several times closeted with Sheridan, and once, at least, in the house of Mrs. Fitzherbert.

On the 20th of November the two Houses of Parliament assembled pursuant to the prerogation; but as there was no authority for opening the session, the lords and the commons remained in their respective chambers. In the upper house the lord-chancellor notified the cause—the malady of the king—of parliament being allowed to assemble without the usual forty days' notice and summons to meet for the despatch of business; and then Earl Camden, the lord-president of the council, after stating that he had found no instance in which either House of Parliament had proceeded to business until the session had been opened in the usual form, moved that the house should adjourn to the 4th of December. Pitt made the same announcement in the lower house, and both houses adjourned for a fortnight. Days, and nights too, were spent in deliberation and in active intrigue; and the varying opinions of the physicians gave rise to great perplexity and indecision in the minds of calculating politicians. Fox, though he travelled homeward with extraordinary speed, did not arrive until the end of November.

On the 4th of December parliament reassembled, and both houses were full, for ministers had issued circulars to their friends, and the heads of opposition had done the same; and without any of these summonses there would have been a full attendance. Men of all parties had hurried up to town on learning the nature of the king's dis-

order; and from the middle of November London had been crowded and excited to an unusual degree. In the peers, Lord Camden announced that the continuance of the king's illness rendered him incapable of meeting his parliament, and that all the other functions of government were thereby suspended. His lordship then declared it to be his opinion that, in this dismembered state of the legislature, the right devolved on the two Houses of Parliament to make such provisions for supplying the defect as should be adequate to the necessity of the case; but that it was necessary, before any step could be taken in so delicate a business, that the deficiency should be fully ascertained. With this view his lordship moved that the minutes of the privy council taken in examining the physicians should be read, and that, that being done, they should be taken into consideration on Monday, the 8th of December. In the commons precisely the same course was pursued by Pitt, who now saw his rival Fox seated in his usual place on the opposition benches, but presenting an appearance that was anything rather than joyous or exultant. From the fatigue he had undergone in his rapid journey, and from other causes wherein the mind was probably more concerned than the body, Fox looked dispirited, haggard, and worn. The speaker intimated his doubt whether in the present defective state of parliament he could issue writs for new elections to supply the places of some members who had died during the recess. It was determined that the speaker was competent to issue the writs; and then the house adjourned for four days. During that interval, the private information Pitt received from *some* of the physicians (for even the medical camp was divided into Whigs and Tories, or Foxites and Pittites¹), induced him to believe the king would recover. As soon as the house met, on the 8th, he rose and proposed that a committee of twenty-one members should be appointed to examine *all* the physicians. Fox was not present—it was said he was too ill to attend—but Burke, who appears to have been but little consulted by the prince or his party, adjured the house not to sacrifice any of their constitutional privileges at this crisis, and least of all the right to examine evidence at their own bar. Pitt's motion was carried without a division, and the committee of twenty-one

¹ "As men are naturally led to take the direction of their wishes, the physicians who were friendly to the opposition confidently predicted that there was no hope of the king's recovery. Dr. Warren, especially, was the chief authority on this side; and his and the prince's adherents set themselves in direct opposition to the Willises, who with equal confidence predicted the king's recovery. The language on the one side was, that if a regency should once be established, the king would never be suffered again to resume his authority; that of the other, that ministers were resolved at all hazards to restore him to his power, and the Willises were said to be the supporters of the plot."—Wilberforce, *Memoranda*.

was appointed, with himself as their chairman. On the same evening the Marquis of Stafford made a similar motion in the upper house, and a committee of peers was appointed for the same purpose. All this time Thurlow, who might have been expected to do the work which Stafford and Camden had done, remained inactive and silent. His object still was to avoid committing himself with either party until he should be able more accurately to calculate the chances of the king's recovery; but his conduct excited suspicion and disgust. The unfortunate king was now removed from Windsor to Kew, and placed more immediately under the care of Doctor Willis. On the 10th of December, Pitt, as chairman of the committee of the commons, presented the report of their examination of the physicians, which was read and ordered to be printed. Drs. Richard Warren, Sir George Baker, Willis, Gisborne, Addington, Sir Lucas Pepys, and Reynolds coincided in opinion as to the probable recovery of their patient: Dr. Willis spoke the most hopefully, and as if convalescence had already begun. Pitt, whose evident object was to spin out time without coming to any decision, now moved that another committee should be appointed to examine the journals of the house and report precedents of such proceedings as might have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same. Fox was again in his place, having recently attended a great consultation at Carlton House. He rose as soon as Pitt had finished speaking, and objected to the motion as nugatory and productive of unnecessary and improper delay. He said, the right honourable gentleman knew very well that no precedent was to be found in which, at the same time, there existed an heir apparent to the crown of full age and capacity. He said he was fully convinced, upon consideration of the principles and practice of the constitution, and of the analogy of the common law of the land, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, infirmity, or other incapacity, was unable to exercise the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, being of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive power, in the name and on behalf of the sovereign, during the continuance of such incapacity, as in case of his natural demise. Pitt said to a friend sitting near him, "Till unwhig that gentleman for the rest of his life!" And, then rising, the Tory premier, whose tenure of place depended on a different view of the case being adopted by parliament, poured forth a torrent of pure Whiggism against the head and chief professor of that creed, whose advancement to power now depended upon the as-

sertion of Tory principles, or the establishment of unshackled hereditary right in contradistinction to the popular will and the elective quality of the British crown. With an appearance of patriotic indignation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared Fox's doctrine to be little short of treason against the constitution. He insisted that the heir apparent had no more right, in the case alleged, to the exercise of the executive power than any other subject in the realm; and that it belonged to the two remaining branches of the legislature, in behalf of the people, to make such provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think most proper. Fox rejoined, that, the sovereignty of these kingdoms being hereditary, and no parliament existing which could legally alter the succession, nothing but a case of imperious necessity, which at present did not exist, could justify the two Houses of Parliament in assuming to themselves the right of setting aside the heir apparent from the regency, or imposing limitations and restrictions on his authority. Burke followed Fox, and declared, with bitter sarcasm, that the doctrine of the chancellor of the exchequer would go to change the character of the sovereignty from hereditary into elective, and to convert parliament into a sort of Polish diet. He said that, since it was proposed to make him an elector on the regency, he hoped he should be excused if he gave his vote for a Prince of Wales whose amiable disposition was one of his many recommendations, in preference to a competitor, the prince opposite (Pitt), who was threatening the supporters of the Prince of Wales' right with the penalty of constructive treason!

The minister's motion was carried without a division; and a committee of twenty-one was appointed to sit, with the usual powers, to look for precedents, which, in reality, did not exist. The day following, the president of the council (Camden) made the same motion in the lords. He strongly condemned the doctrine which had been advanced by Fox; and he maintained, as Pitt had done, that the right and duty of naming the regent, and limiting his power, belonged exclusively to the Houses of Parliament, the two remaining branches of the legislature. Chancellor Thurlow was still mute; but his rival, Loughborough, boldly defended Fox's position and the prince's hereditary right to the regency, as being analogous both to the law of the land and the spirit of the constitution; and as steering clear of the embarrassments and dangers which must arise from the opposite course. He ridiculed the notion of having an hereditary succession to the sovereignty and an elective regency. Lords Stormont and Porchester supported Loughborough; Lord Stanhope took the opposite side; and then

Thurlow, the veritable image of a chancellor in doubt, growled a few words, and no more, implying that Loughborough's doctrine was new to him. On the next day, the 12th of December, the report of the committee was brought up, and ordered to be printed, in the commons; and Fox then rose to complain that his doctrine had been misrepresented by Lord Camden. Fox had previously declared—what certainly was only formally true, if true at all—that he had had no communications with the Prince of Wales on this delicate subject; and he now repeated that he spoke merely as an individual member, without authority from the prince. He said he had been made to assert that the prince had a right to *assume* the royal authority; but he believed that he had never used the word *assume*; and what he undoubtedly meant was, that the right was in the prince, but that the adjudication of the possession was in the two Houses of Parliament. If he had used the word *assume*, it was only in the carelessness of debate; and he certainly did not mean that the prince ought now to take the regency without the consent of parliament. Pitt, who accepted this explanation, intimated very plainly that the limitations and restrictions of the powers of the regent ought, in his opinion, to be numerous and severe, so that the king's lawful authority might be returned unimpaired to his hands as soon as his majesty should recover. By this time the Whigs were convinced that their claiming the regency as a matter of right had no chance of success in either house; and their scheme now was to fight off the question and avoid any formal decision on that doctrinal point. On the 15th of December, Earl Fitzwilliam observed in the lords that it was very inexpedient at such a crisis, and when all parties were agreed that by right or by vote the prince was to be regent, to go into discussions of abstract political questions. Lord Camden replied that, as the most essential rights of the two Houses of Parliament had been called in question, it was absolutely necessary that they should not be left in a doubtful and unsettled state. Thurlow, still doubting about the possibility of the king's speedy recovery, and discouraged in his hope of making a good bargain with the prince and the Whigs, who were evidently committing themselves to the interpretation of the law propounded by Loughborough, deplored, with a laughable attempt at pathos, that such a question had ever been started; but said that, as it had been brought forward, he could not see how they could avoid coming to some determination upon it. Pitt therefore pursued his course; and, on the 16th of December, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, he moved three resolutions. The first, which merely affirmed the in-

disposition and incapacity of the king, was passed unanimously. The second resolution asserted that it was the right and duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority in such manner as the urgency of the case might seem to require. And the third resolution was—"That for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, should determine on the means whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bill as may be passed by the two Houses of Parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition." Upon these two last resolutions there was more eloquent, and passionate, and thoroughly earnest debating than had been heard in that house for many a year. The Whigs had every possible motive for exertion that can animate a party: if their adversaries triumphed, it was clear that such restrictions would be laid on the power and patronage of the regent as would make it next to impossible for Fox, as his minister, to carry on the administration.

The thing was not unprecedented; the two great parties had interchanged political principles and professions—the Whigs had been heard clamouring for prerogative and the hereditary rights of princes, and the Tories had been heard clamouring for the rights of the parliament and the people, before now; but still it was curious to watch a combat in which Pitt had to maintain and declare that the assertion of the inherent right of the Prince of Wales was one of those exploded ideas of indefeasible right which had fallen into contempt; and Fox had to adjure the house not to recur to the primary axioms of government and the abstract rights of the people. Lord North, ailing and blind, spoke with great spirit against the resolutions, being the first to rise and oppose Pitt. The master of the rolls, the Lord-advocate of Scotland, the attorney and solicitor general to the queen, spoke long and learnedly in support of the ministerial propositions and on regencies in general. Fox combated their arguments, and, though ill and suffering, fought like a man whose very existence depended on the issue; and, in fact, so utterly shattered was Fox's fortune and credit, that it did seem to depend on the issue, whether he should not be condemned to owe the means of a comfortable existence to the bounty of his friends. The committee divided on the motion, "That the chairman report progress" (implying the non-adoption of the first resolution), which was rejected, but

by a much diminished ministerial majority, the numbers being only 268 against 204. Pitt's second and third resolutions were then put and carried without any debate. The exertions which Fox had made proved so injurious to his broken health, that the next day he was unable to attend; and on account of his illness the house adjourned till the 19th. On that day Pitt, being called upon by Sir John Sinclair to state distinctly how he intended to represent the third estate, and give legality to the act of parliament which he proposed for defining and limiting the authority of the regent, boldly announced that he meant to employ the great seal, as if his majesty were not in a state of infirmity and incapacity, but competent to issue the usual order to his lord-chancellor. Pitt's three resolutions, which had passed in committee, were now brought up and debated. Fox, who had endangered his life in fleeing home over rough French roads, spurred on by the hope of having the reins of government put into his hands almost as soon as he should arrive at Carlton House, although able to attend, was still too unwell to take any prominent part in the debate; but his cause was ably supported by Sir Grey Cooper, Windham, and others.

As the house was exhausted, the debate was adjourned to the 23d, when a most spirited and exciting struggle ensued on Pitt's proposal for holding the sovereignty to be for the moment in a piece of wax impressed by a symbol. Fox, though still evidently weak and in pain, was in his place, and spoke for a short time with much animation. He was vigorously supported by Lord North, who, in losing his sight, had not lost his wit, his enviable good humour, or his admirable ability and promptness as a debater; and he was sustained heart and hand by Burke, who opened the debate, and delivered one of his choicest harangues. Though firm to Fox and to his party, Burke was not moved by the encouragements and strong incentives which had operated upon his friends; and he declared to the house that he had had no part in any consultations about the regency: that he knew as little of the interior of Carlton House as he did of Buckingham House. At this moment his assertion was undoubtedly true; but it appears that he was called into Carlton House consultations very soon after. Pitt's scheme was, nevertheless, approved by a somewhat larger majority than had attended him on the previous divisions; and then the three resolutions, having been all received, were ordered to be communicated to the lords at a conference, wherein their lordships' concurrence was to be desired. This conference took place on the morrow, the 24th of December, and none of the lords were so hearty in their concurrence as the lord-chancellor. Thurlow had at last made up his

mind on two very important points—that the king was likely to recover very soon—and that if he did not recover there was no permanent reliance to be placed on the Whigs, who, indeed, were bound by the honour of party to prefer his rival, Loughborough. He had had frequent and close communications with the physicians, and had, no doubt, found other means of prying into the interior of Kew Palace, and ascertaining the real condition of the king. It is said that Willis had pledged his reputation to him that the unhappy malady could not be of long duration, and that the king's temperate and orderly mode of life gave promise of health and longevity. And so cunning a man as Thurlow could not possibly avoid perceiving that Fox, even in conferring with him, regarded him with feelings of dislike. Thus Thurlow was as much thrown off by the Whigs as he threw himself off from them on his selfish calculation of chances. Such double-dealing at such a crisis, together with the sure knowledge that it had not been concealed, was enough to have sunk any other man; but Thurlow was not like other men, and he braved the matter with an audacity and a cant that will render his name immortal. He stood up from beside the woolsack in the House of Lords, and, with an awful solemnity of manner, undertook the defence of the king's sacred rights against the claims of the prince and the wicked Whigs. He seemed to pour out the whole strength of his heart and soul in a passionate eulogy on the superhuman virtues of his sovereign: he said his debt of gratitude for many favours graciously conferred was great beyond the power of expression; and he ended with the memorable exclamation: "When I forget my king, then may God forget me!" According to Wilberforce, the same motives by which Thurlow had been actuated, had led to many unprincipled and shameless desertions by political speculators, chiefly in the upper house, who thought they could not be too early in worshipping the rising sun, and who were afterwards grievously disappointed at the king's recovery. The steadier peers were, however, numerous enough to carry the question upon Pitt's three resolutions, to negative a motion of amendment, and to appoint a committee to acquaint the commons at a conference that they concurred with them. A strong protest was entered and signed by the Dukes of York and Cumberland and forty-six other peers.

We cannot here detail the very
A.D. 1789. long debates and proceedings which followed. They are solely interesting as party history. Pitt's regency bill, which was introduced on the 16th of January, and which invested the Prince of Wales with the royal authority, subject to various limitations and cogent

restrictions, never came into operation—nor was its fate to be considered as a constitutional precedent. In 1811, when a recurrence of the king's unhappy malady rendered a regent necessary, the question was debated with more calmness and practical wisdom; it was considered, in all its bearings, by eminent constitutional lawyers and writers; and the regency bill, which was then passed, and which was acted upon until the death of George III. in 1820, is the act which stands as a precedent, and which alone is the proper subject of study. We need merely say that the Whigs in their first impatient move committed a blunder, which greatly injured their party, in claiming the regency for the Prince of Wales as a matter of *right* without previous consent of parliament; that parliament and the ministerial framers of the bill were really placed in a most difficult dilemma, for, if they gave too much power to the regent, the restoration of authority to the king, who was not then an old man, and who was likely to recover, must have been rendered difficult and in various ways embarrassing; and if, on the other hand, they gave too little power to the regent, they must have destroyed or injured his efficiency as representative of the third estate, and thus impaired the monarchic part of the constitution. The whole tendency of Pitt's scheme was in the latter direction, and nothing but his inward conviction that the king must soon recover can excuse many portions of his regency bill. It was no time for trying experiments; the flames of revolution kindled in France were spreading rapidly through the European continent, and soon thrones and dynasties were swept away and obliterated as if they had never been.

When the Whigs were making quite sure of a long tenure of office under the regent, the king recovered. On the 9th of February it was reported in the ministerial circles that his majesty was much better. On Thursday, the 19th, Lord-chancellor Thurlow sonorously announced to their lordships that, from the official reports of the physicians, it appeared that his gracious majesty had been for some time in a state of convalescence; that the accounts just received conveyed the happy news that that improvement was still progressive. On Tuesday, the 24th, the chancellor informed the House of Lords that he had that morning attended his majesty, by his express command, and had found him perfectly recovered; on the 25th the king was pronounced perfectly free from his complaint; and a paper was posted at St. James's, stating that, by his majesty's command, the physicians were to issue no more bulletins. The personal popularity of the sovereign had increased wonderfully; it was already a habit to call him "the good old king," to point to his moral, domestic modes of life, and to con-

trast them with those of the young and gay prince: the dreadful malady of his majesty only endeared him the more by exciting compassion and sympathy; and in their generous feelings for the individual, people were but too apt to overlook the inconveniences and dangers that might possibly have attended his restoration to the throne. The city of London, which had once been the great centre of opposition, was now enthusiastically loyal; and, though Fox and the Whigs maintained their superiority in Westminster, the capital and its thickly peopled neighbourhood gave very strong proofs of their preferring the restored government of the king with Pitt's ministry, to the untried government of the prince with a Whig cabinet. The Whigs, in fact, were still labouring under that heavy burden of unpopularity which they had imposed upon themselves by the coalition; several of their leaders were suspected of a want not merely of political principle, but of common honesty: in the heat of debate on the regency bill they had delivered sentiments highly offensive to all loyal subjects, or to all the admirers of "the good old king;" and their disrespect, their heat, and vehemence were attributed entirely to their selfish impatience to obtain the emoluments and honours of office. We shall not attempt either to condemn or justify these feelings; we merely state what appears to have been the fact in 1789—that the Whig party in the nation was decidedly in the minority, and its eloquent leaders distrusted even by many of those who admired their abilities and genius.

On the 12th of May, an elaborate report from the privy council on the slave trade being laid upon the table of the House of Commons, together with petitions for and against the abolition of that traffic, it was voted, on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the report, with other papers, should be immediately taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house. In committee, Wilberforce, who in private had received promises and encouragement from his friend the premier, made a long speech, and concluded with moving twelve resolutions condemnatory of the traffic and the barbarous treatment of African slaves. Pitt said he was willing that the resolutions should be entered on the journals. Burke and Fox supported Wilberforce with their usual animation. Fox applauded Wilberforce for proposing to do what he thought it their duty to do—completely to abolish the traffic. He was glad that the propositions were to be put upon the journals, for if, unfortunately, the attempt should fail, it might succeed another year. He felt certain that sooner or later it *must* succeed, and that our example would be followed by other nations. In the end, the further consideration of the question was adjourned to the next session.

CHAPTER XXIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1789.

GEORGE III.

War between Russia and Turkey—Weakness of the Turkish military resources—Slow progress of the Russians in the war—They are joined by the Austrians—Losses of the Austrians on the Danube by malaria—Russian plan of the campaign—Siege of Oczakoff—Its capture by the Russians—Discontent of the Empress Catherine at the small success of the campaign—Russian intrigues in Sweden—The Swedes take the part of Turkey—Engagement of the Russian and Swedish fleets in the Gulf of Finland—Progress of the King of Sweden and his army in Finland—He is impeded by the treachery of his nobles—The Danes invade his kingdom—They are obliged to desist by the mediation of England—Successes of the Austrians and Russians against the Turks—Revolution in Sweden—Downfall of its aristocracy—Compromising policy of the British government among the warring parties—The Swedish king's progress retarded by this proceeding—His successes over the Russians—He is defeated in Russian Finland—Political commotions renewed in the Netherlands—The Emperor Joseph annuls his concessions—He appoints new governors for the Netherlands—The war commences in the towns—A republican spirit fostered by the emperor's despotic proceedings—His troops defeated and garrisons driven out of the country—His suspicions of the Prince de Ligne—The prince's judicious advice to the emperor—Conciliatory declarations of the emperor to the Netherlands—They refuse his offers and proclaim their independence—They compel Dalton, the governor of Brussels, to capitulate—Their negotiations with the French revolutionists—Joseph's hopeless attempts to appease them—Affairs of France—Growing popularity of republicanism—Necessity of a change in French government—Character of the French at this period—Louis XVI. advised to take the work of reform into his own hands—Improvements suggested by his ministers—Dislike of Louis to the greater part of their suggestions—Unpopularity of his partial reforms—Necker appointed comptroller-general—His previous history—His character and political proceedings—His schemes of economy thwarted—He publishes a statement of the finances of the kingdom—Outcry against the revelation—He resigns office—Extravagance of his successor Calonne—Necessity of fresh taxation—Assembly of Notables convoked—It refuses to sanction Calonne's new taxes—He resigns, and is succeeded by the Archbishop of Toulouse—His inefficiency—The "Assembly of Notables" dissolved and a "Bed of Justice" substituted.



HE war which the ambition of the Czarina Catherine had kindled in the East, had spread from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and had been far from obtaining the grand results, and the speedy termination which the empress had hoped for in first commencing hostilities against the sultan. The Turkish empire in Europe, which had appeared in her eyes so weak and crazy as merely to require a shake to bring it to the ground, had withstood three campaigns, and resisted for two years the united efforts of two great powers; and that, too, without an efficient ally of any kind. It must, however, be admitted that the Turks were greatly indebted to the stupidity of the Russians and Austrians. Nothing else could have saved Constantinople even at this period. The janizaries, who formed the great mass of Turkish infantry, were little better than an undisciplined rabble, who not only refused to submit themselves to any change, but also prevented the introduction of any improvement in all the other corps of the army. They were more terrible to their own government and to the unarmed population than they were to the enemy. In the sixteenth century these janizaries had been among the very best troops in the world, but they were now the worst. The very numerous cavalry

were equally undisciplined, and only fit to act as light cavalry. The artillery, in spite of all the efforts made by that ingenious and loquacious Frenchman the Baron de Tott, was in a pitiable condition. As to the commissariat, properly speaking, the Turks had none; their medical and surgical staff consisted of ignorant barbers from Constantinople, and a few Italian quacks. The officers of the army, from the commander-in-chief down to the subalterns, were alike ignorant and obstinate. In the first campaign, in the year 1787, when they had to contend only with the Russians, commanded by Prince Potemkin, prime minister, commander-in-chief, and lover to Catherine, the Turks had been defeated in almost every encounter by the very imperfect science and tactics of the enemy. Still, however, the Russians had done little more than keep their ground in the Crimea; they had made no important advance in the direction of the Danube and Constantinople; and after every defeat the Mussulmans, who were not deficient in animal courage, seemed ready to fight again. In the spring of 1787, when the Emperor Joseph met Catherine at Cherson, he had pledged himself to co-operate; but it was not until the close of that year that the Austrians really entered upon the war by making an inglorious attempt to surprise Belgrade previously to any declaration of hostilities.

The Austrians failed completely in this their dishonourable beginning. After several humiliating failures of the like kind, the Emperor Joseph, on the 10th of February, 1788, issued at Vienna a formal declaration of war against the Ottoman Porte. Having gradually collected a great army on the Danube and the frontiers of Servia, he took the field in person in the month of April. On the 24th of April he captured the insignificant fortress of Schubatz, on the Danube; but nearly at the same time another part of the Austrian

The miasmata of the Danube, its confluent streams, and the bogs and marshes had proved more destructive to the Austrians than balls and scimitars; and the emperor had swelled the frightful list of disease and death by one of his philosophical innovations. Some physicians at Vienna had persuaded him that vinegar was not merely a specific for malaria fevers, but an absolute panacea; and Joseph had ordered, as an experiment, that in a part of his army the rations of wine should be stopped and the troops made



TURKISH JANIZARIES. 1.—From De Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire Othoman*.

army sustained a defeat at Dobitzza. In the war of posts and detachments which followed, the Austrians could boast of few advantages, and were several times defeated. The Prince of Saxe Coburg, who commanded one of the grand divisions of Joseph's army, having crossed the Dniester with the intention of establishing himself in Moldavia and cutting off all supplies from the important fortress of Choczim, found himself obliged to contend during three successive days with a Turkish army; and if he was not defeated, he could scarcely boast of more than a drawn battle. The Pacha of Bosnia defeated a large Austrian detachment on the river Save. The siege of Choczim, an ill-constructed place, which ought to have been taken by a skilful enemy in less than three weeks, occupied the Austrians more than three months, and it was not taken at last without great sacrifices. Belgrade could not be taken at all this campaign. Marshal Laudohn, who had proved himself worthy of contending with Frederick the Great, gained some successes on the side of Croatia, but they were unimportant; and even this able veteran was foiled more than once by the natural difficulties of the country.

1, Coul Kihaya, a superior officer. 2, Muhzut Aga, also a superior officer. 3, Aschda, an inferior officer. 4, Trooper.

to drink nothing but vinegar and water. The men died faster than before—they perished like rotten sheep. On the other side, the Russians who were to descend the Crimea to co-operate on the Danube, scarcely got beyond the Dnieper. They had deluded Joseph with other assurances, but their plan was—and it is a plan which Russia has steadily pursued for some generations—to make sure of every step of ground by which they were advancing, to enlarge and secure their possessions at the head of the

Black Sea, and so gradually to extend and push forward the frontier of their empire. The means placed at their disposal were immense. By the month of June, from 120,000 to 150,000 men of all arms, with 130 pieces of artillery, besides a vast park of heavy battering cannon and mortars, appeared on the river Bug; and while a portion of this force under General Romanzoff watched the frontiers of Poland and Lithuania, the rest, with the exception of some detachments, marched down to the mouth of the Dnieper under the command of Potemkin. The greater part of the country through which they passed was already laid waste by a barbarous and prolonged warfare, and was now feeling the double curses of plague and famine. Except the green forage for their horses, the Russians were obliged to bring every article of consumption from a great distance; and their convoys were not unfrequently intercepted and cut to pieces by the Tartars of the Crimea, who were generally well mounted, and rapid and expert as light cavalry. The grand object of the campaign—and none other was effected—was the siege of Oczakoff, near the mouth of the Dnieper. The Russians had been for some time labouring to create a navy in those parts; but the Turks had still the superiority on the

Black Sea, and the capitan-pacha hastened to the Dnieper. But the mouth of that river which spreads into a *liman*, or broad swampy lake, with mud-banks and sand-banks, is exceedingly difficult to pass, and in very few places affords water enough for ships of the line. The Russians, too, had supplied their deficiency in shipping by constructing a great number of immense flat-bottomed boats, and enormous floating batteries, which could cross the liman in all directions, and when necessary retire to the shallows, where the fire of the Turkish ships could not reach them, for the liman is from six to seven miles broad. It was upon these floating batteries, which were put under the direction of the Prince of Nassau, who had served with the French and Spaniards at the siege of Gibraltar, and there witnessed the effect of English red-hot balls on much more stupendous constructions, that the success of the Russians in the siege of Oczakoff mainly depended. They were mounted with the heaviest of the battering cannon and with bombs, and were manned with artillerymen and the choicest part of the Russian line. There was a paucity of sailors, but little seamanship was required in such craft and in such waters. The combats which took place were not sea-fights, were not even river-fights, but fights among fens, bogs, and marshes. The Russians had, however, some sloops, frigates, and at least three large ships, which were manned by sailors of all nations, and by Greeks, who were well acquainted with all the difficulties and intricacies of the navigation.

After several most sanguinary contests, the brave but stupid old capitan-pacha was driven down the Black Sea to Varna. The siege of Oczakoff was then pressed; but it was not until the 17th of December that a good breach was made, and the place stormed. Even then the Turks made a desperate resistance, fighting behind the breach and in the streets of the town until they were borne down by numbers and their powder was exhausted. According to accounts published at Vienna, 7400 Turks were slaughtered in the assault, besides those that were afterwards sabred in the houses; and about 3000 remained prisoners of war after the carnage had ceased. The Russians gave all the honour to St. Nicholas; and as soon as the news arrived at St. Petersburg an unusually grand *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung. A few more such sieges would have ruined the Russian army. Though Oczakoff remained to her, Catherine was discontented and irritated. She had been thwarted in her campaign by powers she could not reach, and by Britain in particular, which, if it had thought proper to put forth its strength and enter into the war as the ally of Turkey, might not only have saved Oczakoff, and caused the utter anni-

hilation of Potemkin and his army, but might also have destroyed the whole navy of Russia in the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland. And England, although she did not do a tithe of what she might have done, intimated very plainly that Russia should not dismember the Ottoman empire, nor establish a maritime influence in the Archipelago. If there were any predilections in favour of the autocratess they were nourished rather by Fox than by Pitt. From France she had nothing to expect but enmity; for nothing but the deplorable state of its finances and the precipitate steps of the revolution prevented the French court from succouring its ancient ally the sultan; but Catherine applied to all the other maritime powers of Europe for assistance, or at least for a tacit acquiescence in her scheme. In Holland, as the stadtholder had been reinstated, the will and voice of England prevailed over the czarina's diplomacies, and she was refused any Dutch ships or seamen. Sweden would promise no more than to remain neutral—a promise not intended to be kept—and strict orders were issued that no Swedish ships or seamen should join the Russian expedition. Denmark was more favourably disposed towards the czarina, but wished to avoid committing itself until it should be known in what light Great Britain would regard the armament collecting in the Baltic. The London Gazette soon gave the fiat by prohibiting British seamen from entering into any foreign service; and this proclamation was accompanied by a notice to the contractors for English shipping that they must renounce their engagements; that the ships would not be permitted to proceed; and that government was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality. Hereupon all serious thoughts of sending the Baltic fleet to the Mediterranean were given up by Catherine. Many evils were thus undoubtedly spared the Turks; but, through events which happened very soon after, the detention of her fleet at home proved the greatest piece of good fortune that could have happened to the czarina.

Though the court of Stockholm had promised neutrality, they resented a long series of humiliations, calamities, and spoliations, and were eagerly looking for an opportunity of vengeance and reprisal. Catherine had done her best in bribing a portion of the beggarly and corrupt aristocracy of Sweden, who acted towards her as so many of the Scotch nobility had done towards Queen Elizabeth; but since the revolution of 1772 these Swedish nobles had lost their power and their influence, and had scarcely a voice in the state. The Russian minister at Stockholm contrived, however, to make a great party, and to set on foot a cabal or plot among the nobles, who only wished to re-establish the aristocratic constitu-

tion, which the reigning king had pulled down about their ears. These Swedes, who called themselves patriots, were ready to expose their country to its most powerful and worst enemy—to lay it prostrate before the ukases of Catherine, provided only they should be enabled to humble their king, and re-elect their old oligarchy, which had been selfish, low-spirited, disgraceful alike to nobility, king, and people, to every one that bore the name of Swede. The almost absolute government which had been raised on their fall was in every way preferable to their old constitution. While the king was incensed by the discovery of the Russian intrigues in his own capital, he received overtures from Constantinople, promising numerous advantages if he would make a diversion on the side of the Baltic. As the constant enemy of Russia, the sultan was regarded as the natural friend of Sweden; there were ancient alliances between the two powers, and ever since the day when Charles XII., fleeing before the Czar Peter, sought refuge among the Turks at Bender, the popular traditions and feelings of the Swedish people had been highly favourable to the Ottomans. Moreover, a brave and most martial people could not see the most fertile territories of the old Swedish monarchy occupied by the Russians without an ardent desire of recovering them by force of arms, or through the chances of war, by which the czars and czarinas had obtained possession of them. The flower of the Russian army was engaged far away on the frontiers of Turkey. One victory over the Russian fleet in the Baltic might possibly enable the Swedes to regain Finland, or to dictate their own terms in St. Petersburg; while anything like a demonstration, made in time and with spirit, might induce the empress to recall part of her troops from the Turkish war. The Swedish government was hampered and checked by its poverty; but a Spanish ship passed the Sound, ascended the Baltic, and landed at Stockholm some chests well filled with gold and silver which the sultan had sent round from the Levant. The total amount was estimated at about £400,000 sterling—a large sum for a country so poor as Sweden. The Swedish fleet was got ready for sea with all possible speed, and the army was recruited. To quiet the jealousies of his neighbour the King of Denmark, his Swedish majesty gave out that he was merely putting himself in a state of defence, which was rendered necessary by the formidable appearance of the Russian fleet, and by the vast preparations making by the czarina. "Could one have believed," said the witty Prince de Ligne, "that this crazy old Ottoman empire would have been so near placing the empire of Russia in the saddest state? The plan of the Turks was a very fine one, for if

the King of Sweden had commenced his attack three weeks sooner or three weeks later, and if the capitan-pacha had succeeded in destroying the wretched flotilla in the liman, the king might have gone to Petersburg and the pacha to Cherson." In the month of June, Gustavus, with the van of his army, marched into Finland. He took several towns, the people declared for him, and the Russians were driven from the field. At the same time his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, took the command of the Swedish fleet; and, with fifteen sail of the line and ten frigates, appeared off Cronstadt. Petersburg was thrown into extreme alarm and confusion; but, instead of venturing into the Neva, the Swedes bore away in quest of the Russian fleet, which was cruising in the Gulf of Finland. On the 17th of July a terrible battle was fought. The action began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and was maintained with the greatest fury until night, when the hostile fleets fell asunder, about equally crippled and damaged, and with a terrible loss in killed and wounded. Both Swedes and Russians claimed the victory; but the obstinate and sanguinary affair certainly ended in a drawn battle, or, if there were any slight advantage, it was on the side of the Swedes, whose force was very inferior. The engagement proved that the lessons of Greig and the other British officers had not been thrown away, and that the Russians were rapidly improving as sailors.

Gustavus, who was advancing as a conqueror through Finland, was obliged to halt and turn back by treachery and disaffection in his own camp. He had prepared his brave, well-disciplined, and well-appointed troops for an attack on the city of Fredericksham, the capture of which might have opened to him the road to the capital of Russia, when several of his principal officers—men of the noblest families, whose nobility had been worse than plebeianized by Russian gold—refused to lead on the troops to the attack, or to march beyond Finland. In vain the king remonstrated, and in vain he sent the most conspicuous of the malcontents under an arrest to Stockholm; he found that the disaffection was universal among his officers, and that nothing remained to be done but to march back to his capital. Apparently before he reached Stockholm, he received intelligence that his loving cousin, the King of Denmark, urged on by Catherine's subsidies, had fitted out a great armament, which was invading the southern and most fertile provinces of Sweden from the side of Norway. He had no army with him: the greater part of the 35,000 men, at whose head he had recently marched in the direction of Petersburg, had laid down their arms, and the rest remained on the borders of Finland, under the

command of his second brother, the Duke of Ostrogothia. He issued a spirited proclamation to his people, and flew to the bold miners and mountaineers of Dalecarlia, whose valour had first placed his family on the throne, and whose loyalty and attachment to the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa was unabated. These brave men armed as best they could, and followed their king. In the meantime the Danes, commanded by the Prince of Hesse, had found little or no resistance. They had gained possession of Stronstad and Uddewalla, had crossed the river Gotha, and were within sight of Gothenburg, the principal commercial town of Sweden. That important and almost defenceless place was on the point of capitulating when Gustavus and his Dalecarlians, on the 3d of October, threw themselves into the town. There was no longer any talk of capitulation; but the means of defence were still so defective as to render the situation of the king very precarious. But at this moment, the peremptory voice of Great Britain, which was well delivered by our ambassador at the Danish court, put an end to the danger of his Swedish majesty and his good city of Gothenburg. Mr. Elliot told the crown prince, the son of the unfortunate Matilda of England, who was ruling in the name of his insane or imbecile father, that Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland had united in a treaty of mutual alliance, and were determined to act as mediators; that a Prussian army was ready to enter Holstein, and that an English fleet would sail for the Baltic, unless the Danes immediately ceased their hostilities, and quitted the territories of the King of Sweden; and, under the dictation of the British ambassador, an armistice was concluded, and the Prince of Hesse retired with his Danes into Norway. The war between Sweden and Russia was left to itself. All hostilities were interrupted by the dreadful winter; but there was no truce or intermission to Catherine's intrigues with the disaffected and corrupt Swedish nobles.

Late in the autumn the Emperor Joseph returned to Vienna in a wretched state of health. The fatigue and excitement of the Turkish campaign, his bitter disappointment, and a malaria or marsh fever, had completely undermined his weak constitution, and he never again enjoyed a day's health. He was, however, induced by Catherine to reject pacific overtures which were made to him by the sultan, and to continue the joint war against Turkey. Before the winter was well over, new levies of troops were marched towards the Turkish frontiers, to supply the places of the veterans who had perished in the preceding summer and autumn. Fortunately for those whose lives and military character were concerned, the emperor's health did not permit

him to take the field in person, and the army was thus freed from his perpetual and injudicious interference in all its movements, and in every one of its departments. The chief command was given to old Marshal Haddick, with the witty Prince de Ligne for his second. The Prince of Saxe Coburg was intrusted with the corps on the frontiers of Moldavia and Wallachia, and was to act in concert with the invincible Suvaroff, whom Catherine had detached in that direction with a strong division of Russians. The Prince of Hohenlohe took the command of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Transylvania; and old Marshal Laudohn commanded on the side of Croatia. Collectively, all these *corps d'armée* exceeded 150,000 men. The campaign was on the whole successful, if not very brilliant. The Turks were discouraged and distracted by a great variety of causes. There was a scarcity of money and provisions even in the capital; but in the provinces which had been the seat of war, there was desolation and absolute famine. On the 7th of April (1789), before the campaign had well begun, Sultan Abdul Hamet fell down in a fit in the streets of Constantinople, and died that night or the following morning. His nephew and successor, Selim, was young, rash, and wholly inexperienced, with an unfortunate turn for precipitating changes and reforms, and an impolitic disregard of the feelings and superstitions of the Turks. The late sultan and grand vizier had acted on the offensive against the Austrians, and on the defensive against the Russians; but now Selim and his new vizier changed the plan of the war, and determined to act offensively against the Russians, and defensively against the Austrians. The Turks fought bravely, but they were everywhere crushed by the superior discipline of their enemies. They were defeated in every battle, and driven from every fortress they attempted to defend. Belgrade was taken by Marshal Laudohn, and Bender by Potemkin. Before winter set in the Russians gained possession of Bialogrod or Ackerman, at the mouth of the Danube, and of several other places on the shores of the Black Sea. They had been gradually extending their frontier to the left bank of the Danube; and they had actually reduced every important place between that river and the Bug and Dnieper. Some trifling combats had taken place on the Black Sea between the ships of the capitan-pacha and the czarina's flotilla or flotillas; the Russians here felt their inferiority, and only escaped destruction by running into mouths of rivers, or to the shallows, whither the Turkish ships of the line could not follow them. If Catherine had possessed in the Black Sea a fleet equal to that which she had in the Baltic, the passage of the Bosphorus, with its then con-

temptible batteries and fortifications, might have been forced with little difficulty or danger, and the proud mosques and serais that stand on the seven hills of Constantinople, and the arsenal and dockyard on the Golden Horn, with all the shipping in that port, might have been bombarded, battered, burned, and destroyed.

Ever since the close of the preceding year a certain Baron de Thorus, formerly Russian consul at Alexandria, had been labouring in secret to excite the Mameluke beys to a fresh insurrection against the Porte. But the Russian fleet was still kept in the Baltic by the hostility of the King of Sweden. On his return to his capital at the close of 1788, Gustavus, although relieved from the Danish invasion, found himself surrounded by cabals, intrigues, and difficulties of almost every kind. The nobility seemed set against him as one man; the army left in Finland had despised his authority, and had concluded a truce with the Russians without his consent and even without his knowledge. Confident, however, in the steady attachment of the Swedish people, Gustavus summoned a diet to meet in Stockholm. The northern liberty had taken various forms. In Sweden it exhibited itself in four separate orders, sitting in distinct houses or chambers. Before these four orders assembled, the king had consulted with the magistrates and principal citizens of his capital; he had explained to them how his bright hopes had been blighted

by the intrigues of his inveterate enemy, and by the mutinous spirit of his officers, and he had succeeded in convincing them that neither he nor any other sovereign would ever be able to govern the kingdom with honour, and recover all it had lost, unless some material alterations were made in that part of the constitution which hampered the royal prerogative in the declaration and conduct of war. The diet of the states assembled on the 26th of January (1789). The order of nobles, and all who had formerly belonged to, or been connected with the senate, displayed a decided hostility to the king, and began by accusing him of designs against the constitution. The three other orders, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants—for even the peasantry formed a state and were represented like the rest—were apparently as much devoted to the king as the nobles were opposed to him, and their loyalty was notably increased

by his proposing a law, which was afterwards carried, for extending certain privileges, hitherto possessed exclusively by the nobility, to all the other orders, to all classes and conditions of Swedes, and even to foreigners who became permanent inhabitants of the country. But this was, of course, considered as a fresh injury by the aristocrats, who understood by Swedish liberty merely that part of it which secured them in the enjoyment of their old privileges and immunities, and who were determined to make or allow no sacrifices if they could possibly avoid it. On the 17th of February, after hearing a reproachful speech from the king, who publicly taxed them with their unpatriotic and traitorous connections with Russia, the nobles all rose and immediately quitted the diet in a body, leaving the king and the other three states together. For three days Stockholm was greatly agitated, and so incensed



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were the people against the nobles, that it required great care to prevent their falling upon them with arms in their hands. This feeling was by no means confined to the mob or to the inferior grades of society; the clergy, the most respectable of the burghers, were quite as favourable to the king, and almost as much incensed against the aristocrats, as were the common people. The result was a revolution or a complete change in the old Swedish constitution. The aristocratic senate, which had been abridged of its powers in the revolution of 1772, was now to be entirely suppressed. To supply its place Gustavus instituted a new commission or council, modelled after the *cour plénière*, which had recently been devised by the royalists in France as a mode of preventing the march of the revolution, but which had there been rejected as an impracticability. The powers granted to this new court in Sweden were in some respects ex-

tensive; but the most powerful of the aristocracy being rigidly excluded from it, and the whole being subjected to the immediate control of the king, it became in its operation little more than a mere council of state, after the fashion of those which existed in absolute monarchies. The clergy, the burghers, and the peasants hailed with delight a very comprehensive act called the "Act of Safety," which, among other things, conferred on the king the prerogative of declaring war and making peace—a prerogative which had always been attached to the constitutional crown of England. These three states also voted supplies for carrying on the war against Russia with the utmost alacrity. A fresh army of 50,000 men was raised with all possible speed, and some supplies and reinforcements were sent to the fleet. But Gustavus still apprehended that as soon as he should take the field in Finland the Russians would again bring the Danes upon his back; and as he was playing the part which the three allied courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague would have prescribed for him—as he was keeping up a very important diversion, highly favourable to the sultan—he considered that those three courts ought not merely to guarantee his safety on the side of Denmark and Norway, but also to furnish him with subsidies and other assistance. But Pitt, who was the main director of the triple alliance, had only made up his mind to half measures; he wished to preserve the Turkish empire without breaking with Russia; and so timid and cautious was he in the latter respect, that he had not even issued an order of council to recall the British officers serving on board Catherine's fleet in the Baltic; and thus, though ostensibly favoured by the English government, Gustavus had the mortification to know that brave and skilful English officers were fighting him under the flag of Catherine, and teaching and training her boors and land-lubbers in all the arts of navigation and naval warfare. This was anomalous and unjustifiable. A bolder and nobler course, or even some indirect assistance lent to Gustavus at this crisis, might have checked and humiliated Russia, and have restored to Sweden that balancing power, extent of dominion, and high consideration in the North which she ought to possess, and to which, in most respects, the manly martial character of her subjects entitles her. But all that Pitt would do was to procure and guarantee a strict neutrality from Denmark. Prussia and Holland were, of course, parties in this guarantee; and the Crown Prince of Denmark was again assured that if he touched the Swedish frontier, or joined his forces either by land or sea to those of Russia, they would give to the King of Sweden their speedy and efficacious assistance.

Hostilities recommenced in Finland as soon as the severity of the climate would permit. Towards the end of May several severe and bloody actions took place, the Russians being commanded by Mouschkin Pouschkin, and the Swedes by General Meyersfeldt. In most of these affairs the Russians were defeated by the brilliant valour of the Swedes; but the empress threw in fresh recruits and powerful reinforcements. Early in June, Gustavus arrived and assumed the command of his own army. Only a few days after his arrival in Finland a desperate battle was fought, and the Russians, though far the more numerous, were thoroughly beaten. Gustavus displayed as much bravery as Charles XII. could have done. His brother, the Duke of Sudermania, continued in the command of the fleet, and endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to prevent the junction of the Russian forces. Meanwhile Gustavus continued to be victorious by land; but every battle cost him many of his best men, and as he advanced into Russian Finland his difficulties increased greatly. In this part of his progress he was attended by a fleet of galleys, which moved along shore and co-operated with the army. But Catherine had collected in the Gulf of Finland a far more numerous galley-fleet; and a tremendous engagement, in waters where no large ships could approach, took place on the 25th of August. The result of this day of carnage was that the King of Sweden was obliged to evacuate the Russian territories, and retreat across his own frontier.

The troubles in the Netherlands had broken out afresh, and were not destined to come to a peaceful and satisfactory termination. Joseph's pride was hurt by the accommodation of 1787; and as soon as he imagined he had means sufficient so to do, he rashly resolved to annul all the concessions which he had made to the Flemings and Brabanters, and to carry into execution every part of his original scheme of reform. Above all things, he determined that the Capuchins should not be allowed to triumph over him, nor the doctors of Louvain be permitted to teach philosophy and theology in their own old way. The first intimation of Joseph's design was seen in the recall of Count Murray, and the substitution of General Dalton. Murray was a man of a lenient, conciliating temper; Dalton, an Irishman by birth, but who had grown gray in foreign service, was exactly the reverse in character and disposition. He was thoroughly a man of the sword, and one that thought the sword, in all cases, the best instrument of government. At the same time, Count Trautmansdorff was appointed to the civil government of those dominions. They arrived at Brussels at the end of 1787, or early in 1788. The first renewal of

discord was on the subject of the university of Louvain. The people stood up manfully for their old priests, monks, and divinity professors; and blood was soon spilled in the streets of Brussels, of Antwerp, and of other towns, by Dalton's battalions. The college was shut up, but so also were the hearts of all the emperor's subjects in the Netherlands to any return of good feeling or reconciliation with him. While blundering through his campaign on the Danube, and allowing his fine army to be repeatedly defeated by the undisciplined, unskilful Turks, Joseph found time to write letters to the Netherlands, expressing his perfect approbation of Dalton's vigorous proceedings at Louvain and at Antwerp. He indulged in the confident hope that these acts of vigour, and the flight of the principal malcontents, would re-establish order and a perfect submission to his will. He could not, or he would not perceive that these exiles might soon return with foreign armies at their backs; and that the Flemings, Brabanters, and the rest might rise to a man and join any standard rather than submit again to his rule. For the present, the whole of that fine country wore the aspect of sullen gloom and discontent; the prisons were crowded, the manufactories were left empty, the emigration continued, and a stop was put to nearly all trade and industry. Many of the emigrants threw themselves into the political clubs and all the revolutionary commotions at Paris, imbibing new, extreme, and violent notions of politics, and of the rights of man; and from this time clubs and secret societies began to be formed in Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liege, and most of the principal cities of the Austrian Netherlands; and ideas and aspirations received birth and encouragement which were not merely incompatible with the sovereign rule of the emperor, but with any monarchical government or any known and settled constitution. Frenchmen of ready wit and still readier tongues went from place to place as political missionaries and prophets; and these visitations were extended into Holland and the other United Provinces, where the democratic party, who had been put down by Prussian bayonets and cannon, were quite ready to rise again if they could only see a good prospect of support and success. By one edict Joseph sequestered all the remaining abbeys of Brabant. The states of Brabant now refused to vote any subsidies whatsoever; and at the beginning of the year 1789 Joseph recalled his oath to observe the terms of the "Joyous Entry," ordered fresh arrests and banishments, and intimated in the most unequivocal manner that he intended to establish by military force an absolute government in the Netherlands, to correspond with the despotism of all his other states and possessions, excepting Hungary and the

Tyrol. But in a brief space of time nearly all the nobility, gentry, and clergy—nearly all the manufacturers, merchants, burghers, and substantial farmers—openly declared against the emperor, who was so occupied by the war on the Danube, and so impoverished by it, that instead of 40,000 men which Trautmansdorff had spoken of, he could scarcely spare 1000 to send into the Netherlands. He had goaded his subjects there into universal insurrection at the very moment when his means of coercing them were at the lowest, and their hopes and encouragements at the highest pitch; for the French revolutionists were now advancing in full career. The Duke d'Aremberg and other great nobles, the Archbishop of Mechlin, the head of the clergy, with numerous bishops and lord abbots, the members of the states of Brabant, and the members of the now suppressed grand council, assembled at Breda in the course of the months of August and September, 1789, and on the 14th of September they constituted and declared themselves to be the legal assembly of the states. In that capacity, and supported by the almost unanimous voice of the country, they told the emperor that nothing but the immediate revocation of his illegal edicts, and the reinstatement of the provinces in their ancient rights, could possibly relieve them from the cruel necessity of appealing to God and the sword. A few weeks after, the militia and volunteers assembled in many towns under their old officers, and bands of insurgents, well armed and not unprovided with artillery, took the field and drove the emperor's garrisons out of forts Lillo and Liefenshoek. Dalton sent against them a strong division under General Schröder, who retook the two forts. But a few days after, when Schröder ventured to follow the insurgents into Turnhout, he was defeated in a street fight and driven out of that town with great loss. After this success the insurgents took the name of the "patriotic army," and were joined every day by great numbers of returning emigrants, who, if they came from the south, brought with them French democrats, and if they came from the north, Dutch democrats. If Dalton had ever been fond of fighting, he certainly showed no such propensity on the present occasion: he kept away from the field and intrusted the command of the troops to others. Being informed that the patriots were making head at Tirlemont, he sent General Bender against them, and Bender, imprudently engaging in the streets of the town as Schröder had done before him, was thoroughly defeated and driven out of the place with great loss and shame. This was at the beginning of November. Within a very few days after, General Arbeig was routed and compelled to retreat behind the Scheldt; and the

banner of independence was raised in Louvain, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, and other important cities. The emperor now fell into an agony of alarm and suspicion. The letters from his sister Marie Antoinette conveyed dismal accounts of what was passing and plotting in France. He began to suspect almost every man that was anywise connected with the Netherlands, and he even doubted for a moment the fidelity of the brave and witty Prince de Ligne, who had hitherto been an especial favourite with him, but who, as a native of the Low Countries, and as one having great estates there and high consideration among his countrymen, now became an object of suspicion. And in fact the chiefs of the insurrection had applied to De Ligne, who was then commanding a part of the emperor's troops at the siege of Belgrade, to take the command of the patriot army in the Netherlands. The prince was not the sort of man that could break through the ties of allegiance, the obligations of a soldier, or the habitudes of a whole life; he was moreover personally attached to the emperor, who had many qualities proper to conciliate friendship and esteem; and De Ligne, who was quick-sighted and sagacious beyond most of his contemporaries, clearly foresaw the anarchy to which the French revolution must lead, and the identification which must take place between that revolution and the insurrection in his own country if not checked in time. He removed the emperor's doubts and suspicions by some of his familiar and witty letters; but under his pleasant and badinage appeared in sober sadness his forebodings and apprehensions. He earnestly recommended the emperor to put an end to the ruinous war on the Danube, to content himself with the towns and the fortresses he had taken, to make peace with the Turks, and to apply himself with all his power, and with the least possible delay, to extinguish the flames in the Low Countries, and to prevent the spreading of the great fire kindled in France;¹ and if Joseph had followed his advice, some of the earlier stages of the French revolution might have been less ruinous and disgraceful to the old monarchies and despotisms of Europe. If nothing more had been done, the quieting of the Low Countries, and the return of the people to their former tranquillity and attachment to the house of Austria, which might have been brought about without armies and without any bloody contention, might have closed the gates to the neighbouring French, instead of leaving them wide open, and the minds of the Flemings and Brabanters in a state to receive the republicans as friends and deliverers. The first outpouring of the French was sure to be towards Flanders and

Brabant, the old battle-fields of Europe—every motive, nearly every possible consideration, ought to have urged the emperor to make himself strong on this side; but he, on the contrary, had been throwing down every rampart and barrier, had been labouring, as if purposely, to facilitate the first movements of the French, and possibly even at the first moment on which the Prince de Ligne offered his good advice it was too late to follow it with effect. De Ligne says that he was himself oppressed with summonses and propositions to go and place himself at the head of the Flemish insurgents; that he was called upon to defend the rights and privileges of his country, and menaced with confiscation in case of his delaying any further to take that decisive patriotic step. To Vandernoot, who conducted this correspondence for the patriots, the prince returned no answer; but he wrote to others of his countrymen to assure them that there was more to be gained from a reconciliation with the emperor than from a perseverance in revolution and war, which could only be maintained by a union or alliance with the French, whose present temper and views he considered as perilous in the extreme, not merely to all crowns and sceptres, but to all nobles, to all men possessing property, to the entire aristocracy of Europe.

In the month of November the emperor addressed a conciliatory declaration to all his subjects in the Low Countries: he expressed a deep sorrow for the troubles which had broken out, and offered a redress of grievances upon condition of their first laying down their arms. Having already been deceived in this way, and having been exasperated and maddened by Dalton's military executions, the people would not trust Joseph again, nor rely in any degree on the paternal affection which he boasted. The states of Flanders, on the 20th November (1789), assumed the style of "High and Mighty States;" and they asserted their independence by passing and issuing various resolutions and manifestoes declaring the emperor to have forfeited, by tyranny and injustice, and the invasion of their privileges, all right or title to the sovereignty, and ordering the levy of an army of 20,000 men, and a close union with the states of Brabant. In Brabant, and particularly in Brussels, the patriots proceeded with increasing vigour and vehemence; for every day brought the most encouraging news of the emperor's illness and political weakness, of the irresistible might of the mother-revolution at Paris—and many of the aristocracy of the Low Countries were not so quick-sighted as De Ligne in discovering the tendency of French democracy, and its inevitable consequences if once allowed to get the ascendancy. Dalton, after all his bravadoes, had been compelled to shut himself up

¹ *Lettres et Pensées.*

in Brussels. The patriots soon rose upon him there, and attacked him unexpectedly at a moment when conciliatory negotiations were carrying on. All the unscrupulous conduct was not on one side, and in the Low Countries, as elsewhere, patriots could be guilty of treachery and deception as well as kings, ministers, and courtiers. The Irish soldier of fortune was so completely taken by surprise that he was obliged, on the 9th of December (1789), to sue for a capitulation. The patriots granted him leave to withdraw his troops into Luxemburg; and they then remained in undisputed possession of all Brabant as well as Flanders.

The applications of the Belgic patriots to France had commenced in the earliest stages of the French revolution, and before the character of that phenomenon could be ascertained. They gave birth to a strange variety of schemes and intrigues at Paris. One party thought of getting the Duke of Orleans appointed ruler of the emancipated states, which were to be formed into a separate kingdom, with something like the same limits which belong to the present kingdom of Belgium. Emissaries had been despatched to Brussels, to Ghent, and to other cities, in order to work out or prepare for this project; and it is even said that the Duke of Orleans opened the scheme to the British government, and endeavoured to obtain their concurrence or acquiescence on the ground that the Netherlands would never again submit to the emperor.¹ This intrigue failed, as might have been expected. As a last resource the Emperor Joseph despatched Count Cobentzel, a practised and able diplomatist, to Brussels, with full powers to treat with the insurgents. Cobentzel offered to restore all their privileges and rights; but the states now haughtily demanded many new privileges and an extension of their rights, together with a better security, properly guaranteed, for the enjoyment of them. And on the last day of the year 1789 the states of Brabant bound themselves, in presence of the citizens of Brussels, by a solemn oath, to preserve the rights, privileges, and constitution of their country; and they administered the same oath to the members of the restored grand council, also in presence of the citizens and populace of Brussels, who rent the air with their acclamations, swearing in their turn to support the states and the council, and to live free or die. Shortly afterwards they formed an offensive and defensive league with the states of Flanders. By this time the King and Queen of France were little better than state prisoners in the Tuileries. The national assembly was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the scene of famine and almost daily insurrection: The revolutionary arena was now full of com-

batants, and the combat itself was considerably advanced.

By the part which it had taken in the American war, the government of Louis XVI. had reduced itself to a state of bankruptcy, and had given countenance and strength to the spirit of revolutionism in Europe. La Fayette, who ineptly figured during the first stages of the French revolution, became on his return to his own country a sort of popular idol; and nearly every Frenchman that had served with him in the western world was regarded with admiration and respect, as one that had witnessed the triumph of the cause of the people, and was capable of giving advice and instruction in all those political matters which Frenchmen had so long disregarded. Franklin, too, and all the American residents and travellers, were regarded as oracles in the *salons* of Paris; and republicanism became a fashion even among the nobility, especially among such as were poor, or out of favour at court, or younger brothers. It was in this state of mind that the writings of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Rousseau, Diderot, and their followers—the principles of the *encyclopédistes*, *économistes*, and *philosophes*, who were one and all agreed in animosity not merely against the Catholic church, but against all revealed religion—began really to ferment and to produce their rapid and wide-spreading effects. But, perhaps, as compendiums and manuals of political science Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and his *Rights of Man* were in greatest vogue among the less educated part of the community. With such guides, and in their unacquaintance with the practical workings of a free system of government, the French were not likely to conduct a revolution with wisdom and moderation; yet that some great and sweeping changes were indispensable will not now be denied by any man in his senses. Not less, as we believe, through the imprudence and vices of the people than through the concerted despotism of the court, almost the last traces of a constitution or of liberty had for long ages disappeared in France. The states-general, which had once an authority corresponding to that of the English parliament, had been altogether discontinued; the parlements had been converted into mere courts of register; and those municipal institutions upon which all liberty and proper self-government depend had been reduced to a nullity. The taxes were most unequally distributed—the privileged classes, the nobility, the clergy, the monastic orders, contributing hardly anything to the public revenue. Plebeian birth was an all but insurmountable bar to any promotion in the army or navy. Yet the noblesse had no political privileges whatsoever; and if not considerable by their landed property, their employments, or military rank, they were

¹ *Memoirs of Dumouriez.*

simply valets of the court, or dissipated adventurers, or obscure yet proud country gentlemen. Impartial justice was rarely to be obtained, and arbitrary arrests by *lettre de cachet* and long confinements in the Bastille, without trial and without cause assigned, were, or rather had been common events among the superior classes of society. The poor people were oppressed by *corvées* and other intolerable services. These were only a few of the evils which the French had to complain of; and the redress of them would have sanctified a revolution if it had been conducted with wisdom and humanity.

The financial embarrassments of the government, which precipitated the crisis, originated in rather a remote period; the splendid and much-vaunted reign of Louis XIV., with its invasion and transient conquests, had impoverished the country; the profligate government of the Regent Orleans sank the state still deeper in debt; and under the reign of Louis XV. ruinous, sanguinary, and for the most part unsuccessful wars abroad, and an infamous misrule at home, increased this poverty and discontent.

It was under this reign that the court, the capital, and most of the great cities of France, became demoralized to a point beyond which all the horrors of the coming revolution could scarcely carry them. There were great and glorious exceptions among all classes, and in every part of the kingdom; in many of the remote and rural districts a simplicity and innocence of manners still reigned; there were generous sentiments and aspirations in a very large part of the nation, and existing even in the breasts of men to whom vice and sensual indulgence were most familiar; there was bravery to do and dare, for that essential quality never yet was wanting in the French; there was an abundance, or a superabundance, of talent, ingenuity, wit; but there was no political experience, no caution or moderation, no patient perseverance, no toleration for the errors or passions of others, no sympathy or friendship, but a deadly hostility between all the different ranks or classes of society, at the moment when Louis XVI. and his young wife became king and queen, with the touching exclamation or prayer uttered on their knees, and with streaming eyes, "O God! guide us, protect us; we are too young to reign!"

The new sovereign, a weak but amiable man, and not without acquirements and abilities which might have rendered him a good and useful king in a different country, or even in France under less numerous and fatal difficulties, found the people discontented, impoverished, suffering, and mutinous; the government embarrassed by an enormous and still increasing debt; the credit of the state destroyed by a bankruptcy profligately perpetrated by the Abbé Terray, the precious

finance minister of Louis XV.; the army disorganized, the navy almost annihilated, and all classes and conditions of his subjects calling for reform—for an immediate and sweeping reform—without being in the least agreed as to where it was to begin and where end, or as to the means to be employed in procuring it. At first, however, there seemed a fair prospect of contentment and tranquillity: the king chose for his premier the octogenarian Count de Maurepas, who had grown old without growing very wise; but he appointed Turgot, the most distinguished of the economists, and a virtuous and philosophic man, to be comptroller-general of the finances, and the wise and good Malesherbes to preside over the department of justice. The exiled parlement was recalled, and reinstated with honour. Turgot and Malesherbes, who knew the temper of the times, and that some grand changes were inevitable, wished the king to take the business of reform into his own hands, whereby, they calculated, he might be enabled to retain the direction of it, and prevent the extremity of a revolution—an extremity fearful even among a better trained and more phlegmatic people, but trebly dangerous with a people like the French. They proposed that the king should begin with some of the gross and monstrous burdens that ground the commonalty; that he should suppress the internal duties which weighed heaviest on articles of food, and above all the detested *gabelle*, or tax on salt; that he should abolish the *corvées*, or forced labour for the maintenance of roads, and the other tyrannical usages which had arisen out of the feudal system; that he should subject the nobility and the clergy to pay taxes as well as the *tiers état*, or common people; and that he should convert tallages and other services, which excessively harassed and distressed the country people, into a fixed territorial impost. They also recommended the abolition of torture; a total revision of the old criminal code; the compilation of a new and uniform civil code; full liberty of conscience, and the recall of the Protestants; the gradual suppression of the greater part of the convents and monasteries; the emancipation of the civil power from ecclesiastical jurisdiction; a proper provision for the parochial clergy and country *curés*, who did all the duties of religion that were performed in France, who possessed all the religion that was left in the French clergy, and who were and had for ages been condemned to starve or languish upon miserable pittance, while the dignitaries of the church—excessively wealthy and luxurious, and as dissipated and unbelieving as the lay aristocracy—were spending the money of the church at Paris. They further recommended the redemption of all feudal rents and obligations; the suppression of all the exist-

ing impediments to trade and industry, of everything which separated the provinces of France from one another, and checked the commercial intercourse of the kingdom; the formation of provincial administrations, to be composed of the great landed proprietors, who were to unite and give strength to the powers and spirit of the municipal bodies, to superintend the construction of roads and canals, in which France was miserably deficient, and to attend to a variety of important affairs too apt to be overlooked by the central government, residing continually in the capital. Turgot was intimately connected not only with the political economists, but with the whole body of philosophes, to whose free notions in metaphysics and in religion he subscribed: he therefore suggested, as important parts of the reform, that the philosophes should be retained for the government by proper fees and emoluments, in order to furnish "*the tribute of their philanthropic observations*;" that thought should be rendered free as trade; and that a new system of public instruction should be established, from which "*all the old prejudices*" should be weeded and excluded. As Louis XVI. was not a free-thinker, as he loved the old religion much better than the new ethics, as, like his grandfather, Louis XV., he suspected and dreaded the philosophes, their converts and partizans, there was much in the scheme proposed that was in the highest degree distasteful to him; and other essential portions of the project were still more odious to the aristocracy and the clergy, who exclusively surrounded the king, who already raised a loud cry about vested rights and ancient privileges, and who expressed, in the most determined manner, their intention of yielding nothing to the people. Deafened by these clamours, the young king threw out all the vital parts of the project; and agreed with his premier, old Maurepas, that nothing ought to be done that tended to disgust and alienate the nobility and the clergy, the real supporters of the power and splendour of the throne. Turgot, however, succeeded in inducing Maurepas and the king to consent to the abolition of the *corvée*, of the interior custom-houses between province and province, and of various other vexations and abuses, which, collectively, formed no insignificant instalment towards better government. But the French people and the philosophes were far too impatient to wait for what could not possibly be well done except with time and caution; and the other orders were variously dissatisfied even with the little that was thus done in the way of reform. The courtiers complained bitterly of the rigid economy which Turgot had introduced; and the parlement of Paris resented several measures which went to interfere with their old jurisdic-

tion, functions, and profits. The patriotism of the latter body seems to have evaporated from the very moment they discovered that their purses and their influence were to be touched. Turgot's ministerial life of two years was a very uneasy one. The wisdom and the boldness with which he opposed the mad war-party that drove Louis XVI. into the American war—predicting so many of the fatal consequences of that rash step—put the capstone to his unpopularity at court, and he was driven into retirement in 1776.

Turgot was succeeded as comptroller-general of finance by Clugny, who, after holding office about six months, gave place to Necker, from whom



NECKER.—From a portrait by J. S. Duplessis.

nothing less than absolute miracles were expected; and that too by a people who believed not merely that the age of miracles was over, but that it had never existed. The prevalence of the new ideas was seen in this appointment, for Necker was not only a plebeian, but a foreigner and *Protestant*. He was a native of Geneva, and the son of a professor of law in that little republic. He went to Paris in his youth to seek fortune or employment; and he found both in the house of Thellusson, also a Genevese, and at that time the greatest banker and capitalist on the Continent. His steadiness and perseverance, with some abilities, soon raised him from the condition of a clerk to that of a partner, and in the course of twelve or thirteen years he realized a very large fortune. There was some difficulty in overcoming the religious scruples and the national scruples of Louis XVI., who thought that his finance minister ought to be a Frenchman and a Catholic; but in the end, the alien and Protestant Necker was admitted to the most difficult office of the state, without, however, having the honour of a seat in the council. He refused the ordinary

pay and emoluments of office, declaring that his only object was to benefit the people of France, and save their government from bankruptcy. Men, however, who knew him well, and who even respected the many good qualities that were in him, thought that it would have given him some pain to see France saved by any other hand than his own; and that, though not covetous of money, he was covetous of distinction and glory as a statesman, and singularly ambitious of being thought the only regenerator of an undone kingdom. If Turgot's schemes had in some degree smelt overstrongly of the new philosophism and of the coterie of encyclopedists and economists, Necker certainly savoured too much of the banking-house and the stock-exchange. He considered that the salvation of this rickety, worn-out monarchy might be found in public loans adroitly managed, in the introduction of a better system of collection and book-keeping, and in a very little economy on the part of the court and the various departments of government. Loans, new loans, were to supply the place of new taxes; for the people, the *tiers état*, were already so overburdened that they could bear no more, and the nobility and clergy had secured for a little while longer their exemption from all taxes. No doubt there was service to be done by a good banker and stock-broker, and Necker did honestly and with spirit, just as much as was to be expected from a man in that capacity; but he did, and could do little more, for Necker was scarcely a statesman at all, and the crisis required the greatest of statesmen. Nor is it at all improbable that the greatest statesman that ever has lived, or that ever shall live, would have utterly failed in that political chaos. As for Necker's economy, or reduction of expenditure, it was too insignificant in amount to have saved a little Swiss canton. He would have made it more, but he was thwarted by the young queen, who naturally loved pleasure and expense, by the whole household, and by nearly every aristocrat that had place, appointment, or pension, or was living in the hope of obtaining it. The more thoughtful part of this high, and privileged, and separate world agreed that some retrenchment might be necessary or expedient; but they never could agree as to the places where the retrenchments ought to be made, and every one of them thought that he, his own connections, or particular department ought to be spared. And Necker, afraid of making enemies, afraid of offending the queen, carefully abstained from any bold attempt. If it had been a time of peace his financial operations might have produced some more lasting benefit; but nearly all the money he could borrow was swallowed up by the American war,

and he found himself incapacitated from alleviating the crushing burdens of the people. He went on adding loan to loan. In the year 1781 he was permitted to publish his famous *comptes rendus*, or regular account of the finances of the kingdom, which disclosed for the first time the state of the revenue and expenditure—things which had hitherto been considered as sacred arcana of government, of which the people were never to have a glimpse. Although he was only half a philosophe and half a liberal, that party highly applauded this disclosure, declaring that it would render impossible the return of the old secret and absolute system. But, on the other hand, his disclosure made him many powerful enemies, and united against him a legion of placemen, pensioners, contractors, and others, who loved to live upon the public purse without the public having any knowledge of the fact. The *comptes rendus* certainly contributed somewhat to the great change that was approaching, and which was driven on by causes innumerable. Necker, assailed on every side at court, now declared that all his endeavours to retrieve the affairs of the country must prove ineffectual unless the king allowed him to change a part of the cabinet and to have a place at the council table. The king refused even the seat in the council, and thereupon Necker tendered his resignation, which was accepted in May, 1781, not many weeks after the publication of his *comptes rendus*. After a short uneasy interval, a finance minister was found perfectly to the taste of the court. This was Calonne, a bold, dashing, brilliant, self-confident man, who had a great deal of wit and a wonderful fertility of invention, and who would have saved France, if wit and impudence and wild schemes could have done it. Instead of recommending an extensive and statesmanlike economy as Turgot had done, or practising a paltry economy like Necker, he boldly declared that no economy was necessary, and that the gaiety and splendour of the court ought to be supported. He entirely captivated the suffrages of the court by the urbanity of his manners, the facility with which he granted favours or money, and the charming tone and tenor of his political philosophy. He was regarded as the best comptroller of finances that God had ever made—for courtiers. But this pleasant piping time could not last; a sum of money which, in francs, fills the breadth of a page, must be raised immediately, and an enormous addition must be made to the annual taxation of the country, or bankruptcy, ruin, anarchy, must ensue. Calonne felt, as a man who had bowels and sense, that it would be cruelty and madness to grind the people any further; and, after revolving many schemes, he determined to make an appeal to the nobility

and the clergy; and he obtained the reluctant consent of the king to convoke an "Assembly of Notables."

The notables assembled at Versailles on the 22d of February, 1787. The old courtiers were horror-stricken even at a deliberative, powerless, and most imperfect popular assembly like this; and the profligate Duke of Richelieu asked one of his friends what punishment he thought Louis XIV. would have inflicted upon any minister that had presumed merely to propose such a dangerous measure? These notables were almost to a man members of the privileged orders, and were exempted, either by birth or by profession, or by both accidents, from contributing to the wants of the state: but many of them were known to entertain the new notions, and to have expressed an eagerness for reform and the correction of abuses. It was, in fact, upon these grounds that they had been selected from among thousands and hundreds of thousands; and Calonne was credulous enough to imagine that they would display a perfect disinterestedness, and forward the liberal principles they professed at the expense of sacrifices from themselves and the orders to which they belonged. He thought, too, that if selfish men should be found among these notables of the land, they would, from their very selfishness, be ready to sacrifice a part to save the large remainder, to resign their exemption from taxation in order to keep their great estates and their rich benefices. It was, therefore, with his ordinary gaiety and vivacity that Calonne explained in detail the motives of their being called together, and the healing schemes which he had to propose for their consideration. These schemes consisted, first, in a new distribution of taxes, by which the revenue would be materially increased, and the expenses of collecting it materially lessened; and, secondly, in the abolition of the invidious privileges of the nobility and clergy, which provoked a perennial jealousy and animosity on the part of the *tiers état* and which opposed an insurmountable barrier to permanent improvement of any kind. But his illusion was presently dissipated. Instead of approving his plans, the notables pointed out their defects and their very dangerous tendency. Such a storm was raised as completely overwhelmed even the bold and ready-witted comptroller-general; and though warmly supported by the queen, Calonne was dismissed on the 10th of April. He was succeeded by a forward, fashionable, self-confident dignitary of the church, Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, who accepted the post of Calonne with an appearance of confidence, and

was shortly after translated to the much richer archbishopric of Sens. At every change wonders were expected; but it soon became visible that Loménie had no plan, and that no plan was possible. The notables who had joined him in making war upon Calonne abandoned him the very moment he showed a disposition to resume and carry into effect a part of the projects which had been proposed by that minister and first contemplated by Turgot. He could neither continue the profusion of Calonne, by which alone the court was to be retained, nor fall back upon the saving system of Necker, which might have amused the people yet a little while: the loan-market was shut against him, and neither nobility nor clergy would open their purses to contribute. There was no hope for him or in him. He could scarcely dare to speak against the privileges and exemptions which he had so recently defended; and, when two or three of the notables hazarded reflections upon the amount of untaxed property, tithes, &c., they were put down by loud and indignant voices. "You demand the convocation of the states-general," said the new minister with an air of alarm and astonishment. "Yes," said La Fayette, whose revolutionary ardour had not excluded him from the assembly, "yes, and *something more than that!*" The notables, who were not incorrectly designated by La Fayette's pun *Not-able*, were rigid in their parsimony, and not very submissive in other respects. They, however, sanctioned the formation of provincial assemblies, which, with time and patience, might have been productive of great good, if only in accustoming the French to a little self-government; and they also approved of the ministerial plan for regulating the internal trade in corn. They agreed to the total abolition of the *corvée*, and to the imposing a new stamp tax; and here they halted. The court and the new minister of finance were about equally afraid of what they might do and what they had left undone; and it was resolved to put an end to a meeting which had disappointed all parties. On the 25th of May the king dissolved them. In July, the parlement of Paris refused to enregister the new stamp act which the notables had sanctioned; and requested that his majesty would be pleased to convoke the states-general of the kingdom. Then, by the advice of Loménie de Brienne and his other ministers, Louis had recourse to a *lit de justice*, or "Bed of Justice," a fashion which had been introduced in the course of the gradual growth of despotism and disuse of even deliberative assemblies, and which had often been resorted to before, when parlements proved refractory.

CHAPTER XXIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1789.

GEORGE III.

Progress of the French revolution—Assembly of the “Bed of Justice” at Versailles—The parlement of Paris protests against its edicts—Public ferment against the stamp tax—Force employed against the parlementers—La Fayette’s satisfaction at the symptoms of revolution—His revolutionary proceedings—The stamp tax abandoned—Unexpected entrance of Louis XVI. into the parlement of Paris—He demands its assent to two edicts—He is opposed by the Duke of Orleans—The duke and parlement protest against the edicts—They are punished by the court and applauded by the people—The court resolves to institute a *cour plénière*—Resolutions of the parlement against the measure—Attempt to arrest D’Espréménil and De Monsabert—They are arrested in the parlement and imprisoned—Revolt of the Bretons against the royal edicts—They form an alliance with La Fayette—The Duke of Orleans recalled to Paris—Destructive hail-storm in France—Famine succeeds—Poverty of the national exchequer—The Archbishop of Toulouse displaced and Necker recalled to office—Resolution to assemble the states-general—Proposal of the parlement to exclude the *tiers état* from it—The parlement becomes unpopular by the proposal—Resolution to give the *tiers état* preponderance over the other bodies—Pamphlets written on the subject—Difficulties about the amount of representation to be given to the *tiers état*—A double representation assigned to it—Popular delight at the concession—Riots in France before the meeting of the states-general—The states-general assembled—Their imposing procession—Controversy among the three bodies about their sitting together or apart—Characters by whom the *tiers état* was represented—They assume the title of the “National Assembly”—The three orders meet in one chamber—Necker dismissed—The Bastille stormed—Bailly made mayor of Paris, and La Fayette commander of the national guard—Necker recalled—His triumphant return to Paris—The demagogues predominate—The mob are let loose—Popular riots and executions in Paris—Uproar and violence of the country people in the provinces—Excesses tolerated or encouraged by the national assembly—Unfortunate military dinner of the 1st October—Indignation of the patriots at the military toasts and demonstrations—The national guards and mob march to Versailles—They bring the king and his family as prisoners to Paris—The Breton Club changes into the Jacobin Club—The Duke of Orleans exiled—His name made the scapegoat of the revolutionary excesses.



ON the 6th of August, 1787, the “Bed of Justice” was held at Versailles. Before the parlement quitted Paris to attend it, they entered a protest against anything that might be done or attempted contrary to the laws of the kingdom. At Versailles they were compelled to be silent, and to witness the registering of the edict at the express command of the sovereign; but, on the next day, when they reassembled in the Palais de Justice, at Paris, they declared, in a formal protest, that the edict, having been registered against their approbation and consent, was null and void; and the first person that should attempt to carry it into execution should be judged and treated as a traitor. They well knew that the other parlements of the kingdom would follow their example, and that the tax and duty payers—the great body of the people, who already paid too much—would not, with such encouragements, submit to the stamp tax. Altogether, a more unlucky choice of an impost could not have been made. The history of the stamp tax in America was very generally known, and there was La Fayette, with Jefferson and a knot of Americans, to indoctrinate the French people. The very name of the tax was enough to forebode mischief. At this time of ferment

all the printing presses of Paris worked night and day, pouring forth, for the most part, nothing but eulogiums on the patriotic parlement, anathemas on the government, libels on the king, and libels still more atrocious on the queen. The Count d’Artois, the king’s younger brother (afterwards the ill-starred Charles X.), was grossly insulted in the streets of the capital, for having told the parlementers that if he were king he would compel them to be more obedient. At court, with an excessive irritation, there was much indecision; for Louis, though claiming absolute power, had in reality little taste for absolute measures. But about a week after holding the unpropitious *lit de justice*, he assented to the proposals of his ministers for employing force and intimidation, and all the parlementers were suddenly arrested and conveyed to Troyes. When their departure became known there was a loud uproar; but the soldiers, who were not yet won over to the popular side, patrolled the streets and restored quiet by breaking a few heads and conveying some of the noisiest to their *corps de gardes* or to prison. But the king had not armies in every part of France, and at nearly every great town where there were no troops or only weak garrisons a spirit of riot and resistance was manifested. Even at this very early stage there were

symptoms that the people would make a wild and immoderate use of their power whenever they should be enfranchised; and that the revolution, like all its predecessors, would be a bloody one. But men would not permit their extravagant hopes to be overcast by these sad signs, or alarm to be excited by their warning.

La Fayette, who appears to us to be about the



LA FAYETTE.—From an anonymous print.

most inept man that ever meddled with the main-springs of revolutions, wrote in an ecstasy of joy to his old friends on the other side of the Atlantic—"Notions of liberty have been spreading very fast among us ever since the American revolution. The combustible materials have been kindled by the assembly of notables and by our parlements.

Liberty is cantering and prancing from one end of the kingdom to the other."¹ Prancing, indeed! a wild unbroken colt, beating her unshodden hoofs to pieces on rough ground, where no roads as yet had been made, without bit or rein to curb and guide her, and with a crowd of self-confident but bad riders like La Fayette, each jostling the other and fighting to be first, fondly fancying that they could vault upon her back without saddle or stirrup, guide her as they list, and put her through her paces like an old well-trained Flanders mare. But if La Fayette was deficient in all the high qualities which make a statesman or a political philosopher, he was gifted with a wonderful share of activity. He attended the notables; he was in constant communication with the leaders of opposition in the parlement of Paris and in nearly all the other parlements of the kingdom; he voted and harangued in the provincial assembly of Auvergne, his native province; and in a trice he was back in the capital, consulting with Jefferson and other American republicans as to the best means of making and

conducting this revolution.² Other men of less name, but of infinitely more ability, were as active as La Fayette, for the revolutionary party comprised the young and middle-aged, whereas the monarchy was defended by the old only—who, as Jefferson complacently remarked, must be less active and be diminished daily in the usual course of nature. Loménie de Brienne, who had to bear the whole weight of government, and who was distracted by conflicting schemes and intrigues at court, not knowing what to do, did scarcely anything at all, beyond ordering the suppression of the political clubs, and causing the streets of the capital to be patroled constantly by strong parties. Troubles and even open insurrections broke out in Dauphiny, in Brittany, French Flanders, Provence, and Languedoc; and the provincial states, nobility, clergy, and *tiers état* united in determined opposition. In this state of the public mind ministers could not venture to attempt levying the stamp tax or carrying into effect the *subvention territoriale*; and the president of the parlement, without any permission from the king, or previous notice given, was emboldened to quit Troyes, and repair to Versailles. On the 13th of September (1787) M. le Président obtained an audience of Louis, who had been for some time in a most painful state of poverty, doubt, and vacillation, not knowing whether to persevere in hostilities or to attempt a reconciliation. He told his majesty—what all the world had been telling him for months—that the kingdom would be absolutely ruined unless the present system was abandoned, the parlement reinstated, and the states-general convoked. The boldness of his language had an instantaneous effect on the timidity of the king, and decided his wavering mind—at least for a few hours. Louis engaged to give up the stamp tax and the territorial impost, to recall the parlement, and to give them satisfaction in some other respects; while all that he required from the president was, that they should register the patent by which Loménie de Brienne was recently appointed first minister of state. The parlement returned in triumph to Paris.

This apparent return of a good understanding between the court and the parlement lasted but a very short time; nor would its longer duration have been of much importance; for it was impossible that the questions at issue should be settled by these two bodies. Louis, unfortunate in his own character, unfortunate in his advisers, and in nearly all those who surrounded him, changed his mind and system within a very few days. With somewhat unusual noise and publicity the 19th of November was fixed for a grand royal hunt; and on the morning of that day, when the parlement thought that the king and

¹ Letters to General Washington, in *Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., of General La Fayette*; published by his family.

² *Memoirs of La Fayette*, of Gouverneur Morris, and of Jay.

court were chasing deer in the forest of St. Germain, Louis, attended by all the princes of the blood, the great officers of state, the peers of France, and a long retinue besides, drove into Paris and suddenly appeared at the gates of the Palais de Justice, wherein the parlement was

feelingly on the subject of religious toleration. "I will ever maintain," said he, "the holy religion in which I have the happiness to have been born, and I will not permit it to suffer any diminution of its pre-eminence in the kingdom; but I am of opinion that this same religion commands me not to leave a part of my subjects deprived of their natural rights." There followed a hot, loud, and passionate debate, which made the king red and pale alternately. The great theme was the necessity of immediately assembling the states-general, in order to achieve a rapid and universal reform. These harangues lasted six or seven hours; it was growing dark, and was far beyond the hour at which royalty and the great world then generally dined. Louis, whose good appetite no troubles or anxieties could depress, was hungry, faint, exhausted. At last, on a hint given him by Lamoignon, he rose to put an end to the sitting by declaring, as imperiously as he could, that he must have his successive loans edict registered without further talking. A short silence followed, and men gazed at one another as if each expected that some one else would reply. The personage to rise and break this silence was the Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood next to the king's brothers, who had led one section of the opposition in the assembly of notables, and who had been for several years in fierce hostility to the court, to the king, and still more to the queen. Looking full at his majesty, Orleans inquired whether this was a *lit de justice* or a *séance royale*? He was answered by the king and many of the court, all in a breath, that it was a *séance royale*. Even under despotism certain little forms and rules of etiquette had been observed, and the duke now quoted one of these to the king's face. Orleans said it was an old rule that edicts could not be registered by order in a *séance royale*; and that he, for one, must enter his humble protest against such registry. "You may do as you choose," said the king, who repeated his order, saw it obeyed, and then departed with the same state in which he had come, attended by the princes of the blood, the peers, great officers, and the rest. But his Highness of Orleans accompanied his majesty no farther than the gate, and, returning instantly, entered his stinging protest, which was adopted as their own by such members of the parlement as had remained behind, and who declared the loan edict to be null and void, and Orleans to be the greatest of princes and the best of patriots. They then separated. Next morning the Duke of Orleans was commanded to quit Paris, and to confine himself to his château of Villars-Cotterets; and, by *lettres de cachet* Fréteau was consigned to the



THE PALAIS DE JUSTICE, PARIS, as at the Period.
From a sketch on the spot by T. S. Boys.

assembled. This was a poor and weak parody of a feat of Louis XIV., when he entered a similar meeting with his hunting whip, and frightened the members into instant submission. The time had gone by for such performances; and Louis XVI. was neither shaped in body and feature, nor formed in mind, to play, theatrically or otherwise, the part of an off-handed tyrant. His most unexpected arrival, however, produced no inconsiderable sensation; and, as Paris was still well filled with troops, there was some appearance of consternation as he entered the great hall. He brought with him two edicts, one for a new loan to the amount of 450,000,000 livres; the other, for the re-establishment of the Protestants in their natural and civil rights. This emancipation of the Protestants had at last become a popular measure in France, and had been even recommended to the king by the parlement some time before. It has therefore been thought that it was introduced on this occasion to reconcile both the public and the parlement to the successive loans. Louis, however, appeared to speak

dreary castle of Ham, and Sabatier de Cabre to the still drearier fortress of Mount St. Michael; the other members of the parlement being ordered at the same time to repair to Versailles with their journal or register in order to have the protest erased. If they were rebuked and brow-beaten at court, the parlement were honoured and applauded by the people of Paris, by the people of Versailles, and by all the people on the road. They returned to the capital bolder than ever, entered a fresh protest, and demanded the immediate recall and liberty of the Duke of Orleans, Fréteau, and De Cabre.¹

On the 4th of January, 1788, the parlement passed some strong resolutions against *lettres de cachet*,² and repeated their declaration that they would not cease their demands and remonstrances until security was given for the personal liberty of every Frenchman. The contest grew every day sterner. At last the court secretly adopted the project of instituting a *cour plénière*, which was to be possessed of such powers as to render the parlement unnecessary for all purposes of government. This *cour plénière* was to consist of princes of the blood, peers of France, great officers of the crown, the higher orders of the clergy, marshals of France, governors of pro-

vinces, knights of the different orders, and a deputation of one member from each parlement in the realm, and of two from the chambers of accounts and aids. They were all to be appointed by the king, but their appointments were to be for life. The parlement no sooner got the clue to the secret, through the activity, ingenuity, and liberality in bribing of D'Espréménil, than they passed a variety of resolutions condemning the whole scheme as an invasion of their rights and the national liberties, affirming that they were irremovable, and that no authority in the state was competent to suppress or usurp their functions. These proclamations, which greatly excited the whole city of Paris, brought down a fresh exercise of arbitrary power. Orders were issued for arresting D'Espréménil and De Monsabert in their own houses. But in the court, and in every office and department of government, there were individuals who, from jealousy and enmity to their official superiors, or sympathy with the opponents of the court, from a love of the new ideas, or a love of money, or from some other motive, were ever ready to betray all the secrets they could learn. This continued until the expiring candle of this poor monarchy was completely burned out; and the practice will ac-

¹ Those Antichristian ideas, which had long exercised the faculties and fed the vanity of literary and scientific men in France, now began to have a practical effect in breaking up the old routine of French society and government. Of this Guizot says:—

"It is scarcely necessary for me to say, that the burst of the human mind, the spirit of free inquiry, was the paramount feature of the eighteenth century. This influential epoch has been treated of, and so ably handled by others who have gone before me, that I am relieved from the necessity of following minutely all the phases of the wondrous moral revolution which was then accomplished. I am, however, anxious to note certain points which have been somewhat overlooked.

"The first which strikes my mind is one I have already alluded to, namely, the almost complete disappearance, so to speak, of the government in the course of the eighteenth century, and the prominence of the human mind as the principal and almost only actor. Excepting the external relations attended to by the ministry of the Duke de Choiseul, and some concessions made to public opinion—for example, the American war—there never perhaps was a government so inactive, so apathetic and inert, as the French government of that time. In place of the stirring and ambitious government of Louis XIV., which interfered with everything, and put itself at the head of everything, we beheld a power anxious only to keep itself on the background, so weak and shattered did it feel itself. Activity and ambition had passed over to the nation, which, by its opinions and its intellectual movement, mixed and interfered with all things, and, in short, alone possessed that moral authority which confers a veritable sway.

"The second characteristic which strikes me in the state of the human understanding in the eighteenth century, is the universality which marked the spirit of free inquiry. Previously, and particularly in the sixteenth century, inquiry had been exercised in a limited and definite field, having religious questions for its objects, or political and religious questions combined, but never extending its pretensions to all subjects. On the contrary, the characteristic of the free inquiry of the eighteenth century is its universality. Religion, politics, pure philosophy, man and society, moral and material nature, all became at once the subjects of investigation, doubt, and system. Old ideas were thrown off, and new ones took their place. It was a movement which penetrated to all quarters.

"This movement had, furthermore, a peculiar characteristic, which has not, perhaps, been twice exhibited in the history of the world, namely, that it was purely speculative. In former times, action had promptly participated with speculation in all human revolutions. Thus, in the sixteenth century, the religious revolution had commenced with ideas and discussions purely intellectual, but it had speedily gathered into events. The leaders of intellectual parties had rapidly grown into the leaders of political parties, and the realities of life had mingled with the operations of intellect. Thus had it happened in the religious revolution of the seventeenth century. In France, in the eighteenth century, we perceive the human mind exercising itself on all things, on ideas which, being closely interwoven with the real interests of existence, ought to have had the most prompt and potential influence; and yet the leaders and actors in those great debates remained apart from every sort of practical activity, appearing as mere speculators, who observed, judged, and delivered their opinions without ever interfering in events. At no epoch has the government over facts, or external realities, been so completely distinct from that over mind. The separation of the mental and physical orders of things was not real in Europe before the eighteenth century. For the first time, perhaps, the mental order was developed utterly apart from the material. This was an important fact, and it is one which has exercised a prodigious influence over the course of events. It gave to the ideas of the time a singular character of ambitiousness and inexperience; for never was philosophy more eager to rule the world, or at the same time less conversant with it. A day was sure to come when a conflict would arise, when the intellectual movement would pass into external facts; and as they had been so totally separated the shock was violent, the amalgamation more difficult."—*Civilization in Europe*, lect. xiv.

These remarks apply mainly to France, and even in France do not apply to the whole of the eighteenth century. The new ideas were practically influential in other countries long before the revolutionary explosion in France. They not only fermented but materially influenced practical affairs in the Austrian dominions, in Holland, and above all in British America, long before 1788, when they began practically to affect France.

² Royal orders for the immediate arrest of any individual, and his secret imprisonment.

count for many things in the revolution which might otherwise appear inexplicable. When the king's officer went by night to the houses of D'Espréménil and De Monsabert to capture them without noise, they were not to be found there or anywhere else. It was not the intention of those two gentlemen to flee or hide themselves for any time: what they wanted was to get up a scene, to injure the court by a scandalous *éclat*, to imitate the grand exhibition which had taken place in the English House of Commons when Charles I. went with an armed force to demand the persons of the five members: for these Frenchmen were always imitating, or fancying they were imitating, the patriots of England, or Rome, or Greece; and, as the two things resembled each other in name, though in nothing else, they thought their parlement might stand out in the eyes of the world like an English parliament. Accordingly, on the following day they went down to the Palais de Justice, and took their usual seats. What they expected and had counted upon for their master-stroke happened very soon after; the Palais was surrounded by a regiment, and an officer entering their hall, demanded, in the king's name, that M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert should be delivered up to him. A profound silence ensued. At length the president rose and declared that he and every member present was a D'Espréménil and a De Monsabert, as they one and all coincided in the sentiments of those members. The officer, not knowing the persons of the two members, and not wishing to proceed to violence without express orders, withdrew, and either went or sent to Versailles to consult ministers or the king and queen. The troops remained outside the building, blocking up all the avenues leading to it, and the parlement remained within, having declared themselves in "permanent session." There were 167 of them, sixteen being peers. D'Espréménil compared them to the Roman senate, sitting in their curule chairs and purple robes, awaiting Brennus, the victorious Gauls, slavery or death; and told them that they were offering a grand spectacle to the universe! As they were allowed to send messengers out, and even to despatch a courier to Versailles, it is to be supposed that they were permitted to receive messengers within, and that the means of procuring food and wine were not denied to them. After some twenty hours the officer again entered the hall and required the members to point out to him M. d'Espréménil and M. de Monsabert, under penalty of being declared guilty of treason in protecting the king's enemies. There was a beating of drums and rattling of muskets in the court. It was evident that the officer, who was a man of iron, and who had been chosen on ac-

count of his resoluteness, would execute his order by force. The scene, besides, had lasted a long while—the majority must have been tired of playing at Roman senators—and so the two chosen victims stepped forth from their brethren and surrendered themselves. As D'Espréménil was escorted to a carriage by a file of soldiers with their bayonets fixed, he put a short question to the crowd of spectators, which, a very few months later, might have caused blood to flow like water. "Have you courage?" said he. The multitude made no reply, and the regiment doing duty on the spot—the French guards—were firm and unconcerned. D'Espréménil was carried away to a little island off the coast of Provence not far from Toulon, and De Monsabert to an old fortress near the city of Lyons. A few minutes after their seizure the officer turned out all their brethren, locked up the chamber of parlement, and carried away the keys in his pocket.

Not many days after these high events, on the 8th of May, 1788, the king held a "Bed of Justice" at Versailles in order to enforce or to establish the *cour plénière*. He produced certain ordinances ready signed. These were registered, the parlement meantime keeping profound silence, and the meeting broke up. But the very next day the parlementers assembled in a tavern or coffee-house at Versailles, and drew up a strong protest. Nor were the provincial parlements much more submissive; except that of Douai, not one of them would recognize the royal edict. But the last blow which upset the whole plan was the refusal of peers, nobles, bishops, counsellors, and other men of note, upon whose co-operation the king had confidently relied, to accept places in this new *cour plénière*, or to be in any way concerned in it. Absolutism made a few shifts and a few dying struggles before it resigned itself to its inevitable doom. The military were employed at Rennes, and forced the Breton parlement to enregister. Blood was spilled in the streets of that town, and, when the Bretons sent a deputation of twelve to Versailles with a remonstrance, Loménie de Brienne, after hearing them, packed them off to the Bastille by *lettres de cachet*. The Bretons sent a second and more numerous deputation, who were met on the road by emissaries of ministers, and frightened back to Rennes. The persevering Bretons despatched a third and still more numerous deputation, and, as these deputies travelled *incognito*, and by different roads, they succeeded in reaching the capital and the royal residence. The minister refused to grant them an audience, but they had other work in hand besides that of representation and remonstrance. Before their coming they had struck up a close alliance with La Fayette,

who, by letter, had assured them "that he associated himself in all opposition to every present and future act of arbitrary power." Though not a born Breton, La Fayette's principal property lay in that province, and his mother was a native of it. He was therefore considered as good as a Breton, and he became the rallying point, not only of the deputies, but of all the men of movement that came up from their country to Paris. Under his auspices was now formed the *Breton Club*, the first germ of the *Jacobin Club*. After these proceedings it was not extraordinary that the queen should conceive sentiments of suspicion and aversion against La Fayette, or that he should be deprived of his command of a military division of the kingdom. To those who represented the relegation of the Duke of Orleans to Villars-Cotterets as too severe a punishment for a prince of the blood, Louis replied, that he knew that of him which would justify him in taking off his head; yet he soon yielded to entreaties, and recalled the duke to the pleasures and excitements of Paris. It was observed, or fancied, that from the moment Orleans returned, there was an increase of activity in the press and in the mob, and rumours began to be spread of great sums of money distributed in the faubourgs, and of plots for dethroning the king and setting up Orleans as captain-general and provisional regent. Many of these reports were premature, or altogether fabulous; but some countenance appears to have been given to them by the duke's crowded dinner-parties and assemblies in the Palais Royal, where, without distinction and without etiquette of any kind, parlementers, philosophes, economists, journalists, peers, nobles, liberal churchmen (who neither believed in the doctrines of the church nor in any one point of the Christian faith), and all the men in Paris that were the most wedded to the new opinions, congregated day after day.

But the mischief and the woe were aggravated by the arrival of a far more terrible agent than the Duke of Orleans, whose influence on the revolution has been vastly overrated. In the month of July of this year (1788), a terrific hail-storm fell upon Paris and the country for 150 miles round about, destroying the harvest, as it was all but ready for the sickle, spoiling all the fruit upon the trees, and doing incalculable damage in other ways. As this storm had been preceded, in most parts of France, by a long drought, there was a certain prospect of scarcity, and of the rage of hunger being superadded to the other miseries and madnesses of the people. Surrounded by difficulties of every kind, without money, or the hopes of getting any—for the people were refusing to pay taxes, whether registered or unregistered, and the capitalists would not look at

the successive loans, or lend a sou to a bankrupt government which was evidently falling to pieces—the king agreed that the states-general should be convoked in the following month of May, after the holding of such an assembly had been discontinued for more than 150 years.

The poverty of the court, and the emptiness of the national exchequer, precipitated events. The king had but 2000 louis-d'ors left in his strong box at Versailles, and the state treasury at Paris did not contain wherewith to meet its obligations. At last, Count d'Artois waited on the queen to assure her that Loménie must be dismissed, or the monarchy ruined; and, after tears shed both by her majesty and the minister, it was agreed that the archbishop should travel for the benefit of his health, and that Necker, who had returned to Paris some time before, should be invited or implored to accept the task of righting the finances and the monarchy. Loménie de Brienne took the road to Nice and Italy; and the Genevese banker, on the very same day, the 24th of August (1788), was reinstalled finance minister, with wonderful acclamations on the part of the people, who once more believed, for a little moment, that he was destined to be the saviour of France. His appointment gave so much satisfaction that Paris, which had long left the name of royalty out of her *vivats*, shouted all day and all night, "Vive le Roi!" "Vive Necker!"

The promise to assemble the states-general in May, and even a royal decree to that effect, had been given under the wretched ministry of Loménie. Necker only confirmed the king in this resolution. It would have been beyond the power of Necker, and all the finance ministers and statesmen of Europe, to have put off the meeting; but a wiser man might assuredly have made some better preparations for it. Some sort of revolution was as necessary as it was inevitable—perhaps the worst was better than lingering on in the present state;—yet, by previously defining and properly limiting the respective powers of the three orders of the state, and by providing beforehand some barriers against the sudden inrush of the democracy, it appears just possible that much blood and crime might have been spared, and that Louis, instead of being dragged under the axe of the guillotine, might have been made the not unhappy or incompetent head of a constitutional monarchy. But in spite of their boasted new lights and new philosophies, all classes, in constitutionalism and the science of representative government, had almost everything to learn; and unfortunately each from the beginning seemed determined to ride over the other, to treat it as an enemy, to impose its own will for law upon it by force or by manœuvre.

The parlement of Paris, which was honourably reinstated as soon as Necker returned to office, positively and pompously declared that the states-general ought to sit according to the form observed at their last meeting in 1614, which was the same as declaring that the nobility and clergy should be everything, and the *tiers état*, or commons, nothing. The parlementers evidently thought that patriotism was an aristocratic occupation, and that they ought to preserve the monopoly; but their dogma, their heresy, their high treason against the *tiers* was no sooner promulgated than they lost, and for ever, all favour with the nation. Even in France, there has seldom been a transition so rapid and extreme. On the 22d of September they were reinstalled in the Palais de Justice, amidst the plaudits, and rejoicings, and congratulations of all Paris; on the next day they delivered their opinion on the subject of the states-general; and on the next all Paris hissed them, hooted them, and loaded them with execrations. As a body they never raised their heads again: they had played their part in what was only a prologue to the great drama, and they were thrust aside to make room for other actors. On the other side the Breton Club, the *Club des Enragés*, all the clubs, with all the philosophes, economists, and ultra-liberals of Paris, went as far into extremes, or rather farther, than the parlement had done—advising and insisting that the *tiers état* ought to have a greater weight in the states-general than the two orders of the nobility and clergy united; for (so they argued, with a force that was irresistible to those who had nothing to lose) as great sacrifices were to be demanded from those two aristocratic and privileged orders, how was it possible that resolutions and laws to that effect should be carried, if those two orders were not outnumbered and outvoted by the *tiers*, who were calling for the sacrifices, and were to be directly benefited by them? A paper, entitled “Deliberations,” was put forth as the production of the Duke of Orleans, though it was written, no doubt, with advice and assistance from the philosophes and littérateurs that sat at the duke’s table, by Laclos, the author of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, one of the most debauched and debauching works ever written, even in France. Laclos was secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and a servant very worthy of such a master. The conclusion intended to be drawn from these deliberations was, that the third estate was the nation, and that nobility and clergy were nought! On the other hand, the Count d’Artois, with other princes of the blood—the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Enghien, and the Prince of Conti—published a *mémoire*, or memorial to the king, in which they declared that such principles

must endanger privilege, nobility, monarchy itself, church, state, and the king’s treasury. This was quite certain; but what could the helpless king, or what could these princes of the blood do to prevent it, or to overset a political philosophy that was inculcated by 10,000 pens, and that would soon be maintained by 400,000 swords—by all France, except the privileged orders? But the production which was by far the most ably written, which made the most noise, and produced the greatest effect, was the pamphlet of the Abbé Sièyes—*Qu’est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* or, “What is the Third Estate?”—in which, answering his own query, the author said it was everything; that it had hitherto been nothing, but that it now wanted to become something. Sièyes, one of the many priests who had let their tonsures grow, embraced the new philosophy, and thrown their theology to the dogs—had been vicar-general to the Bishop of Chartres, a canon and chancellor of that cathedral; but he had been living for some time in Paris, with the philosophes and political reformers, having a voice potential in all their deliberations for the regeneration of France and the world. He was one of the ablest men of that school, but visionary, fanatic to his system or systems, and as blind as all the rest to the danger of throwing all the power of the state, and all at once, into the hands of the people who hitherto had had no share of it. As well might this logical Sièyes have believed that a child might construe Virgil before being taught his alphabet, as believe that the huge and untaught democracy of France should pass at once from the condition of bondsmen to that of lords and masters, and still act with moderation and wisdom. He and his fellows, no doubt, reposed an entire confidence in their own great wisdom and moderation, and in the enlightenment of the middle classes, who were at least well read in Voltaire; and fancied that, when the masses of the people had thrown off the yoke of king, nobles, and priests, they would, with exemplary docility, submit to the guidance of philosophes, and to the laws and regulations adopted by the middle classes. We shall see how his vision ended.

Necker had found out before this that there are accounts more difficult to manage than accounts of finance, and that it is easier work to raise loans than to create constitutions; and he evidently had no scheme of his own. As a means of solving the difficulty, or of settling some of the points in dispute, he advised the re-assembling of the notables who had sat so inauspiciously in the time of Calonne; and the very same men were once more called together on the 6th of November (1788). The questions proposed to them were principally the double representation of the *tiers*

état, and the vote by head. Should the *tiers état*, or commons, have as many members in the states-general as the noblesse and clergy united? Should the states-general vote and deliberate altogether in one body, or vote in three separate bodies—vote by head, or by order or class? Simply, the two questions amounted to this:—Shall the *tiers état* have power to outvote the other two orders or not? As the notables thus re-assembled consisted of princes of the blood, great lords, great churchmen—consisted almost exclusively of members of the two privileged orders—it could hardly have been expected from them that they should answer in the affirmative. Necker's wish appears to have been that the double representation should be granted, but that the three orders should not vote by head, but deliberate and vote separately; and he had the vanity to believe, that, by the weight of his character and influence, he could carry the notables along with him. After sitting about a month without coming to any decision, these notables were dismissed, with bad humour on all sides. When the perplexed king applied for the advice or opinion of the parlement of Paris, they meanly shrank from any resolution, saying that it was for the wisdom of the king to decide these weighty questions. At last Necker presented a report to the king in council, wherein he recommended, or almost enjoined at his own risk, the granting of the double representation, without enforcing what ought to have been a corollary, separate deliberation, and the vote by order, not by head; and, on the 27th of December, an ordinance was issued in which Louis gave the double representation to the *tiers état*, leaving the other question of voting by head or by order to be settled by the states-general themselves, when they should meet at Versailles in the happy month of May, 1789. French writers of memoirs and histories draw a fanciful picture of this dawn of liberty, making it all gentle, soft, and balmy, like a sunrise picture by Cuypp or by Claude, filled with lowing cattle and piping swains, or with goddesses and nymphs dancing before the rising orb, and making with their own fair hands music for their own merry feet; but in sober truth, and sober sadness, the picture was of a character and a composition altogether different from this; the dawn was dark and stormy like the noon that was to follow it; the tempest had not only gathered on the horizon, but was already spreading itself as fast as winds can fly over the whole hemisphere; and instead of that absence of hatred and all the evil passions which philosophes and littérateurs dreamed of in their Paris lodgings, all the evil passions, with hate and revenge at their head, were crowded and jostling together as in a carnival. During the elections innumerable duels, scuffles, and downright battles

took place all over the kingdom. In all town riots, where no troops were employed, the democracy had the upper hand, and made the noblesse and clergy taste the bitterness of mob-law. The fierceness of the populace was augmented by their privations. Trade, manufactures, and nearly every kind of industry had come to a dead stop, and the price of bread rose to an enormous height when money was scarcest. Blood had been shed in riots in many parts of France, and in the streets of Paris on the very night that rejoicings were made for Necker's return to office. But worse followed. Only a few days before the meeting of the states-general at Versailles the capital was the scene of frightful disorders. The people, crying "Down with the aristocrats," attacked the house of a rich paper-manufacturer, and plundered or destroyed everything in it. The military were called out, the mob fought with them desperately; and before the affair ended, from 400 to 500 persons, including women and children, were killed or wounded.

But nothing less than absolute perfection in government and laws, and a national prosperity without check or end was now anticipated; for the 4th of May had arrived, the deputies of the three orders were all assembled in Versailles, and the states-general were going in solemn procession with the king and court to the cathedral church at Nôtre Dame to propitiate Heaven to bless their labours, which were to commence on the morrow. It was a *grand spectacle*, and all Paris, and all towns, villages, and hamlets in the valley of the Seine, or within twenty leagues of it, went to see. There was scepticism, Voltaireism, or Holbachism, or downright atheism in luxuriant abundance; but religion of any kind, except the religion of nature or the theism of Rousseau and his Vicaire Savoyard, there was little or none except only in the breast of the king and a few old courtiers, who had not been able to shake off the fashions of old times, or their reverence for the Church of Rome; and yet this procession of the states-general assembled in and started from one church—the church of St. Louis—to go to another, where high mass was to be sung, and all knees bent at the elevation of the host. There was a hollowness and mockery in this very beginning. The streets were lined with regiments of the French guard and regiments of the Swiss guard. The first that came forth from the church of St. Louis were the deputies of the *tiers état*, 600 in number, and all—as had been nicely regulated at court beforehand—wearing plain black mantles, plain white cravats, and slouched hats; then came the noblesse, 300 in number, all clad in gold-embroidered cloaks, with lace cravats, and plumed, turned-up hats à l'Henri IV.; after the noblesse marched the clergy, also

300, the high dignitaries, the archbishops, and bishops distinguished by the violet-coloured robe, the alb, and rochet, and the rest in soutanes, grand mantles, and square caps; and last of all came the court, most splendidly attired and blazing with jewels, with the king looking hopefully and even joyously, and the queen already changed from what she was, her bloom and beauty fading, and her hair prematurely turning gray. It was remarked that during the procession the Duke of Orleans, in contempt of the laws of etiquette, was continually quitting his place as a prince of the blood to mix with the sombre-clad deputies of the *tiers*. As they all wended on their way to the church of Our Lady the priests chanted, military bands played, and trumpets and drums sounded. Within the temple the three orders took their seats according to their ranks, on benches prepared for them in the nave; the king and queen were conducted to a dais near the high altar, and sat under a velvet canopy violet-coloured and sprinkled with golden *fleurs de lis*. *O Salutaris Hostia* was chanted, the grand mass was finished, and then M. de la Fare, Bishop of Nancy, delivered a sermon or discourse on the theme—"Religion makes the force of empires, religion makes the happiness of the people." Even philosophers, doubt-alls, and scoffers were touched for a moment by the music, the incense, and the imposing pomp; and the multitude of spectators that only saw the procession in the streets returned to Paris, or their other homes, declaring that it was beautiful, sublime, ravishing—that so grand a spectacle had never been seen.¹

On the following day—the 5th of May, 1789—the states-general assembled in a great hall at Versailles, which had been prepared for them not without expense. It was the *Salle de Menus Plaisirs*, or hall of amusements, in which the court had been wont to disport itself in all kinds of merry games; but carpenters and upholsterers, painters and decorators had done their work, and, in French phraseology, "that vast hall was arranged with a magnificence worthy of the imposing solemnity of the occasion." The king, with a countenance still cheerful and hopeful, read a commonplace speech, recommending disinterestedness to the privileged classes and prudence to the others, and expressing his own earnest love for his people. He was interrupted more than once by warm acclamations, which made the queen weep for very joy; but not one voice was heard to wish her well. His majesty was followed by the keeper of the seals, who spoke for an hour, and then by Neckér, who spoke for two. The finance minister, who might now be considered as prime minister, read a long *mémoire* on the

state of the kingdom, and wearied those whom he did not offend by the great length of his explanations.

On the next day the combat began between the *tiers* and the two superior orders. It was intimated that the deputies of each order should repair to the chamber appointed for them. Besides the great hall, two smaller halls, opening upon it, had been constructed, one for the noblesse the other for the clergy. The first operation to be performed was to verify the returns, or to make what was termed a *vérification des pouvoirs*, and there instantly arose the question whether this should be done in common or by each order or state separately. The *tiers*, alleging that each part of the states-general ought to assure itself of the lawful returns of the two others, demanded that the verification should be made in common, and not by each order separately. The noblesse and the clergy, wishing to assert and maintain at starting the principle of separation by orders, insisted that each order should verify and constitute itself apart from the rest, and after very little debate they quitted the great hall and retired to their several chambers. The *tiers*, understanding that this would be followed by the assumption on the part of the privileged that the orders should also vote separately, and not by head, determined to make their stand here, and to adopt a "system of inertia" until the noblesse and the clergy should give in and consent to the verification of powers in common; and accordingly there they sat in the great hall, day after day, doing nothing beyond declaring that they were waiting for the other two orders, and declining to receive letters and petitions as they were not yet constituted, but waiting for their colleagues of the other orders.

In contemplating this body at present so inert, but soon to be moved into such portentous activity, the first remark which suggests itself is, that the representatives of the *tiers état* represented in their own persons almost everything but property. There were physicians and metaphysicians, poets and painters, a great astronomer, and several natural philosophers, chemists, mathematicians, journalists, littérateurs, and more than three hundred and fifty lawyers; but the number of proprietors was exceedingly small.² The majority of the 600 were young men—men

¹ *Mémoires du Marquis de Ferrières*; Madame de Staël, *Considérations sur la Révolution Française*; Dulaure, *Esquisses*.

² The Marquis de Bouillé says, that of the six hundred members who represented the *tiers état*, three hundred and seventy-four were lawyers of some kind or other. The *tiers état* of Rennes had sent, as one of their deputies, a rough old farmer, one Gérard, commonly called Père Gérard, or Father Gérard, and described as "a man of common sense and honesty, without any learning." On being asked, after he had had some experience, to say candidly what he thought of his colleagues, Gérard said, with his farmer frankness, "I think there are a great many scoundrels among us!" (*Je pense qu'il y a beaucoup de coquins parmi nous.*)

at least under thirty years of age—who had no experience in public business of any kind, and who could not, from the previous condition of the country, have had any training in political life. The only men at all trained, and their education was not good, were the members of the parlements, who belonged to the privileged orders, and sat, like D'Espréménil, with the noblesse. Instead of experience and practical knowledge, the deputies of the *tiers* brought theories and systems, with all the impatience, intolerance, and fanaticism of system-makers.

Instead of doubt and diffidence, there was an overweening and most rampant vanity, nearly every third man among them believing that he and his scheme alone could regenerate France and the world. A great many of them were so poor that they could not have supported themselves without the daily pay which was allowed them. This pay, or *traitement*, moderate as it was, formed a better income than many of them had ever enjoyed before. At first there were in some quarters delicate scruples whether patriots and world-regenerators ought to

take pay for their sublime functions; but patriots and regenerators must eat and drink, be lodged and clothed; and, seeing that the members of the American congress were paid for their attendance, there was even republican precedent for the acceptance of the *traitement*. As the noblesse and clergy possessed nearly two-thirds of the landed property of the kingdom, as their respective deputies were considered as representing property and privilege, as the deputies of the *tiers* did not represent property, and were come to destroy all privilege, nothing but a combat *d'outrance* could be expected. Notwithstanding the tremendous threats of the people, and nearly every possible means of intimidation which were resorted to by the leaders or drivers of the *tiers état*, the nobles were resolute, and formed their separate house. The clergy wavered; and after an inaction of six weeks, the third estate, being joined by a few of the clergy, and feeling themselves strong in the support of the mob, declared themselves the legislative body, and assumed the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The majority of the clergy were brought to acquiesce in this assumption; but the king, supported by the nobles, declared these proceedings to be null and void, and commanded the deputies to separate.

Violent tumults followed: Paris poured out its clubs and its mobs to Versailles; a part of the soldiery gave unequivocal symptoms of attachment to the popular cause; and, in fine, the king prevailed on the nobles to give way, and an imperfect, incongruous union of the three orders in one chamber took place. Thus nobility and clergy were swamped, and all balance was lost, never to be restored, except by blood. Compliant or recusant, voting by order or by head, the two superior orders were equally doomed;



THE BASTILLE.—From a print in the Sloane Collection.

and one chamber, a nullity and nonsense when the sovereign is powerful, must become a tyrant and a devourer when the sovereign is powerless. There was, indisputably, much to redress, but there was no patience or practical wisdom in any quarter for the difficult work.

In the meantime an army was collecting round Paris; and as soon as the court felt its strength, the step was taken, on July 11th, of suddenly dismissing Necker, with an order to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours. The intelligence of this event excited a furious commotion in the capital, and an attempt to disperse the populace by means of a foreign regiment having been defeated, the citizens armed, and were joined by the French guards. On the 14th of July, the Bastille was stormed and taken by the people of Paris, aided by some of the military. Since the accession of Louis XVI. it had been almost void of state prisoners, but it certainly had been for long ages an infamous place, a detestable den, wherein despotism threw her victims to pine and to rot; it was a place to be destroyed and obliterated from the face of the earth; but the French people could not achieve this triumph over tyranny without committing atrocious cruelties, and deeds as savage and treacherous as any that

had been perpetrated in old times under the worst of their kings. Having once tasted of blood the people of Paris became ravenous for it; and many individuals were butchered in the streets with levity and atrocity. As the murder, only on the preceding evening, of De Flesselles, had left the new municipality without a head, Astronomer Bailly was immediately elected, by acclamation, to succeed that unfortunate provost, with the higher title of mayor of Paris; and, as the new civic guard, now to be called the National, was in want of a commander of good revolutionary repute, La Fayette, also by acclamation, and without any deliberation, was named to that post, which was soon to become the most important in the kingdom.¹

On the next day, the 16th of July, the permanent committee of the new municipality, which already seemed to assume a sovereignty separate from that of the national assembly, decreed the immediate demolition of the Bastille. This order was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and in the name of La Fayette.

In these days the white cockade of the Bourbons entirely disappeared, and the tri-colour cockade was mounted by La Fayette, the national guard, the French guard, and nearly every man in Paris.

The king now issued orders for the removal of the troops stationed in the vicinity of Paris, and once more recalled the marvellous Necker—who was always to perform miracles, but never did. While daily assassinations were perpetrating in Paris, and while bleeding heads—the heads of aristocrats or of men holding office were exhibited—Necker recrossed the Jura Mountains. He arrived at Versailles on the evening of the 26th of July, after having traversed France in triumph, followed by one continuous mob, shouting and applauding, and receiving from him paternal nods—to be peaceable and orderly. The king received him with some embarrassment, but the national assembly welcomed him back enthusiastically; for his triumph was their triumph, and they alone had brought him back. His best friends had endeavoured to show that France was now in a state not to be governed by any minister, or any system of administration whatsoever, and had strongly dissuaded him from returning or trying any more dangerous experiments; but Necker said in his sententious manner that it was better to expose one's self to danger than to remorse. He was elated by the mouth-honour

he had received on the highways, elated by the equally hollow applauses of the assembly, and experience and a duplicated failure had not weakened his gigantic confidence in his own puny powers and abilities. That his triumph might be complete, and the applauses of the provinces confirmed and heightened by the voice of the capital, on the morning of the 30th, when he had been only a few hours in Versailles, he set off for Paris, and for the Hôtel de Ville, wherein there resided more sovereignty—cramped and mob-controlled though it was—than in the palace of the king or hall of the national assembly. The vanity of the man was gratified to the utmost: he was received with transports, and all the way from the bridge of Sèvres to the Place de Grève his progress was a triumph; his path was strewn with flowers; bouquets, garlands, and wreaths were showered upon him; and the air was rent with shouts of “Vive Necker!” “Vive le Ministre du Peuple!” At the Hôtel de Ville, where was the new municipal body which had been composed by Bailly and La Fayette, the banker implored that an end might be put to assassinations and massacres. “In the name of God, gentlemen,” said Necker, “no more judgments, no more judgments, no more proscriptions, no more bloody scenes!” The national sensibility showed itself in an universal shouting of “Grace! pardon! amnesty!” When the enthusiasm had subsided, Clermont-Tonnerre proposed that the amnesty should be embodied in a decree. The motion was carried without discussion, and the electors of Paris decreed, in the name of the people of that capital, that *they pardoned all their enemies, &c.* Mayor Bailly, being called upon to sign this precious decree, positively refused. His refusal may have proceeded truly and conscientiously from the motives he assigned for his conduct; but it was nevertheless attended by two very apparent consequences—it increased Bailly's popularity with the mob, and it made the mob believe that, since the mayor of Paris would not sign it, the decree was nought. After the hollow or useless amnesty had been read in the midst of acclamations, it was proposed that the busts of Necker and Bailly should be placed by the sides of the American-given bust of La Fayette which figured in that hall; and that these two new busts should be executed at the expense of the Paris electors. Necker, attended by the same triumphant procession with which he had arrived, and revelling in a mirage or bright *fata morgana*, partly of his own making, and partly conjured up for him by the great magicians in the town-hall, returned towards Versailles. But this was the last day of his triumph and popularity. By the morrow the vision was fled: it had burst like the mirage of the desert—it had faded away and

¹ The election of La Fayette is made more picturesque in French books. The citizens of the United States, soon after the war of independence, had presented to the city of Paris a marble bust of the marquis. That bust was now in the Hôtel de Ville. Moreau de Saint Méry extended his hand towards it, all eyes went in the same direction, and then a general cry proclaimed La Fayette commandant of the Paris guard.—*Thiers*.

become invisible more rapidly than ever *fata morgana* vanished on the Calabrian coast or the beautiful Straits of Messina. Necker had left Paris in the afternoon an idol, a guardian angel, a god; but before midnight he was *suspect*; and on the following morning he was an aristocrat, a devil. Thus perished the popular fame and



BAILLY, Mayor of Paris.—From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

influence of every man that attempted to check the popular appetite for blood, or that recommended moderation in anything. These reformers, in order to terrify the court into submission, had entirely let loose the fierce democracy, had armed the mob, had debauched the army from its allegiance, and had given countenance and encouragement to the mad political clubs which dictated alike to king and people, to the national assembly, and to the municipality of Paris, which had made itself more than the assembly. The Faubourg St. Antoine, nearly all the districts of Paris, sent off a deputation to the national assembly at Versailles, to complain of the attempt at an amnesty; to warn them against originating or sanctioning any such unpatriotic measure; to tell them, in short, more plainly than by words, that the people were and would be their masters and the sole lawgivers in France. The assembly, partly out of jealousy of the high functions which had been assumed by the municipality and the electors, and partly from their own vile dastardly fears, received these vagabond, bloodthirsty deputies with respect, and assured them that there was no intention of withdrawing the enemies of the country from the hands of justice. And they presently voted and decreed that a tribunal should soon be established to try the late ministers and other state delinquents. But the Parisians continued to administer the law in their own manner, indulging in personal animosities, and passing a *non fiat* upon every kind of privilege, and already on most kinds of property.

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There was much to redress, and there was no patience for the work, and in no one quarter a proper notion of doing the work gradually and so as to respect existing interests, and to grant compensation to sufferers from changes. The hangings at lamp-posts (*les lanternes*) and other assassinations were continued. Convinced more and more every day that principalities and powers were at their feet, and that there was in reality no power in France except their own, the people proceeded to make that power felt in all directions. They could make no allowances whatever, they would hear of no compromises, they would show no mercy to their old oppressors, or to those who had in any way stood above them in the eyes of the world. In Paris and in most of the great cities they broke up in a single day all municipal corporations, all trade incorporations or chartered companies, insulting and terrifying out of their lives all the more conspicuous members of them; and with a very exemplary unanimity they not only refused to pay any taxes to government, but also refused to pay any rent to the proprietors of their dwellings, shops, and warehouses. Their philosophes and their patriots in the national assembly had taught them to ascend to first principles in all things, and to doubt the propriety of any such artificial distinctions as those that regulate the possession and descent of property; and the revolution was especially a millennium in their eyes, *because* they saw in it the prospect and the certainty of a new division and distribution of property.

The country people in the various provinces of France daringly set forth their right to the land which they tilled or upon which they dwelt; and their Jacquerie went on with still increasing ferocity. Even in the showing of writers who seem to have considered the rich and privileged classes as only fit for destruction, the violence and the cruelty was excessive—atrocious.¹ The flames spread rapidly through all parts of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Dauphiny, Champagne, Alsace, Brittany, and other provinces; and it was soon observed that they raged with a fearful impartiality. At first those seigneurs were attacked who had been proud and oppressive, or for other reasons most unpopular; but soon all were assailed alike, the least proud and oppressive, with those who had been most so, the most popular with the unpopular. It was quite enough to be a seigneur and to have a château—in this burning hell there was no distinction among persons. Old fathers of families, matrons with their daughters, were sent fleeing through the night from their burning houses with nothing on them but their bed-clothes, and happy if they had not to

¹ Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*; Mignet.

endure in their flight the practical experiments of some low-born De Sades, ready, with hellish glee, to prove and test the fact laid down in one of the most-read books in France, that the indulgence of cruelty heightens the relish of lust.¹ These deeds were perpetrated at a time when there was no resistance, when the nobles were consenting to everything, when a considerable part of them had devoted themselves to the popular cause, and when they had all renounced their privileges, and intimidated, however tardily, their readiness to submit to a new order of things. Except in the provinces, which became the seat of a protracted and most savage civil war, the nobles and gentlemen who did not flee their country, and who escaped the first slaughters, remained like sheep in a butcher's pen, and with the butcher's knife never far from their throats.

In these ebullitions the people were as furious against the clergy as against the lay nobility, and they burned and destroyed as many churches as châteaux, mingling in these exercises every possible sport and device to show their utter contempt, not merely for the ministers of religion, but for religion itself—not only for the doctrines and the mysteries of the Roman form of Christianity, but for every part and parcel of the Christian creed, and of all other creeds whatsoever.

Nothing is more certain than that the national assembly alternately winked at and encouraged the châteaux-burning, the destruction of title-deeds, and the rest. "The assembly," says an attentive and competent observer of all their proceedings, "were so afraid of offending the people, that they almost regarded as a snare every motion tending to repress the disorders or blame the excesses of the populace. It was still doubt mixed with fear that lay at the bottom of men's hearts. They had triumphed by means of the people, and could not be severe against the people; on the contrary, although the assembly often declared in their preambles that they were profoundly afflicted, and even incensed, at the violences committed by the bandits and brigands that were burning the châteaux and insulting the noblesse, they enjoyed in secret a terror which they believed necessary." [*In short, they acted and felt much as Robespierre and his followers did, afterwards, during the more tragical "Reign of Terror."*] "They had put themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse or making the noblesse fear them. They condemned for decency, but they managed and conciliated the mob for policy: they gave compli-

ments to authority, and encouragements to those who defied it. Their respect for the executive power was nothing but a formula of style; and when the king's ministers manifested their weakness and fears, and revealed the state of nothingness to which they were reduced, the members of the assembly, who remembered too well the time when *they themselves* had feared, were not sorry to see that Fear had changed her lodgings. If, thought they, you ministers were strong enough to make the people respect you, you would be strong enough to make *us* fear you. This was the predominant sentiment of opposition. It was a reaction of fear."²

In this stage of things, when the king saw no safety or protection for his wife and family, and when the members of the national assembly themselves were not without their fears that they might be butchered by the mob for not doing the work of revolution fast enough, a regiment of infantry—the inauspicious regiment of Flanders—was brought to Versailles on the 23d of September, with the consent and concurrence of the assembly. The garde du corps or body-guard doing duty in the palace gave a grand dinner to welcome the arrival of the regiment. This was common, or at least not unusual; but what was considered a very alarming innovation was that permission was granted by the court to hold the military banquet within the palace, in the Grande Salle de Spectacle, or theatre. The feast was given on the 1st of October; and, besides the officers of the regiment of Flanders, the officers of the Swiss guards, of the Cent Suisse, and many of the officers of the Versailles national guard, were invited to it. The band, instead of *Ça Ira*, or other new liberty tune, struck up some old loyal air. This alone was considered as a very heinous sin by some of the spectators in the boxes. It seems, however, to be admitted by the severest of these censors that the officers behaved themselves with sufficient decency during the first course, or down to the moment at which the champagne corks were cut loose; but when this brisk wine had circulated a little, all decency, all respect to liberty and patriotism were, it is said, audaciously thrown off. The bands of the gardes du corps and regiment of Flanders were ordered to play, and they played with great expression the air—

"O Richard! O mon roi!
L'univers t'abandonne."³

This appeal to the feelings was too much for the sensibility and enthusiasm of the royalists; and

² Dumont.

³ "O Richard! O my king! all the world is forsaking thee." The words of this opera song were supposed to be sung by Blondel, the faithful minstrel, on discovering our Richard Cœur de Lion a prisoner in the emperor's dungeons. In many respects they were applicable to the case of Louis XVI.

¹ This atrocious theory forms the sum and substance, the *morale* of the popular novel (it is still popular in France!), *Jutaine, ou Les Malheurs de la Vertu*, written by the notorious Marquis de Sades.

while some wiped their eyes, others set up a shout of "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" The devil could not have been more irritated by exorcism and holy water than were the patriots present at the tune the bands were playing and the loyal shouting. A few other indiscretions were crowned and completed, when the king and the queen, leading the little dauphin by the hand, entered for a minute upon the stage, and when the gardes du corps, the officers of the regiment of Flanders, and all the other officers bidden to the feast stood up with their swords in their hands—300 good blades shining and pointing heavenward—and in that martial attitude, and with faces reddened by wine and loyalty, they drank to the king, the queen, and the dauphin.

For a considerable time before this scene took place, the mob of Paris had threatened to march to Versailles and make the king a prisoner; for provisions continued to be very dear (which they attributed to the manoeuvres of the court), and it was suspected that Louis was preparing to flee to the frontiers, and there put himself at the head of a devoted royalist army commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé. But the fête given to the regiment of Flanders now precipitated the execution of the threat; and on Monday, the 5th of October, 30,000 of La Fayette's national guards, and more than 30,000 of the rabblement of Paris rushed into Versailles, took possession of the national assembly and of the town, and surrounded the palace with cries for bread and blood. Between night and morning, when the royal family were in bed, the mob broke into the palace, committing various atrocious murders; and on the afternoon of the 6th the royal family were conveyed to Paris as dishonoured and helpless captives. The journey was torturingly slow: the cortège was preceded by the bleeding, ghastly heads of two of the gardes du corps stuck upon pikes, La Fayette caracoling on a white charger by the side of the king's carriage; and when the barriers of Paris were reached, Mayor Bailly inhumanly insulted fallen royalty by delivering one of his eternal harangues or academical discourses, and by telling the king that this was a glorious day, a beautiful day, that saw him restored to Paris as his habitual dwelling-place. It was eleven o'clock at night ere La Fayette saw the royal family lodged in the long-deserted palace of the Tuileries, and left them there as in a prison, he not being their jailer—at least not their sole jailer, but one jailer among hundreds of thousands—a sort of upper turnkey, responsible to all Paris and all the people of France, and liable at any moment to have his brains knocked out with his own keys. Yet the vain inept man, the minion and tool of a monster faction, of a whole people broke loose and gone mad, went home to his bed

that night with the happy conviction that he was the greatest man in France, in Europe, in the world; and that now they had gotten the king to Paris, the work of liberty was done and most gloriously completed. He was so elated and so constantly surrounded by a crowd of politicians, as little statesmen as himself, that he had no time for reflection—no ear to give to the few sensible men then in France capable of affording good advice.

At the same moment that the national assembly transferred itself from Versailles to Paris, the Breton Club, vastly increased, took possession of the great hall of the convent of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and thenceforward obtained the name of the JACOBIN CLUB. The change of name marks a great revolutionary epoch: the change of place soon subjected the assembly to the club, to the Palais Royal, and the mob. That mob continued as turbulent as ever; for it was found that, though they had got the king, they could not get bread, and fresh stories were invented of atrocious plots and conspiracies against liberty and the people. Peaceful men, if they had good coats to their backs, could not walk the streets without danger; and one of the very first acts passed by the assembly was a declaration of martial law! They held their first *séance* on the 19th of October, and on the 21st decreed martial law. The measure was proposed by *La Fayette*¹ and *Bailly*, and most vigorously opposed by Robespierre, the advocate of Arras, and representative for Artois, who spoke with wonderful unction on the virtues and sufferings of the people, and whose popularity was notably increased thereby. Among many other striking proofs of the progress liberty and law were making, was the exile, at this time, of the Duke of Orleans—a measure in which La Fayette will allow no share of merit to any other man, but greedily takes it all to himself. If the Duke of Orleans were guilty of the state crimes imputed to him, he ought to have been seized and put upon trial for his life; but he was ordered out of the country without any trial, process, or examination of any kind. He was exiled upon hearsay; and a few months later the national assembly itself declared that there was no truth in the foul reports. A considerable party, knowing the jealousies and animosities that existed between the house of Orleans and the reigning branch, had maintained all along that the duke was indirectly aiming at the crown, was encouraging the excesses of the revolution in order to frighten the king and his family out of France, and was regularly paying and subsidizing a set

¹ The day before making the motion, La Fayette had nearly been murdered by a mob that were assassinating a Paris baker named François.

of brigands and assassins, who were guilty of all that was done amiss. It was pleasant to have a drain of this kind into which all the filth of the revolution could be poured; and in this manner they now endeavoured to represent that, if the march of half Paris upon Versailles had not been ordered by the Duke of Orleans,¹ at least every

atrocious deed committed there had been committed by his agents. These opinions were the more easily propagated, as several silly underlings of the court had chosen the duke as their bugbear, and were intimately persuaded that his spite, malice, money, and ambition had excited twenty millions of people.

CHAPTER XXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1789—1790.

GEORGE III.

The notice of England attracted by the French revolution—English sympathy with its commencement—Prophetic misgivings of Burke for its result—The French revolution applauded by the dissenters of England—Annual meeting of the "Revolution Society" in London—Its congratulatory address to the French national assembly—Revolutionary symptoms in England—Meeting of parliament—Commendations of Fox on the proceedings of the French revolution—He is answered by Burke—Burke's debate with Fox and Sheridan on the revolution—Schism produced in the Whig party by the debate—Sentiments of George III. and Pitt on the French revolution—The dissenters again claim exemption from the test and corporation acts—Their claim brought by Fox into parliament—The motion negatived—Motion for the amendment of parliamentary representation—It is withdrawn—Affair of Nootka Sound—Its satisfactory adjustment—Wilberforce's labours for the abolition of negro slavery—Parliament appoints a special committee for the examination of witnesses—Death of the Emperor Joseph of Austria—His death accelerated by the revolt of the Netherlands—His successor Leopold establishes a peace with Turkey—Proceedings of the revolt of the Netherlands—The bigoted character of their new form of government—Sympathy in Belgium with the French revolution—Strifes and dissensions among the different parties in the state—The Emperor Leopold makes conciliatory advances—His offers advocated by a strong party in Belgium—Anarchy of the Belgic provinces—Continuation of the war of Russia against Turkey and Sweden—The King of Sweden takes the part of his people against the aristocracy—Victories of the Swedes over the Russians—Defeat of the Russians by the Swedes at sea—Sweden unsupported in the war by the other powers—Peace concluded between Sweden and Russia—Suvoroff invests Ismail—His rapid mode of siege—He takes Ismail by storm—Massacre of the inhabitants by the Russians.



ENGLAND had not been an inattentive observer of this great revolution among her nearest continental neighbours. From the first dawn of the event, through the quarrels with the parlements and the assembling of the notables, down to the convocation of the states-general, all classes of Englishmen had eagerly watched events; and from the moment the states met at Versailles—now only eight months ago, for all these momentous changes had been effected in that brief space of time—the affairs of France had occupied attention to the almost total exclusion of other public political matters. All parties at first agreed in believing, or at least in hoping, that the states, being properly modelled, would by degrees effect the most important reforms, and none doubted that an extensive system of reform was indis-

pensable. It was, indeed, the deplorable condition of that kingdom, the poverty and oppression of the people, the abuses of *lettres de cachet* and other means of despotism, the insurmountable barriers placed between the commonalty and promotion, fortune, and fame, the checks put upon industry, the neglected state of agriculture under the old régime, that made every Englishman desirous that a sweeping change should take place. Matters were bad enough in reality, but, in many particulars, they had been represented by recent French books, and in the reports of a few somewhat enthusiastic travellers, as being far worse than they were: they seemed so bad that any change must be for the better. Attributing to one great single cause that superior order and prosperity which reigned in England, and which were produced by slow degrees through the concurrence and co-operation of numerous ac-

¹ Thiers equivocates and mystifies the whole story; but Mignet speaks out frankly, and in his natural republican tone. "The insurrection of the 5th and 6th of October," says he, "was a true popular movement. We ought not to seek for secret motives, nor attribute it to concealed schemes of ambition; it was provoked by the imprudence of the court. The dinner of the gardes du corps, the reports of the king's flight, the dread of civil war, and the scarcity of provisions, were what carried Paris to Ver-

sailles. If private instigators (and the most rigorous researches have left that fact doubtful) contributed to produce the movement, they changed neither the direction nor the object of it. The event had for its result the destruction of the ancient régime of the court; it deprived the court of their guards; it transported them from the royal residence of Versailles into the capital of the revolution, and placed them under the surveillance of the people." — *Histoire de la Révolution Française*.

cidents or circumstances, and innumerable causes, moral and physical, men fancied that, if a constitutional form of government could only be established in France, everything would be done. There were, perhaps, some that were jealously and unpleasantly excited by apprehensions that France, the old enemy of England, by availing herself of the advantages of a free constitution, might become a much more powerful, and consequently a more dangerous neighbour than ever; but we believe that this jealousy and fear was limited to a very few, and that, without speaking of the enthusiasts for the new French liberty, who formed, if not a very numerous, a very loud party, there was, at first, a general burst of sympathy and generous feeling—an ardent wish that the revolution might succeed, and speedily terminate in the establishment of free institutions.

Individuals the most opposite in habit and thought were united in this feeling; and, if the agreement did not last long, it was solely owing to the excesses of the revolutionists. Even the melancholy and devout recluse, Cowper—"fast by the banks of the slow-winding Ouse"—roused himself in his sickness and sadness, and poured forth, in a few energetic verses, his congratulations on the destruction of the Bastille. All the most cultivated and most generous spirits of the country looked to the meteor that had risen with joy and hope; and, alas, but too many of them fondly clung to their hope when it was truly a desperate one. In the first phases the great antagonists, Fox and Pitt, united in a tribute of admiration. Of the great public men of the day, Burke was perhaps the first to catch a real glimpse of the one great cause which would disgrace the progress of the revolution, and render the acquisition of liberty doubtful at the last. He had read well the old history of France, and he remembered the old national admixture of impatience and ferocity. About three weeks after the storming of the Bastille he wrote to a friend in Ireland—"The spirit it is impossible not to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner. It is true that this may be no more than a sudden explosion; if so, no indication can be taken from it; but if it should be *character*, rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand, like that of their former masters to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of natural moderation to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to

themselves, and a perfect nuisance to everybody else."¹

The misgivings of Burke gradually converted themselves into a sad certainty, into the fixed and rational conviction that nothing that was good or free would come out of the horrible turmoil. He saw clearly that the same delight in murder and the same savage cruelty would be again renewed. Whether the deeds which had been perpetrated since the capture of the Bastille proceeded from a settled design of the regenerators and revolution chiefs in the assembly, or from the fierce instinct and *will* of the people, the case was equally desperate. By this time the assembly had made such progress in their work as to enable a statesman to judge of what would be the merits of their constitution. "In all appearance," adds Burke, "the new system is a most bungling and unworkmanlike performance. I confess I see no principle of coherence, co-operation, or just subordination of parts in this whole project, nor any the least aptitude to the conditions and wants of the state to which it is applied, nor anything well imagined for the formation, provision, or direction of a common force. . . . I cannot think with you that the assembly have done much. They have indeed *undone* a great deal; and so completely broken up their country as a state, that I assure you, there are few here such Antigallicans as not to feel some pity on the deplorable view of the wreck of France."² Such were the feelings and opinions of one who was not free from human error—of one who, even on this great question, allowed his feelings to overcome him, and his passions to carry him to extremes—but who was assuredly, as a whole, the wisest man and the greatest political philosopher of that generation, and whose thorough honesty and sincerity on this great vital point were indisputable. But the keen insight into the French character which Burke possessed was not common to all his party, or even to all his close personal as well as political friends; and the rapid progress and self-evident tendency of events which had convinced him had carried no conviction to the hearts of various kinds of enthusiasts, who continued to hope that, after the first ebullition, the French people would return to their senses. Some there were so extravagant in their own discontents and animosity to despotisms, or to all established governments, as to declare that little or nothing had been done amiss. But a notion that was entertained by more persons was, that the excesses committed were indeed very lamentable,

¹ Letter to Lord Charlemont, as given by Prior, *Life of Burke*. At this time the French had scarcely begun making their constitution, and the confusion of the three orders into one chamber might be considered as merely temporary. But Burke evidently doubted, from such a beginning, whether any toler-

able system would be adopted. "To form a solid constitution requires wisdom as well as spirit; and whether the French have wise heads among them, or if they possess such, whether they have authority equal to their wisdom, is yet to be seen."—*Life of Burke*.
² Letter to M. de Menonville.

but wholly attributable to the old tyranny, which had brutalized the people, and were not at all likely to last. A very considerable part of the dissenters, who had to complain of sundry restrictions and invidious distinctions not yet removed by the legislature, and a body considerable in numbers and in the fame and abilities of their leaders, who were calling for a parliamentary reform, for the correction of sundry abuses and anomalies, who were over-impatient, and disposed to extend the democratic principle somewhat further than seemed compatible, in the eyes of the vast majority of Englishmen, with the character of the constitution, were the most active applauders of the French movement, considering from the very beginning that it would bring about more speedily than might otherwise be expected the changes at home which seemed to them so essential. We must in charity suppose that a great deal of ignorance as to the real state of France existed with a great deal of excitement. On the 4th of November an ultra-Whig association in the metropolis, known by the name of the "Revolution Society," met to celebrate the memory of William III. and the Revolution of 1689. It was strange that they should couple together two events so totally different; but, at their meeting, they praised in the same breath the great English change which had taken place 100 years before, and the changes that were only a few months old, and not yet completed, in France. Nay, they seem to have soon lost sight of the English revolution, to fix their eyes solely on the French one. In the morning Dr. Price, the reputed father of Pitt's sinking-fund system, delivered a sermon, or discourse, in a dissenting chapel in the Old Jewry, on "The Love of our Country," in which he panegyricized the event as if it were the millennium itself—the commencement of universal peace, and love, and liberty. The doctor was very old, but age had not cooled his enthusiasm, although it may have dimmed his sight in more ways than one. At the dinner which followed the sermon, Dr. Price moved that the society should offer in a formal address "their congratulations to the national assembly on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." The motion was adopted by acclamation; and Lord Stanhope, the chairman—in whom the hereditary talents of the Stanhopes had taken a twist—undertook to transmit the address to the national assembly. The assembly could not do less than declare Dr. Price to be the apostle of liberty, and Lord Stanhope a finished philanthropist. A great parade was made in receiving and reading the said address; the title of *Mi Lord* was pronounced with due emphasis; and care was taken to impress the belief that there were great people in England that not only admired

the revolution, but that were anxious to imitate it. Other societies met in London and in some of the provincial towns; and some permanent clubs were formed, that were supposed to bear a too close resemblance to the Breton, now the Jacobin Club. It was well known that French propagandists were pursuing their missions with rare zeal in half the countries of Europe; and that no inconsiderable number of them were, and had been for some time in England. Mr. Pitt and his government honoured these revolutionary missionaries with more attention than they deserved; but we believe it would be difficult to find that one proselyte was ever made in England by all these secret agents; that many must have been disgusted with their principles on hearing them from their own lips, and with their own natural vehemence; and that perhaps one of the readiest ways to disenchant the credulous would have been to encourage a large importation of these Frenchmen. Additional alarm was excited at the tone assumed by a part of the newspaper press, which had become all at once Gallican and republican. Some of these papers indeed might have been written in Paris, or dictated by Sièyes, Brissot, or some of those coteries; they overflowed with abuse of the old constitution, abuse of the church, abuse of the aristocracy—abuse of almost everything and everybody except the French revolution and the wonderful men who had made it. Before the parliament met, Burke, in private, bitterly reprehended that popular feeling, or fraction of popular feeling, which could approve, or fancy it could applaud the national assembly and its proceedings; he called it "a gross infatuation," "a tolerance of crime," "an absurd partiality to abstract follies and practical wickedness."

The British parliament assembled A.D. 1790. on the 21st of January. The king, who now appeared perfectly recovered from his malady, and from the indisposition which had followed it, attended in person. The speech from the throne concluded by affirming the increase of the public revenue, the extension of the commerce and manufactures of the country, and the general prosperity of the people. The estimates for the military establishments were neither greater nor less than those Pitt had proposed the preceding year; but Fox, Sir Grey Cooper, and other members of opposition thought or said that there ought to be a considerable reduction. Pitt and his relation Grenville urged that, though there was no reason at present to apprehend a war, yet the unsettled state of Europe, and the *internal situation of several parts of it*, made it necessary for us to keep ourselves in such a state as to be able to act with vigour if occasion should require; that it was a preposterous economy to tempt at-

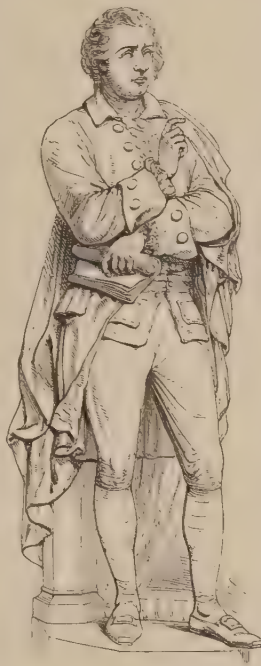
¹ Prior, *Life of Burke*.

tack by a display of weakness, and for a miserable present saving to hazard a great future expense. In the course of this debate Fox with great exultation announced that the conduct of the French soldiers had tended greatly to remove one of his strong objections against standing armies; and that the French army, by refusing to obey the court or act against the people, had set *a glorious example to all the military of Europe*, showing that men by becoming soldiers did not cease to be citizens. It was an injudicious and unlucky selection; but, in a subsequent debate on the subject of the military estimates, Fox returned to his laudation of the French military. On the 9th of February, when the estimates were reported from the committee, he repeated his eulogium. But now he extended his praise to the entire revolution. For some time it had been suspected by watchful observers that there was something approaching to a coolness between Fox and Burke; and this was attributed by different speculators to a variety of causes—apparently to almost every cause except the true one. Hitherto Burke had been silent in the house on the great subject, hesitating ere he would do or say anything that might proclaim an open and most serious disagreement between himself and Fox and the Whig party; it is said that he even went down to the house this evening with the intention of remaining silent: but Burke's feelings were too impetuous to be controlled, and his eloquence was always a full vessel, running over with fermenting contents. He rose greatly agitated. He tried to be calm, and he was passably so until he came to speak directly to the point. Then he lost all temper, and called the revolution "an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, tyrannical democracy." He had spoken before of France as in former times the champion of despotism and Popish intolerance; but now that people, whose character knew no medium, were seeking to lead mankind into anarchy. "On the side of religion," said he, "the danger of their example is no longer from intolerance, but from atheism; a foul, unnatural vice, foe to all the dignity and

consolation of mankind, which seems in France to have been for a long time embodied into a faction, accredited, and almost avowed." After paying some compliments to the admirable genius of his honourable friend, which made the sanction of his name to such doctrines the more dangerous, he entered into an examination of the principles, proceedings, and tendencies of this French revolution. In conclusion, Burke said that he was near

the end of his natural, and probably still nearer to the end of his political career; that he was weak and weary, and wished for rest; that at his time of life, if he could not do something by some sort of weight of opinion, it was useless and indecorous to attempt anything by mere struggle; that, with respect to the constitution itself, he wished but few alterations in it—happy, if he left it not the worse for any share he had taken in its service.

As soon as he had concluded, Fox got up, declaring that it was with a concern of mind almost impossible to describe that he found himself driven to the hard necessity of making a short answer to parts of a speech which, some observations and arguments excepted, he admired as one of the wisest and most brilliant flights of oratory ever delivered in that house. He added, however, that things had been said which ought to have been omitted or deferred. He must, however, declare that such

EDMUND BURKE.¹

was his sense of the judgment of his right honourable friend, such his knowledge of his principles, such the value which he set upon them, and such the estimation in which he held his friendship, that, if he were to put all the political information which he had learned from books, all which he had gained from science, and which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement which he had derived from his right honourable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. He had learned more from his right honourable friend than from all the men with whom he had ever conversed! Fox then entered into explanations as to his true meaning. His declaration, he said, did not warrant the idea that he was a friend to democracy. He was equally the enemy

¹ From the statue by W. Theed, in St. Stephen's Hall, new Houses of Parliament.

of all absolute forms of government, whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, or an absolute democracy. He was adverse to all extremes, and a friend only to a mixed government, like our own, in which, if the aristocracy, or indeed any one of the three branches of the constitution, were destroyed, the good effect of the whole, and the happiness derived under it, would, in his mind, be at an end. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty which had been acted in France no man could have heard of without lamenting; but still, when the severe tyranny under which the people had so long groaned was considered, the excesses which they committed in their endeavour to shake off the yoke of despotism might, he thought, be spoken of with some degree of compassion; and he was persuaded that, unsettled as their present state appeared, it was preferable to their former condition, and that ultimately it would be to the advantage of this country that France had regained her freedom. Never would he lend himself to support any cabal or scheme to introduce any dangerous innovation into our excellent constitution. He would not, however, run the length of declaring that he was an enemy to every species of innovation. That constitution which we all revered owed its perfection to innovation. His right honourable friend might rest assured that they could never differ in principles, however they might differ in their application of principles. What had given him the greatest uneasiness was, lest from its being well known that he had considered it the boast and happiness of his life to have lived on terms of the most perfect confidence and intimacy with his right honourable friend, an impression might be left on the mind of that house, or on the minds of the public, that there had existed some grounds of suspicion that he could so far forget himself, upon the score either of principles or of duty, as at any moment to countenance, or rather not vehemently to reprobate all doctrines and all measures inimical to the constitution.

Burke rejoined: he said he could, without the least flattery or exaggeration, assure his right honourable friend that separation of a limb from his body could scarcely give him more pain than the circumstance of differing from him violently and publicly in opinion. He had no idea that his friend would lend his aid to any plan for the support of dangerous and unconstitutional procedures. He knew the contrary. He only wished to warn those who did not possess the brilliant talents and illuminated penetration of his right honourable friend from entertaining sentiments which he conceived to be adverse to good government. Here the discussion might have ended for the present if it had not been for the *facile levity*, or light facility, of Sheridan,

who was anxious to make a speech on a grand subject, of which he knew very little, and upon which he had never bestowed one serious thought. Sheridan said he felt it a duty to declare that he differed decidedly from Burke in almost every word he had uttered respecting the French revolution. After paying some compliments about general principles, &c., he said he could not conceive how it was possible for a person of such principles, or for any man who valued our own constitution, and revered the revolution that obtained it for us, to unite with such feelings an unqualified abhorrence of all the proceedings of the patriotic party in France. He conceived theirs to be as just a revolution as ours, proceeding upon as sound a principle and a greater provocation. He eulogized La Fayette, Bailly, and other patriots of that class. He vehemently defended the general views and conduct of the national assembly; and he concluded a flippant harangue—a congeries of common-places, made ornamental and emphatic by sheer oratory—by charging Burke with being an advocate for despotism, and with having spoken of the national assembly with an unwarrantable freedom of speech. Burke instantly rose to reply. There could never have been any great friendship or sympathy between the two, and he could assuredly throw off Sheridan without any of that deep and tender regret he felt in merely differing with Fox. He said he lamented the necessity, but must declare that henceforth his honourable friend (Sheridan) and he were separated in politics. He added that he had expected, even in the moment of separation, that his honourable friend—for so he had been in the habit of calling him—would have treated him with some degree of kindness, and would at least have done him the justice of representing his arguments fairly. But this was not a fair and candid treatment. Was it not evident that the honourable gentleman had made a sacrifice of his friendship for the sake of catching some momentary popularity? If the fact were such, even greatly as he should continue to admire the honourable gentleman's talents, he must tell him that his argument was chiefly an argument *ad invidiam*, and that all the applause he could hope for from clubs was scarcely worth the sacrifice which he had chosen to make. The Whig party were alarmed at this schism; attempts were immediately made, and again repeated within two days, to bring about a reconciliation by means of mutual explanations. On the night of the 11th, at about ten o'clock, there was a meeting at Burlington House, the Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the Whig party, and several other party chiefs, besides Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, being present at it. The discussion lasted till three hours after mid-

night, and appears to have terminated very little to the satisfaction of Sheridan; for, during the remainder of the session, he seldom came to the house, and very rarely spoke.

The king, who had never learned to look with a different eye on the American revolution, considered that that great event had been chiefly brought about by a system of yielding and conceding; he saw a confirmation to this belief in the conduct of Louis XVI. and the march of this new revolution, which, in his apprehension, was nothing but the legitimate, or illegitimate, offspring of the American. He had fully made up his mind to make no more concessions anywhere, hoping to shut the doors against great changes by keeping them locked and barred against all changes. Pitt was an authoritative minister, but on these points he would have found the king imperative. But Pitt had come nearly to the same conclusion as his royal master. On the other hand, the dissenters thought that this season of change was excellent for pressing their old claims to be removed from the oppressions and distinctions of the test and corporation acts, being also encouraged by the very small majority which had rejected a motion to that effect in 1789. They took the field with great activity and confidence, they canvassed individual members of the present parliament, and they intimated that they would only vote at the next general election, which could not be now far off, for such candidates as were friends to religious liberty and well affected to their cause. They even forgot their old intolerance so far as to court a union with the Roman Catholics, who were to be allowed the same freedom from the obnoxious acts that they claimed for themselves. On the 2d of March the subject was brought by Fox before the House of Commons, which was one of the fullest that had been assembled for some time. In the long and argumentative speech with which he introduced his motion, Fox strove to ward off the objection which was known to be uppermost, not merely in the mind of the king, but also in the minds of a very large portion of the nation, by reminding the house that the former application of his clients had been made three years ago, when the most sagacious among them could not have formed anything like a conjecture of what had since happened in France. The motion was warmly opposed by Pitt, and afterwards Burke spoke on the same side. Whatever he might have thought of the repeal of the test and corporation acts in other circumstances, he regarded it at the present moment as altogether inexpedient. There was, he said, a wild spirit of innovation abroad, which required not indulgence, but restraint; for, the avowed leaders of the dissenters had in their

speeches, resolutions, writings, and even catechisms and sermons, given countenance to the worst portion of the political spirit of the day. Upon a division taking place, the motion was negatived by a majority of nearly three to one. Two days after this debate, a motion still more hopeless, under the circumstances, was made by Mr. Flood; it was for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament. The plan was recommended in a very eloquent speech. It was opposed by Mr. Windham, who said, among many other things, that if he had approved ever so much of this proposition of reform, he should object to it on account of the time at which it was introduced. He asked where was the man that would advise them to repair their house in the hurricane season? He thought that speculatists and visionaries enough were at work in a neighbouring country: *there*, there was project against project, and theory against theory, encountering front to front. He entreated the house to wait a little for the event, and in the meantime, to guard with all possible care against catching the French infection. Fox argued in favour of the motion, candidly confessing, however, that he believed the opinion he supported was not only not that of the majority of the house, but was not the opinion of the majority of the nation. Burke then rose to combat the whole scheme, and all the arguments that had been used to support it. He contended that the people did not call for, or wish for any parliamentary reform, and that these attempts were not so much as countenanced by them. Wilberforce, Grenville, and Powys spoke on the same side; and at length Mr. Flood agreed to withdraw his motion.

On May 5th the public was surprised by a message from his majesty to parliament containing information of the violence committed on two vessels belonging to his subjects, on the north-western coast of America, by a Spanish naval officer; also of his applications to the court of Spain for satisfaction; of the exclusive claims of that court to the navigation of those seas, and its hostile preparations. This dispute was a consequence of the establishment, by an English trader, of a small settlement for the purposes of commerce, at Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, the liberty for which he had purchased from the Indian chief of the district. In May and June, 1789, two English vessels were seized in that bay by the commander of a Spanish frigate, who made the crews prisoners, took possession of the lands on which the building for a settlement was erected; pulling down the British flag, and hoisting the Spanish in its stead, with a declaration that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the sixtieth degree of north

latitude belonged to his Catholic majesty. Negotiations respecting this act had been carried on between the two courts, which had not produced an accommodation; and the king's message on the occasion expressed a determination to support the honour of his crown and the rights of his people. The House of Commons unanimously voted an address to the king corresponding to this resolution, and passed a vote of credit for a million. Vigorous preparations for war were made on both sides; but the Spaniards not choosing to proceed to extremities, the dispute was adjusted by a convention, in which Spain agreed to the restoration of the settlement at Nootka, with reparation for the injury sustained; and also to a free navigation and fishery in the Pacific Ocean or South Seas by British subjects, with a proviso, in order to prevent smuggling, that they should not come within ten leagues of any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

There were wanting neither then nor at a later date men who sneered at the notion of going to war about an inconsiderable settlement in the Pacific Ocean; but though Nootka Sound was itself of no very great value, it was becoming essentially important to our trade and navigation that we should have free access to some ports in those latitudes; and, besides, a most flagrant insult had been offered by the Spaniards to the national honour, and this was deeply resented by every right-minded Englishman. Mr. Grey—the late venerable Earl Grey of our own day—had said, with proper spirit—"This national honour is not, as some have represented it, a visionary thing: a nation without honour is a nation without power. In losing this one inestimable attribute, it inevitably loses the genuine spring of its spirit, energy, and action. Every nation, therefore, ought to be vigilantly careful of its honour; to be careful lest, by one mean submission, it encourages an attack upon the dignity of its character, that best security for the preservation of its peace." After the conclusion of the convention with Spain, flattering eulogiums of the minister, in the shape of congratulatory addresses to the king, were sent up by the cities of London, Bristol, and Glasgow. In foreign courts the reputation both of Pitt and of his country was indisputably raised by the promptness with which he had prepared for war, and by the negotiations through which he had secured peace.

Mr. Wilberforce continued to devote time, life, fortune, and no common share of ability and eloquence to the great subject of the slave trade. Once a week the "slave committee" dined with him. Clarkson, Dickson, and others, who had taken up the pen in the cause, and who were jocosely named by Pitt "Wilberforce's white

negroes," were his constant inmates; and were employed in classing, revising, and abridging evidence under his own eye. His house was like an hotel, ever open to those who could in any way assist in the great work; and his influence out of doors, throughout the society he frequented, was very great, and was principally turned to the same purpose.¹ On the 25th of January he had opened the campaign in the House of Commons, by moving that the house would, on Wednesday the 27th, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take the question of the slave trade into further consideration; and this motion having been agreed to after some debate, he had, on the 27th, carried the appointment of a special committee for the examination of witnesses. He became himself by far the most active member of this special committee—he and his friend the late William Smith conducting personally nearly all the examinations. After many witnesses had been examined, some in favour of the slave trade and some against it, a strong party in the house evinced a disposition to resist the admission of any more evidence. Upon this Wilberforce bestirred himself more actively than ever, not only imploring his friend Pitt to prevent the adoption of a course which would leave his case incomplete, but also making visits among Pitt's opponents, and calling upon Fox and Burke, and others of the opposition, for the same object. On the 23d of April, Lord Penrhyn moved in the commons that no further evidence should be allowed; but, through Wilberforce's zeal and activity, there was found a majority against his lordship. Through the same untiring agency, many additional witnesses in favour of the abolition of the slave trade were found out, brought forward, and examined by the special committee. But here the business ended for the present, and the further consideration of the subject was adjourned till next session.

On the 7th of February the Emperor Joseph was gently informed by his physicians that the disease under which he had been so long labouring was incurable. "I have weighty affairs on my mind that I wish to settle," said the emperor; "do you think I may hold out a few weeks longer?" He was told that it was possible, but that the nature of his complaint rendered it not improbable that he might be carried off suddenly at any moment. Joseph, who had some practical philosophy, and many qualities that make one love and pity him, was silent for a few minutes, but did not appear dejected. He then signed a despatch which his ministers had prepared for him, and the object of which was to apprise his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was at Florence, of his approaching dissolution,

¹*Life of Wilberforce, by his sons.*

and to press him to come to Vienna as soon as possible. The last sand in the hour-glass was made to run the faster by a domestic shock. Early on the morning of the 18th his favourite niece, the Archduchess Elizabeth, died in childhood.¹ In the course of the 19th, the last day of his life, being no longer able to make use of his own hand, he dictated a letter to the excellent old Marshal Lacy, to express his gratitude for all the services and all the instruction he had received from him. On the same day, or more probably a day or two before, he said to the Prince de Ligne, a native of the Austrian Netherlands, "Your country has killed me! Ghent taken by the insurgents has been my agony; Brussels abandoned by my troops, my death!" He repeated several times to the prince—to the witty, light-hearted man, now crying like a child—"It is this that kills me!" After thanking the prince for his faithful services, Joseph said, "Go to the Netherlands; make them return to their duty to their sovereign; but if you cannot do that, remain there. Do not sacrifice your own interests; you have children!" On the 28th, between night and morning, the emperor breathed his last, being then in the forty-ninth year of his age. When his successor, Leopold, arrived at Vienna, his first care was to free himself from the Turkish war. Negotiations for peace were opened at Reichenbach, in Silesia, on the 4th of June, under the mediation of England, Prussia, and Holland; and an armistice was immediately concluded between the Emperor Leopold and the sultan. This was soon followed by a treaty of peace, settled on the *status quo* principle, or that each party should retain what it had before the war began, restoring all that it had won. Russia was invited to be a party to the treaty, and Austria engaged to remain neutral in case Russia should refuse to accede. The congress at Reichenbach also interfered in the affairs of the Netherlands; and England, Prussia, and Holland guaranteed to the Emperor Leopold all the possessions of the house of Austria in Flanders, Brabant, &c., provided only he acknowledged and re-established the ancient privileges and constitution of those provinces.

In the meanwhile the Flemings and Brabanters, with the rest of the Belgians, now styling themselves the United Belgic States, had called a congress of their own, and had issued the plan of a constitution, differing in some essential particulars from the ancient constitutions of the provinces, and being constructed with a view of complete independence of the house of Austria and of every other power. The Belgians had

struck a medal to commemorate their independence and the throwing off of the Austrian yoke; and they had taken into their service a considerable number of English, Prussians, and Dutch, in order to form rapidly a regular army. They had, as a matter of course, called out their old militia and organized their corps of volunteers. The peasantry, urged on by the priests and monks, came in and enrolled themselves in great numbers, and the whole country was put in an attitude of defiance before the Emperor Joseph breathed his last. Most of the surrounding nations seemed to wish success to these efforts; but enlightened men found a great deal to condemn in the intolerant spirit in religion which was linked with the spirit of independence. The quarrel with the Emperor Joseph had, in a manner, begun about the Catholic clergy; the revolution had been driven on by Catholic priests and monks; and now the constitution-makers, who had complained of the emperor's tolerating other religions as an insufferable grievance, seemed resolved to carry intolerance to its utmost lengths. The constitution, or plan of constitution, they put forth excited great disgust among the liberal party even in England, who thought that they had thrown off the yoke of the house of Austria to little purpose, since they willingly submitted to the double yoke of a proud aristocracy and a persecuting superstition. The superstition, the bigotry, the black intolerance were dear to the hearts of the great body of the people; there was no touching the new constitution on that side; the very propagandists of France had found themselves compelled to feign to be bigoted Catholics in Belgium; but in merely worldly matters they found the Belgians very ready converts, and they successfully preached an extreme democracy—a democracy like their own—though they could not make philosophers of the burghers and boors of those fat low countries. In old times, too, the Flemings and Brabanters had been the foremost democracy in Europe—the people that had waged one of the fiercest of the wars against the insolent and oppressive feudal aristocracy. On this side they were predisposed to sympathize with the French revolutionists. The Jacobin Club in Paris had their agents in Brussels, in Ghent, in all the great towns; swarms of Frenchmen, inoculated with the revolutionary virus, and in search of employment and bread, which they could not find at home, kept constantly crossing the frontier, enlisting in the army of the Belgic states, or undertaking other services which brought them in contact with the people. A society, calling themselves the "Patriotic Assembly," met at Brussels, held regular and public meetings, and put forth their opinions almost in the shape of decrees; they

¹ This princess of the house of Wurtemberg was only his niece by marriage. She was the first wife of his nephew Francis, who so soon became emperor.

were, at the least, calculated to overawe the congress and assembly of states, and to dictate the course they ought to pursue in constructing a separate and independent government. They complained—and so far there was some reasonableness in their complaint—that all the powers of government, all the legislative and executive functions, had been usurped, on the overthrow of the emperor's authority, by a few individuals, who formed a complete oligarchy, more odious and difficult to bear than the imperial despotism.

These disputes began as soon as ever General Dalton and the emperor's troops were expelled; and they continued till great armies were ready to take the field against them. The revolution had been made by the concurrence and union of all the orders; but now these orders were divided among themselves, and a war, without truce, was declared by the people, by the clergy and monastic orders, against the high aristocracy; and then, in a very brief space of time, the necessity of a new revolution was preached and proclaimed. The highest of the clergy took part, of course, with the aristocracy; but the great working body, the country curés, the parish priests in the towns, and most of the orders of monks, who had all been shaken and terrified by the Emperor Joseph, were on the democratic side, and disposed to go to very great lengths for popular liberty, reserving their antiquated intolerance in matters of religion. The magical words, *tiers état*, were pronounced; Sièyes' definitions were accepted; and the grand and exclusive right of the democracy was proclaimed as a truth and an axiom. The aristocracy had pretended to too much; and the democrats would now allow them nothing. As in France, neither party would trust or tolerate the other. A jealousy arose between the congress and the army; and before this independence was two months old a portion of the army began to wish the power of the emperor re-established. On the accession of Leopold, before the meeting at Reichenbach, or before any kind of measure was attempted, either diplomatically or otherwise, a manifesto was despatched from Vienna to the Netherlands. This paper condemned, as improper, unjust, and despotic, much that had been done by the late Emperor Joseph; made strong professions, on the part of the new emperor, of lenity, kindness, and affection for the people; gave them the strongest assurances of his wish and intention to redress all their real grievances; but at the same time it asserted, in high terms, the emperor's undoubted right to the sovereignty of the country, and intimated that he would maintain that right with all his might. If this manifesto hurt their pride, it conciliated the interest of many of the Belgians, for it solemnly assured them that their

old institutions should be restored; and a very large portion of the people had already discovered that those old institutions were much better things for working and for every-day use than their new constitution or the theories of the men who had made an anarchy in France.

The character of the new emperor also seemed to have a claim on confidence, respect, and affection. As Grand Duke of Tuscany he had gained universal applause by the gentleness of his disposition, by the mild and equitable spirit of his government. It was well known that he had left Tuscany in the condition of one of the happiest and best governed states in all Europe. Even men who had been most active in this Belgian revolution conceived that now, their enemy Joseph being gone to his account, they might make terms with his brother and successor. Though the rising had been so general, there was always in the Netherlands a strong loyal imperial party, composed of individuals of various classes who owed obligations to, or hoped benefits from the house of Austria. This party now began to declare themselves pretty openly, to wear the old cockade instead of the new patriotic ribands; and they soon formed the nucleus of a numerous and imposing force. The inhabitants of several villages assembled under Austrian flags, beating and plundering, in the name of the emperor, those who, a few months before, had beaten and plundered them in the name of liberty. For the present these bands were dispersed by the troops of congress; but the wounds and blows they received only made them the more eager to re-assemble again when circumstances should be more favourable, and when the pleasure of revenge might be added to their other enjoyments. Men of a superior condition, though averse to the extreme democratic principles, detested the oligarchy, and seriously doubted whether it were possible to establish a republican form of government that would act quietly and well, and preserve the country from feuds, factions, and perpetual disorder. The people, no doubt, had sundry good qualities, but in point of enlightenment they were about the most backward of all in Europe. The idea that these populous and fertile provinces should all be united into a separate kingdom, and have a king of their own choice, had been entertained by not a few of the Flemings and Brabanters from the first beginning of the quarrel with the Emperor Joseph. A certain party now revived a plan for calling the Duke of Orleans to fill this new throne; agents were despatched to Paris, and, notwithstanding the disgrace the Duke of Orleans was in at court, and the dark imputations against him, a portion at least of the French cabinet had not been unwilling to favour his highness's promotion. But

the intriguing Dumouriez, who was sent to Brussels, returned to Paris with the conviction that France, at the present moment, could derive no advantage from such a chaos, and that the people of the Low Countries were on the high road to anarchy and ruin. He told Montmorin and La Fayette that the scheme of supporting those revolted provinces ought to be abandoned. The minister fully agreed with him; but La Fayette, who thought that, because the Americans had succeeded in their revolt, every other revolt must necessarily be successful, treated him and his opinion very coldly. Dumouriez was convinced that the fate of Belgium must depend upon the congress assembled at Reichenbach; and, as that body of diplomatists had started with the leading principle that the ancient constitutions of the provinces, with the conditions of the "Joyous Entry," and all other rights whatsoever, should be restored to them, and guaranteed by England, Prussia, and Holland, there seemed little ground for lamenting that the decision of the case should be left to that congress. Almost any state of things was better than the existing anarchy.

The Empress Catherine, though deprived of her Austrian ally, refused to take part in the pacific negotiations at Reichenbach, and carried on the war with the Turks on one side, and the Swedes on the other. Gustavus Adolphus, almost ruined by the great expenses of the war, and hoping nothing from the Swedish noblesse, whose enmities now seemed irreconcilable, threw himself more and more into the hands of the people. He became as great an advocate for the *tiers état*, and almost as averse to the titled and privileged classes, as were any of the Frenchmen in the national assembly. The noble officers of his army had mutinied against him even in the field, and with the armies of the enemy in his front; the noble officers of his navy had refused to serve even under his own gallant brother, the Duke of Sudermania; and, in the civil service, the noble heads of departments and bureaux had resigned almost universally. Under these circumstances Gustavus issued a declaration that all orders of the state, without distinction of birth or rank, had an equal right to serve the country in all situations; it being contrary to common sense that any particular order should be allowed to monopolize all those appointments. The road to honour and promotion was thrown open to every Swede that had character and abilities. This measure charmed the mass of the citizens and people quite as much as it enraged the aristocrats: the States, from which the nobles were now almost entirely excluded, voted subsidies and imposed heavy taxes to enable the king to maintain the war against Russia. The nobles murmured at these heavy impositions, and de-

clared, wherever it was safe to do so, that the acts of the Swedish states were illegal, as wanting their consent. They appear to have felt the more deeply as the taxes were levied upon all classes alike, in just proportion to their property. Calling his men of iron into the field, at a very early season, in the midst of snow and ice, Gustavus sent the Prince of Anhalt in the direction of St. Petersburg. With a body which did not exceed 3000, Anhalt penetrated to within twelve leagues, or two days' march, of the Russian capital, and possessed himself of an exceedingly strong post, with a fort, redoubts, &c., at Karnomkoski, on the Saima Lake. Here the Swedes were attacked, in the month of April, by 10,000 Russians, under the command of General Ingelstrom. After a tremendous conflict, the Russians were driven back; they renewed the attack, to be again repulsed; and, after a third attack, they retreated in good order, but leaving 2000 of their dead upon the field. The Swedes, however, lost their brave commander; and were not in force sufficient either to advance upon St. Petersburg, which was again in a panic, or to maintain their positions on Lake Saima. The Duke of Sudermania then made some descents on the coast to favour the operations of the land army; and, towards the end of June, his brother, the king, commanded in person the rest of the Swedish fleet in an attack upon a Russian division of ships and gun-boats, anchored in the bay of Viborg. Before Gustavus could succeed in his object Admiral Chitschakoff with the grand Russian fleet, and the Prince of Nassau with his galleys, were upon him. The Duke of Sudermania came to his brother's rescue; but still the Swedish force was very inferior. In the battle which took place two Swedish ships blew up, four fell upon the rocks and were taken, and a considerable number of small vessels or galleys were captured by the Russians, whose own losses were very serious, and whose high hopes were disappointed—for they had laid their account with nothing less than the capture both of the King of Sweden and his brother. This desperate combat took place on the 3d of July. Six days after, with a force still inferior, but with more sea-room, Gustavus attacked Chitschakoff and Nassau near Svenkasund with incredible fury. The battle, waged by ships and galleys, crammed on both sides with men, soldiers as well as sailors, lasted for two days. Several English officers were now serving with the Swedes, and foremost in the number was Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, then a young man, romantic, brave, and daring to excess. On the second day, after a frightful carnage, victory declared for the Swedes, who took or destroyed forty-five of the Russian galleys, ruined several of their largeships, and made above 4000 prisoners.

The Empress Catherine immediately sued for peace, in a manner that must have been grievous to her pride. Gustavus was still bound by his Turkish alliance, and the sultan was more in need of his assistance now than when the Swedes had first taken the field. But the Swedish exchequer was empty, and Gustavus, who had counted upon the assistance and co-operation of England and Prussia, found that nothing was to be hoped from those quarters. No very enormous vote of English money might have enabled him to prosecute the war, and keep up the important diversion in favour of the Ottoman empire; and the war might have been ended by such a treaty as should considerably have checked and thrown back the encroaching, grasping spirit of Russia, by putting Sweden in the position which she ought to occupy—that of a great power in the North. Gustavus complained that he was badly used; and we cannot but think he had sufficient reason for his complaint, for, though they had kept themselves out of any treaty or direct engagement with him, England and Prussia, and Spain and Holland, had certainly encouraged him to begin this war, for preserving the crazy Turkish empire from dismemberment. It was too selfish, it was monstrous, to pretend that this last great object should be worked out by Sweden alone, and at the sole expense of so poor a country. One million of English money disbursed now might have produced more effect than twenty millions spent at a later period. Moreover, if Sweden had been properly supported, and if this war had been vigorously sustained for another campaign or two, not only might the bloody triumphs of Suvaroff on the Euxine and the Danube have been checked, but the third, last, and worst partition of Poland—a project which Catherine was now entertaining—might also have been prevented or delayed. After a very short correspondence, in which care was taken by the crafty Catherine to flatter the vanity of his Swedish majesty, plenipotentiaries met at Wærela, near the river Kymen, between the advanced posts of the two armies; and, with the interposition of Spain, a treaty of peace was concluded there on the 14th of August, upon the *status quo ante bellum* principle. The old treaties of Åbo and Nystad were confirmed; each power was to retain what it possessed before the war, and Sweden renounced all claim to the possessions which had once belonged to it, and which it had overrun during the present war. Russia granted permission to export grain from Livonia; but the empress, who had pledged herself to the disaffected Swedish nobles to support their rights and privileges, who had put Gustavus' infringements of the old aristocratic form of government in a prominent part of her manifestoes, said not a syllable about

this old constitution in the treaty. She left the Swedish noblesse, who had plotted for her, entirely at the mercy of their king.

For some time the Russian army on the Danube remained very inactive. The empress was uncertain as to the intentions of the King of Prussia, who was collecting troops on the Polish frontiers; and she was apprehensive lest some strong representations made to her by the courts of London and Vienna might be the forerunners of a declaration of war. She was, moreover, in a bad state of health; and whenever that was the case all kinds of business languished. It was late in the autumn ere Suvaroff received reinforcements, supplies, and positive orders from Prince Potemkin to invest the fortress of Ismail, a place of some strength, esteemed the key of the Lower Danube, and which would open to the Russians the road to Schumla and the Balkan Mountains.¹ It was the only fortress of any value that remained to the Turks in those parts; and there was nothing between it and Constantinople except an entrenched camp at Schumla, and the difficult mountain-pass of the Balkan. Being assisted by a fleet of galleys under Admiral Ribas, Suvaroff invested Ismail by land and by water, and summoned the Turks to surrender, as the place must be considered untenable. The Turks never surrender upon summons, and seldom know whether a place is tenable or not until they are driven out of it: the garrison returned a haughty defiance. It was now the month of December—no time for making regular sieges in that inclement, uncomfortable climate; if Suvaroff had attempted a regular siege he would have had to undergo the same difficulties and hardships which had been encountered in 1788-9 at Oczakoff, where Potemkin's army had been almost ruined. Nor were such slow and regular processes at all suitable to the genius of this rude, rough, and ignorant soldier of fortune. On the 25th of December—Christmas Day in our calendar, but not in that of the Russians—he ordered an assault, which was executed by an army of 23,000 men, and by the galleys, which mounted 567 pieces of artillery. The Turkish troops, who had from 200 to 300 heavy cannon in battery, and who were joined and assisted by every man and nearly by every woman and child in the place, held their fire until the Russians were within a short distance, when they fired from every cannon and every musket, making old Ismail look like a volcano in its most active eruption. In vain Suvaroff stormed and cursed, and beat his Russians over the head, as his fashion was; there was no stopping their retrograde move-

¹ Potemkin's order to Suvaroff was as brief and peremptory as could well be. The whole letter consisted of the words—"You will take Ismail, cost what it may."

ment, and for some time there was no possibility of getting them back to the assault. He made another attack in different columns, but he was beaten again and again. It is said that the Russians were repulsed six or seven times from every quarter, and that Suvaroff was obliged to make all his cavalry dismount, and take an equal share nearly with the infantry in the desperate assault. At last, one ill-constructed earthen battery was carried, and Suvaroff, the first to apply the scaling-ladder, planted the standard of the empress within the Turkish works. His bravery was not of the merciful and generous kind; Suvaroff was a brute in manners, a savage in body and soul. It is reported of him that, as he was leading or driving his people to the assault, he said, "Brothers, no quarter to-day, for bread is very scarce!" The losses they had sustained and were still suffering made the survivors mad with fury and revenge; and, as all kinds of barbarous hordes were mixed with the Russ and Muscovites, there was small chance of Suvaroff's being overburdened with prisoners to eat his filthy bread. If the Turkish works had been only tolerably constructed, he must have been repulsed even now; but the traverses were all wrong, or were everywhere except where they ought to have been; the palisades were set right in the middle of the parapet, which enabled the assailants to form behind them; and, through all these blunders of construction, the storming parties were enabled to carry the first parapet. Though as sailed all round, and fired upon from the battery which Suvaroff had taken, and from other parts of their own works, the Turks fought on with shouts of "Allah! Allah! Hu!" At last, at about an hour after sunset, the third line was carried; and then Russians, Cossacks, Zaporavians, and all the savage bands who followed that congenial leader, Suvaroff, burst into the very heart of the town, and began a carnage as horrible as any recorded in authentic history. Every horror was committed; and in the midst

of that hell upon earth, with mosques, serais, and houses burning around him, and with his ears filled with the shrieks of women and children, Suvaroff sat down, and wrote in Russian rhyme, "Glory to God and to the empress, Ismail is ours." Scarcely a Turkish officer was left alive; the old seraskier pacha, who had the chief command in Ismail, was found pierced with sixteen bayonets; including the inhabitants, the women and children, above 30,000 perished. The loss of the Russians themselves was estimated as high as 9000 or 10,000, including an amazing number of officers, and some of them of the highest rank. The Prince de Ligne, who, now that Joseph was dead, preferred serving the czarina to going among his own mad countrymen in the Netherlands, witnessed this scene of horror, and was wounded in the assault. The Duke de Richelieu, then a young volunteer, and afterwards the founder and benefactor of Odessa, had a narrow escape; and practised a generous humanity where few would follow his example. Catherine triumphed in St. Petersburg; but Sultan Selim did not yet despair in Constantinople; and, when the Turks had seen the head of the grand vizier taken off and laid in the niche by the seraglio gate, they hoped for a better campaign next year. The first time the czarina saw Sir Charles Whitworth, the British ambassador, after receiving the news and the trophies from Ismail, she said, with an ironical smile, "Since the king your master is determined to drive me out of St. Petersburg, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople."

¹ *Histoire de la Nouvelle Russie*. This account, written by a French officer in the Russian service, is the one which Lord Byron has followed very closely, as far as the incidents are concerned, in cantos vii., viii., and viii. of *Don Juan*. *Comte de Segur*; *Annual Register*. Some years after the event, when Suvaroff was asked by an English traveller whether, after the massacre at Ismail, he had felt perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day, he replied that he went home and wept in his tent!—*Remains of the late John Tweedell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

CHAPTER XXVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1790.

GEORGE III.

Affairs of France—Predominance of the clubs and the mob—Plan of the king to head the revolution—His declaration of adherence to it in the national assembly—Enthusiasm with which his declaration was received—The national oath of fidelity to the constitution—A reaction—Federations instituted—Declaration of the rights of man—Liberty superseded by equality—Impossibility of establishing two chambers in the French senate—Renunciation of war proclaimed by the national assembly—Fête of the 14th July in the Champs de Mars—Its ceremonies and observances—Egotism of the performers—Encouragement afforded by the fête to the anarchists—Apathetic conduct of the king—Progress of insurrection among the military—Check given to it at Nancy—Complaints of a deputation from Nancy at the check—National funeral service for the insurgents who had been put to death—Necker resigns office—His unpopularity—His arrest on his departure from France—He is allowed to retire to Geneva—Schism produced in the French church by the revolution—Affairs of Belgium—Democratic and levelling spirit of the Belgians—They imitate the French revolutionists—Warning given to them by Vanderersch—He is imprisoned at Antwerp—The Duke of Ursel also sent to prison—Violent proceedings of the Belgian revolutionists—Their dissensions—The Emperor Leopold again makes overtures to the Belgians—His promises to respect their ancient rights and privileges—The Austrian army advances into Belgium—The democratic congress takes to flight—The country returns to the rule of the emperor—Continuation of war between Russia and Turkey—Symptoms of its approaching close—War in India of the English against Tippoo Sultaun—He applies for assistance to France—Louis XVI. refuses to grant assistance—Commencement of the war—Repeated defeats of the Sultaun—Meeting of the British parliament—Fox's comments on the royal address—Pitt's financial statements.



REVOLUTIONARY France, at every step, got deeper and deeper in blood. The king was a prisoner, exposed to daily insults and menaces. There was no longer any government, although Necker continued at his unenviable post; there was no restrictive power anywhere; the great reformers themselves were overruled by the noisy mobs that crowded the galleries of their house, by the political clubs, by the demagogues of the Palais Royal, and by the lowest rabble of the faubourgs. La Fayette commanded the national guards; but his authority was of the most precarious kind, for the Jacobins had already conceived suspicions against him, as also against his great ally, Mayor Bailly. Provisions became dearer than ever; and the ignorant mob continued to believe that the dreadful scarcity, which had proceeded from the elements, was wholly attributable to the king, the queen, and the aristocrats. Early in the year the national assembly transferred themselves from the archbishop's palace to the Grande Salle de Manège, or riding school, which had been prepared and fitted up for them, and which stood conveniently near to the Tuileries palace, wherein the royal family continued to be watched and guarded in the most vigilant and jealous manner. As opposition was impossible, and as the king would neither attempt to escape nor adopt any other bold measure, some of his friends thought fit to advise him to do something, as if spontaneously, that should captivate the good-will of

the assembly and people, and place himself, as it was called, "at the head of the revolution." The advice was condemned by others of the king's private counsellors as inept or perfidious. Gouverneur Morris addressed a note to the queen, to oppose the idea; to submit that the king had already gathered fruits but too bitter from his intercourse with the assembly; and that all that he had now to do was to remain quiet, and let things take their course; that disasters were thickening; that confusion would follow; and that ere long the people, disgusted with the novelties that were working so much to their injury, might be disposed to return to the king, to offer him the spoils which they had wrested from him; that then it would depend on the king alone to insure the happiness of France; and then a constitution, securing the liberties of the nation, and adapted to its condition, might be framed. The great point with Morris was, that nothing should be done by the court at present. But the plan was adopted at court, nor can we think what was done of much consequence, or that it made matters worse, except as tending to lower the character of the king afterwards, and to give the people the opportunity of accusing him of insincerity, perfidy, and perjury.

On the 4th of February, while the deputies were debating, the door-keepers cried of a sudden, "Here is the king, the king!" and immediately afterwards Louis entered the hall, the deputies rising and receiving him with some applause. There was a respectful silence when the

king, followed by Necker, and by no one else, stood up near the president's chair to speak. He spoke standing, the deputies being now all seated. Louis began with representing the terrible disorders to which France was a prey, and the efforts he had made to calm those troubles and provide for the subsistence of the people. He then recapitulated the works and acts of the assembly, declaring that he had attempted to do the same good things by means of the provincial assemblies, before they met; that he had always been desirous of reforms, &c. He added, that he felt it to be especially his duty to unite himself to the national assembly, to the representatives of the people, at a moment like this, when they were finishing a constitution, and submitting to his approbation decrees destined to give a new organization to the kingdom. He then declared that he approved of the principles of this new organization; and that he would favour the new constitution, when it should be finished, to the utmost of his power, and consider every attempt made against it as an offence to be pursued with all the rigour of law. He ventured, however, to express his anxiety about the respect due to the ministers of religion and the rights of property; and even to recommend to the assembly not to undertake too many things at once, but to reserve some of the plans or changes—"a part of the good things their intelligence suggested"—for a future and quieter season. He also represented how necessary it was to establish the authority of the executive power, without which there could be no lasting order within the kingdom, no respect abroad, and no effective government. He hoped that this day, on which he, as king, came down to unite himself with the assembly and people in the frankest and most intimate manner, would be a memorable epoch in the history of that empire! And he concluded, "It will be so if my ardent wishes, if my earnest prayers may serve as a signal of peace and reconciliation among you. Let those who would still avoid this spirit of concord sacrifice to me all the remembrances which afflict them; I will pay them for it with my gratitude and affection. From this day let us profess, let us *all* profess—and I will set you the example—but one opinion, one sole interest, one only will—attachment to the new constitution, the ardent desire of the peace, happiness, and prosperity of France."¹

The applause was tremendous; and as soon as the king had taken his departure, to be reconducted to the Tuileries by a shouting multitude, all vowing and swearing that now, indeed, he merited his title of "Restorer of French Liberty," a vote of thanks, not only to his majesty, but also to the queen, was proposed in the assembly and carried

by acclamation. Before the enthusiasm grew cool, somebody from the tribune, or among the deputies on the benches, suggested that, as the king had so solemnly promised on his part to be true to the constitution, they, the members of the national assembly, ought, on their parts, to swear to be so. This proposition was adopted by acclamation; and there immediately began a wholesale swearing to a constitution which was not yet finished! The president swore first—"To be true to the nation, the law, and the king, and to maintain with all his power the constitution decreed by the national assembly and accepted by the king." Every deputy was to take this oath separately and distinctly; and there followed a loud, quick, running fire of *Je le jure!*—I swear it. Before the deputies had done swearing, the people in the galleries began to swear; and the crowd in the body of the house, and the mob out of doors, began to swear, so that nothing was heard for a long time but the sonorous *Je le jure! Je le jure!* In the evening Mayor Bailly and the committees, and all the municipals took the oath in the Hôtel de Ville, and another mob took it in the Place de Grève, but in a more regular and formal manner than the crowd in and about the Grande Salle de Manège; for, on the suggestion of Danton, "that the public would like to partake," Bailly, with an escort of twelve municipals, stepped out to the front of the building, stretched out his hands, pronounced the words, and took the *jures* of the people, with a thunder of rolling drums, and with shouts that rent the air. Then in the streets of Paris the people "spontaneously formed groups, and swore one another." Every square, street, and alley was illuminated. The revolution was surely safe now! The illumination was continued through a series of nights; for, not contented with the spontaneous, irregular swearing which took place on the day and the night of the 4th in all parts and corners of Paris, the districts would swear separately and in a more formal manner, and each district, after it had done swearing, had a particular illumination of its own. The professors of the universities, schools of medicine, &c., paraded the streets with their students, who were so exuberantly riotous that they could not be quiet even in taking oaths, but broke people's windows and heads, all out of love to the constitution which was to be made, and which was to make every man happy and free, except such monsters as dared to differ in opinion with the patriots! In imitation of Paris, every city, every municipality, every mob in the kingdom took the oath. From the British Channel to the shores of the Mediterranean—from the sandhills of Dunkirk to the Pyrenees and the mightier Alps, was one prolonged, continuous echo of *Je le jure! Je le jure!*

¹ *Hist. Parlementaire.*

Surely the constitution must be safe now. Alas, no! In a week or two the old doubts and suspicions were revived; and while the court alleged,

commended by the example of the national assembly on the famous 4th of February. Towns federated with towns, districts with districts, whole provinces or departments with departments—for provinces were no more, new-modelled France being mathematically divided into *departements*—and all took the same oath to stand by one another, by the assembly, and by all the laws it had made, or might hereafter make!

The constitution, which was to be nothing short of absolute perfection, was still for a long time a-making; but the assembly had passed a declaration of the “rights of man,” which was considered by the common people as comprising within itself all the valuable principles of a constitution. Many



THE HÔTEL DE VILLE AND PLACE DE GRÈVE, at the period.—From a sketch by T. S. Boys.

in private, that no sign of confidence would satisfy the assembly—that no friendship and affection could restrain the assembly and the people from carrying the revolution further—the assembly and people openly proclaimed that the queen and the aristocrats were plotting against the revolution and constitution; that no faith whatever could be put in the court, who were corresponding with the Count d'Artois and other royal or noble emigrants, and urging them to make haste with their levies of mercenaries and their foreign armies. A royalist and religious reaction began to manifest itself in several parts of the south, where the new philosophy had been somewhat slow in taking root, and where, in a good many districts, the common people and *bourgeoisie* were determined royalists and bigoted Catholics, prompt to take offence at the least injury or insult offered to their priests or to their faith. To oppose this league, the revolutionists of the south began to make federations. When these associations were entered into by armed men, and by numerous towns in rapid succession—for the train, when once laid, ignited and ran along the land like gunpowder—the national assembly, instead of taking into consideration the inevitable result, were transported with joy at these spiritedly patriotic demonstrations, and they encouraged the federates to go on with their work. La Fayette gave the federations the sanction of his great name, and recommended the associations to the people of Auvergne and Bretagne. They spread more rapidly than ever after the universal oath taken to the unfinished constitution, re-

of the more moderate members of the assembly had urged that it would be better to finish the constitution first; but as the Americans had begun their revolution in that way, and as La Fayette was anxious above all things for the declaration, all other business had been made to give place to it. They rubbed up their logic and their metaphysics, and sat disputing whole days and nights about words or the vaguest of ideas. “I remember that long discussion, which lasted for weeks,” says an ear-witness, “as a season of mortal ennui: there were empty disputations about terms; there was an accumulation of metaphysical rubbish and an overpowering loquacity; the assembly seemed converted into a disputatious school of Sorbonne, and all the apprentices in legislation made their essays on these puerilities. After many models had been rejected, a committee of five was appointed to draw up a new one. Mirabeau, one of the five, had the generosity, which was ordinary to him, to take the whole task upon himself, and then give it to his private friends to perform it for him. Here then we were, Duroverai, Clavière, Mirabeau, and myself, composing, disputing, writing a word and scratching out four words, exhausting ourselves over this ridiculous task, and producing at last a piece of patchwork, a miserable mosaic of the pretended natural rights of man which had never existed. During the course of this *triste* compilation, I made reflections which I had never made until then. I felt the falseness and the absurdity of the work, which was nothing but a puerile fiction. The declaration of rights, said

I, may be made after the constitution, but not before it; for rights exist by laws, and cannot precede them. Such maxims, besides, are dangerous. We ought not to bind legislators by general propositions which we may afterwards be obliged to modify and limit; above all things, we ought not to bind them by false maxims. It is not true that 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL.' They are not born free; on the contrary, they are born in a state of helplessness and necessary dependence. And where are they born equal? Where can they be so born? Do we mean equality of fortune, of talent, of virtue, of industry, of condition? The falsehood is manifest. Volumes would be required to give an appearance of sense to this equality which you proclaim without any exception." But Rousseau had proclaimed in prose, and Voltaire before him in verse, that all men were equal; and Sièyes, with all the philosophes and the great majority of the assembly, had made up their minds that this dogma, this untrue truism, should stand at the head of their declaration of the rights of man. After much cobbling and alteration, a declaration was adopted and published to the world, though without the royal assent, at the beginning of September, 1789. It did as little honour to the logic as to the common sense of those who concocted it. It was full of contradictions and inconsequences. It proclaimed that all men were free and equal—were not only *born* free and equal, but *remained* so—but at the same time it imposed restraints which were necessary indeed, but which overset the whole theory of perfect liberty and equality. What had been seen and predicted happened immediately. The people regarded only the crude dogma, and utterly disregarded the comment and the limitations. Their pride was flattered, and all their evil passions were encouraged to dissolve the ties of social order, and work out the doctrine by seizing the property and destroying the persons of all who were richer or more elevated than themselves.

But besides passing this declaration of the "rights of man," the assembly, driven on from without, and invaded within their own chamber by the rabble whenever they showed any hesitation, had certainly done a great deal of work of various kinds. They had abolished all feudal rights and privileges whatsoever; they had seized upon all church and monastic property, declaring it to be confiscated to the state; they had created 400,000,000 of livres in paper money or assignats; and they had, by their decrees and promulgation of the "rights of man," kindled the flames of a horrible war in St. Domingo, where the negroes butchered the French colonists in quoting to them the doctrines of liberty and equality. But in France itself the great majority of the common

people were becoming quite as ferocious as the blacks of St. Domingo.

The 5th and 6th of October of the preceding year—the days on which the mob marched to Versailles and brought the king to Paris—began in a manner the reign of the Jacobins; it was no longer liberty, but equality, that became the aim and object of the revolution; and the inferior classes of society began from that time to gain, by rapid strides, ascendancy and dominion over all. As a necessary and indispensable sacrifice to this Moloch Equality, followed the annihilation of all titles of nobility, of all names derived from estates, of all aristocratic prefixes or affixes, of the particle *de*, which was considered to establish a damnable distinction between man and man; and, in short, the abolition and destruction of hereditary honour, now and for evermore. Yet all this while the national assembly pretended that they were erecting not a democratic republic, but a constitutional monarchy. At first Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, and a few others—we believe their entire number never exceeded a dozen—had constantly recommended as a model the constitution of Great Britain, which was also honoured by the approbation of Necker and two or three of his brother ministers. But the old national prejudices rose up in arms, and the majority not only felt, but declared in language more or less plain, that it would be dishonourable and disgraceful for free and enlightened Frenchmen of the eighteenth century to adopt a constitution which had grown up in the ages of barbarism, and which still smelt of feudalism; and as for the philosophes and writers out of doors, who were ever dictating to these legislators, they asked how Frenchmen could possibly follow the example of a dull people, that were slavish enough to respect a king, and superstitious enough to believe in a God.

But, without copying the whole of the English constitution, they might have seen that no constitution could march without two chambers; and here they had even republican precedents, for the Americans had, at an early stage, felt the necessity of having a senate, and no republic had ever flourished without a senate, or some sort of body to check and control the direct representatives of the people. Even Jefferson had hinted to them that 1200 men were too many, and that for good legislation two houses or chambers were necessary; nay, at one time, this thorough-paced democrat had even thought that it would not be amiss to place the privileged classes in one house, like our peers and bishops in the House of Lords, and the unprivileged in another, like our members in the House of Commons. But his disciple, La Fayette, thought

any such scheme improper or impracticable; the general feeling was decidedly hostile to any separation of the legislative authority; Sièyes chopped logic and split straws in order to demonstrate the monstrous absurdity of any such scheme; and, except Mounier and Lally-Tolendal, scarcely a man in the national assembly would so much as listen with patience to the name of an *upper* house. A CHAMBERE-HAUTE would indeed have been a preposterous anomaly after their declaration of the rights of man, with its perfect-equality dogma. Besides, was not the entire people let loose, like a hundred thousand packs of famishing hounds, to destroy all privileges and distinctions? Was not the name of noble, aristocrat, bishop, or priest, a cry to arms and cutting of throats? And was there any wisdom, or moderation, or political experience in the upper classes who might have been made to compose this upper house? And, if these qualities had existed in the high aristocracy, could the *tiers état*, who had denounced the whole body of the noblesse as blood-suckers and traitors to the people, believe in their existence, or rely on the exercise of them when collisions, which were inevitable, should take place between the two chambers? Men most hate and fear those whom they have most injured and insulted: the last thing we forgive in an enemy is the wrong we have done to him. Dumont in a few words tells the whole story, and shows the impossibility of any accord or co-operation—"The tiers had placed themselves under the necessity either of fearing the noblesse, or of making the noblesse fear them." Nor was there any agreement among the noblesse themselves, or any clear conception of what an upper house was or ought to be. A very large portion of the aristocracy now assuredly looked to nothing less than a counter-revolution, to be effected not parliamentary, or by debates and words spoken in chambers, but by steel and gunpowder, and the assistance of foreign armies; and of those who still attended the discussions in the hall, and looked to some more pacific settlement of the revolution, all that belonged to the inferior nobility (*la petite noblesse*) detested the idea of an upper house in which they could not hope to find a place. Cooler and wiser men, even in rejecting the hereditary claims of the *Pairs de France*, and of an aristocracy (as such) altogether, might yet have hit upon some plan for forming, if not an *upper*, at least a *separate* house or chamber, and might have profitably followed the example of the Americans. But they were all convinced that they knew how to manage "these things better in France;" and they were captivated by the syllogisms and logical definitions of Abbé Sièyes, who laid it down as matter more indisputable, unchangeable, and true than all the gospels ever

written, that society was one great whole—that the mass, without distinction of classes, ought *to will*—that the king, as sole magistrate, ought *to execute* what the mass *willed*. As a corollary to this absolute maxim, Sièyes affirmed that a monarchy or a republic would be the same thing, with no other difference than the less or greater number of magistrates charged with the execution of the national will. The vast majority of the assembly, indeed, wished and willed a thoroughly democratic republic, with a nominal king at its head—a twelfth-night king, with no more power over the assembly, with no more faculty to control its proceedings, than the king of sugar and flour has power to eat the cake it is stuck upon. The intention of establishing the nullity of the sovereign power was fully developed in all the discussions or harangues on the royal prerogative. In the course of these, while determining that to the king should be intrusted the prerogative of announcing to the assembly the necessity of war or peace, Petion proposed a resolution, "that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war." This was carried with universal acclamation. The great principle was often repeated; and it passed into an axiom or text, that the French people were too free, virtuous, and enlightened ever to think of engaging in an offensive war. It is strange, yet nevertheless true, that among enthusiasts of the revolution in various parts of Europe (not excepting England) credit was given to this terse declaration, even while the French were committing the most atrocious massacres within their own territories, and endeavouring, by means of proclamations and secret Jacobin agents, to rouse civil war and anarchy in all the neighbouring countries.

On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, the grand fête of the federation was held in the Champs de Mars. By the advice of La Fayette, Bailly, and others who had encouraged the provincial federations, a certain number of deputies from each of those armed bodies had been invited to Paris. These men, and all the world besides, were to swear to the constitution. The royal family were obliged to attend. A sort of throne was erected for his majesty, but otherwise he was treated with very little respect. The chief performance devolved upon La Fayette, who, dismounting from his white charger, ascended the steps of the gallery in front of the throne, and received from the hand of the king the written form of oath which the assembly had decreed. La Fayette then repaired to the altar, and, having laid down his sword upon it, he read the paper, swore himself, and raised his hand to heaven as a signal to the rest, performing oath-fugleman to nearly half a million of

people. The banners were waved triumphantly; the president, the deputies of the assembly in the gallery, the federates in the arena, and the spectators on the terraces, all raised their right hands and pronounced the *Je le jure*. This was followed by bands playing and cannons firing, and by shouts that seemed to frighten away the last retiring clouds. Then in bright sunny air Louis stood up in the gallery, and stretching his right hand towards the altar, he pronounced in an audible voice the oath which the assembly had prescribed for him: "I, King of the French, swear," &c. At this moment the queen held out the little dauphin in her arms to show him to the people, who thereupon strained their throats once more. When the king had done swearing, the deputies sat hugging and kissing one another, and the cannons roared, and the flags waved, and 1800 musical instruments played again. The municipality of Paris had ordered a grand dinner in the royal château of La Muette, at the distance of a short mile from the Champ de Mars, for the federates, and thither about 25,000 of them repaired immediately after the swearing. Tables were arranged in the avenues of the park, and La Fayette, as head of the federation, as commander-in-chief of all the national guards of France, was to take the chair. There were so many unprecedented things on this great 14th of July! and La Fayette, on his way to the château de la Muette, was near meeting an unprecedented death—was well nigh being killed by accolades and men-embraces. One of the aides-de-camp saw his danger, called up some soldiers, and relieved him by force from a crowd that would have smothered the hero of two worlds.

That night all the streets of Paris were illuminated, and there were feasting, dancing, reviews, and spectacles for four or five days. On Sunday, the 18th, La Fayette reviewed the federates in the Champ de Mars; and in the evening, besides numerous balls and amusements out of doors in other places, there was a grand dance on the spot where the Bastille had stood. On Monday morning the king, with La Fayette at his side, passed in review all the federated troops, the deputations of the troops of the line and of the marine, &c., as well as the national guards. The uppermost passion of the French, in all these celebrations, was vanity. Every man thought that the eyes of the universe were upon him. Romilly, who had made a trip to Paris in the preceding year in order to take a nearer view of the revolution, relates an anecdote which in itself tells a great deal of the story of this revolution:—"What struck me as the most remarkable in the dispositions of the people that I saw, was the great desire that everybody had to act a great part, and the jealousy which, in consequence of this, was

entertained of those who were really eminent. It seemed as if all persons, from the highest to the lowest, whether deputies themselves, declaimers in the Palais Royal, orators in the coffee-houses, spectators in the gallery, or the populace about the door, looked upon themselves individually as of great consequence in the revolution. The man who kept the hotel at which I lodged at Paris, a certain M. Villars, was a private in the national guard. Upon my returning home on the day of the benediction of their colours at Notre Dame, and telling him that I had been present at the ceremony, he said, 'You saw me, sir?' I was obliged to say that I really had not. He said, 'Is that possible, sir? You did not see me! Why, I was in one of the first ranks: all Paris saw me!' I have often since thought of my host's childish vanity. What he spoke was felt by thousands. The most important transactions were as nothing, but as they had relation to the figure which each little self-conceited hero acted in them. To attract the attention of all Paris, or of all France, was often the motive of conduct in matters which were attended with most momentous consequences."¹

Although the levellers found much to condemn as aristocratic in this federation festival, the royalists, the constitutional royalists, all sensible foreseeing men who wished the revolution should go no further, regarded it at the time as having most essentially served the cause, and enlarged the views and hopes of the anarchists. La Fayette and his respectabilities should have thought of this beforehand. It was, in fact, a sort of solemn league and covenant between the national guards and the troops of the line. Every regiment of the latter had sent a detachment as a deputation; and these detachments, particularly those that came from the army commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé, were soldiers firm and steady to their officers before they came up to Paris; but there they were initiated in all the mysteries of the clubs, were feasted and affiliated, were flattered and fully proselytized. De Bouillé, who gives all the honour of the invention to his kinsman, La Fayette, says:—"This confederation poisoned the minds of the troops. On their return from the capital they brought with them the seeds of corruption. These they instilled into their comrades; and in a fortnight, or at most a month, the whole army was in a state of the most terrible insurrection."

Yet of the provincial deputies who had attended the federation, not a few were sensibly touched and affected by a near view of the real situation of the court, and by the graces of the queen, who neglected no opportunity of deepening

¹ *Narrative of his Early Life*, written by himself; in *Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.*, edited by his sons.

ing the impression by kindness and flattering attentions. Many people thought that the king might have availed himself of these favourable sentiments to effect a counter-revolution at Paris; but Louis was incapable of any such bold attempt, the final success of which must have been very doubtful. It is said by some who had the best

In the month of August, De Bouillé received an order from the king to take under his command the troops of Lorraine, Alsace, Franche-Comté, and all Champagne. These, united to the garrison of Metz, formed a force of 110 battalions and 104 squadrons of horse, which, altogether, covered the whole frontier from Switzerland to the Sam-

bre; but this force, instead of being effective to preserve order in the interior of the kingdom, was only proper to consolidate disorder, and carry out the revolution to the utmost extremes of democracy. Instead of obeying either the king and the commander he had appointed, or the national assembly, it obeyed the Jacobin club. The cavalry were a few points better, for they were composed of a better description of men than the infantry, and the mass of them, instead of occupying barracks in the great towns, had been distributed, for facilities of forage, &c., in the smaller rural towns and in the villages, and had thus been much less exposed to seduction; but as for the foot soldiers, De Bouillé himself said, in the middle of August, that out of the 110 battalions there were not more than twenty which he was certain would obey his orders, and these twenty battalions were either German or Swiss. The garrison of Nancy, being joined by 5000 or 6000 men, either common people of the neighbourhood or deserters from other regiments, all eager for pillage, had broken open the arsenal, taking from it 5000 muskets; had seized upon the powder magazines, and had placed eighteen pieces of cannon in battery, loaded to their muzzles with grapeshot. The soldiers had plundered the military chest, had assaulted and ill-treated their officers, and had thrown many of them, including the general who commanded them, into prison. In concert



THE CHAMP DE MARS DURING THE FEDERATION, AND THE HÔTEL DES INVALIDES.—After Duplessi-Bertaux.

means of knowing the truth, that he never in his heart entertained the idea, but shrank from it even when everything proved, that with or without his concurrence there would be a civil war in France. He could scarcely make an effort even to captivate the good-will of those provincials who had never approached royalty before.

with the mob, they had exacted money from the constituted authorities of the place, and had threatened to *lanterne* the municipal officers and the commissioners of departments in case they did not comply with their demands. They had avowed a sovereign contempt for the national assembly, and had burned its decrees; and they

were intimating their intention of plundering and sacking the city, and had marked out the principal victims for the *lanterne*. De Bouillé resolved to put a stop to these proceedings, and to drive the mutineers out of the town. He succeeded; but not until the streets of Nancy had been deluged with blood. The council of war condemned twenty soldiers to death, and between fifty and sixty to the galleys. The sentences were put into execution. De Bouillé had no right to interfere in the matter; but the executions were all laid to his account by the Jacobins, who described the whole affair as "the horrible massacre of Nancy," brought about by detestable treachery on the part of De Bouillé and the royalist officers with him. About 200 of the king's regiment, and about 300 of the people, who had likewise been taken with arms in their hands, he let go, and not one of them ever met with any punishment.

On the 3d of September, the king, from St. Cloud, wrote an autograph letter to the noble general, assuring him that his conduct at Nancy had given him the most signal satisfaction; that on the 31st of August he had saved France, and that his behaviour on that day of crisis ought to be an object of imitation for all well-wishers to their country. But the Jacobins, not only in their club but also in the assembly, endeavoured to exonerate the revolted troops and the people of Nancy from the least share of blame, and to represent De Bouillé as a traitor to the nation, and an unprovoked murderer of brave and innocent Frenchmen. Robespierre took a very active part on this side, and insisted that a deputation sent from Nancy should be heard at the bar of the house. "In the king's regiment," said these deputies, "there are a great number of young men of decent families serving as common soldiers; better educated and informed than their comrades, they have taught them what our constitution is, and have preached its principles to them." Here was the *mot de l'énigme*. In nearly every regiment a knot of young men had formed a political club, and were in the habit of lecturing their unlettered comrades into the mysteries of liberty and equality, and of reading to them the Jacobin journals. What were called the honours of *séance* were accorded by the assembly to these Nancy deputies. Nevertheless, the respectabilities and the non-Jacobins ventured to question the veracity of these honourable men, to declare that insurrection was contagious, and that if not properly chastised at Nancy it would spread to the heart of the kingdom, and would presently be at the gates of Paris. La Fayette, who, on a previous occasion, when the revolution was younger and more timid, had declared insurrection to be the holiest of duties, now thought himself obliged to express his strong disapproba-

tion of the mutiny and insurrection at Nancy, to declare that he thought the situation of the country very critical, and to propose that the assembly should instantly pass a vote of thanks to De Bouillé. The assembly also sent a commission to Nancy to take measures for restoring tranquillity, and for bringing the most guilty to condign punishment. Robespierre attempted to remonstrate, but he was silenced by some of Mirabeau's loudest thunder.¹ The Parisians showed their lively sensibility and tender grief for the loss of their brothers in arms by a grand national funeral service, celebrated in the Champ de Mars. The triumphal arch, the amphitheatrical galleries on which the court had been seated at the federation festival, were covered all over with black mort-cloth. The wooden altar of the country was converted into an ancient tomb, surrounded by cypresses, and covered with corresponding inscriptions in golden letters. There were music and incense, and Jacobinized priests, wearing tricoloured sashes over their calico albs. In short, it was another ravishing spectacle which all Paris and the neighbourhood went to see; and La Fayette was there on his white horse, and Mayor Bailly in his gilded coach; and nearly all the deputies of the assembly were there, except the Jacobins, who had protested.

On the 4th of September, the very day after the vote of thanks to De Bouillé, the president announced to the assembly that he had received a letter from the minister Necker, who wished to quit office and the kingdom. The letter, which ought to have been written to the king and not to the assembly at all, was ordered to be read. It was very characteristic of the Genevese banker, and full of an inflated vanity, even in that abyss of failure and disgrace. It stated that his health was ruined by continual labour, trouble, and anxiety; that his physicians had imperatively advised him to go and drink the mineral waters; that "the mortal inquietudes" of a wife, who was "as virtuous as she was dear to his heart," had determined him to delay his retreat no longer. He had given the account which the assembly had demanded of the receipt and expenditure of the public treasury; he hoped it would prove satisfactory; and he had nothing more to offer on that head. He made a merit of leaving behind him property which he could not sell, and money which, if he could have got at it, which is very doubtful, he would certainly not have been permitted to carry away with him; and this, he said, was a guarantee for the purity of his administration of the finances, and this he would confide to the safeguard and honour of the nation. The letter concluded with a complaint of the acts of enmity and injustice to which he had been exposed, and with a hope that

¹ Hist. Parlement

the guarantee which this injustice had induced him to offer would prove satisfactory. He might well complain of injustice, and writhe under the continuous scourging which had been inflicted on him by the Jacobins in the assembly and out of doors. Danton, that terrible cordelier, had for a long time been accusing him of corruption and the grossest official peculation. He had even been in the habit of naming the very sums that Necker was pillaging, and his ciphers seldom fell short of millions. Marat was not less pitiless in his newspaper: the other journals imitated these classical examples, and, from being considered the people's minister, the guardian-angel of France, the poor *banquier-philosophe* had by these means obtained the reputation of being the greatest scoundrel, rogue, and thief that had ever entered the kingdom. For some time past he had been serenaded by the mob with most unwelcome and alarming music; and, whatever was his own opinion, his wife evidently thought that, if he did not leave the kingdom, he would be hanged some fine night under the *lanterne*. With bold filial piety his rhetorical daughter¹ suppresses these important facts, and attributes his resignation and departure to his dislike of assignats or paper money, and to the want of wisdom and decision in the king and his advisers; but the simple truth appears to be that Necker went because he could not stay. In the midst of an *émeute*, which had apparently been excited by Marat and the other journalists, Necker, with his wife and four friends, stole out of Paris, and took the road for Switzerland. He travelled, with a heavy heart, along the same road on which the people, not many months before, had drawn him in triumph, hailing him as a deliverer and saviour. He had provided himself with one passport from the king, and with another, of somewhat more efficacy, from Mayor Bailly. Nevertheless, on arriving at Arcis-sur-Aube, near the Swiss frontier, he was arrested with all his party by the national guards of the place. This was hard treatment for the people's minister, who had so essentially contributed to the opening of the first act of the revolution—without seeing what would be the after-acts. On the 11th of September the assembly received a plaintive letter from the captive, and a letter, with *procès-verbal* of the arrestation, from the municipal officers of Arcis-sur-Aube. Malouet, who had been for some time past the only friend and defender of the finance minister in the assembly, observed that they could hardly hesitate as to the course they ought to take. One or two other deputies said slightly that they thought Necker an honest man, who had done some good to the country, and consequently ought not to be kept

a prisoner. Another deputy thought that the national guards had shown a laudable zeal for liberty and the public service in arresting him, and that thanks ought to be voted to the municipality of Arcis-sur-Aube. Camus, the Jansenist and rigorist, wished to know whether the assembly meant, in liberating Necker, and in replying to his letter, to felicitate him on his administration; and he hinted that some of Necker's accounts were irregular, and ought now to be examined, although the assembly had not objected to them when presented. Another deputy on the same side of the house was of opinion that Necker ought not to be permitted to quit France, as there were suspicions against him. The majority, however, decided that the president should write to the municipality to order them to allow Necker and his companions to continue their journey; and also that he should write a letter to that ex-minister, reading it to the assembly before he despatched it. In a few days Necker crossed the mountains to the beautiful lake of Geneva, and arrived safely at his pleasant château of Coppet, where he too took to writing books to show how the promising revolution had gone astray and failed, and how almost everybody concerned in it, except himself, had committed enormous blunders.

Fierce contests with the clergy chiefly occupied the national assembly for the remainder of the year. An oath had been imposed upon them in July, by which each beneficed clergyman was, among other articles, to swear to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the new constitution of France, and particularly the decrees relative to the civil constitution of the clergy. This injunction had been little regarded till November 27th, when a decree passed, declaring that all who should neglect to take an oath, would be considered as ejected from their benefices, and be condemned to severe pains and penalties if refractory. As the pope had strongly declared his disapprobation of this oath, it was declined by a great number of the clergy, including almost the whole of the episcopal order. Numerous emigrations were the consequence, and a schism in the church took place.

The course of the Netherland or Belgic revolution and its final overthrow by the arms of Austria had notably increased the furor of the French democrats, and roused the suspicions and fears even of the non-Jacobin party in the assembly, who had not been bold enough to strike in, or generous enough to rush into a war for the defence of men whose insurrection had been originally promoted and encouraged by French propagandists, but who had lamentably proved their incapacity of helping themselves. The patriotic assembly of Brussels, and the other political clubs

¹ Madame de Staël.

in the great towns, had become as Jacobinical as the great mother-society at Paris. They, too, raised and kept up the cry of "Down with the aristocracy!" and, because the nobles and the superior classes had framed a constitution upon aristocratic principles, they proclaimed pretty openly that they were entitled to no better treatment than that which was proposed by Camille Desmoulins in France for Austrian invaders; and instead of thinking how to unite their forces in order to oppose the emperor, they employed their thoughts about the best means of destroying their own native nobility. This left the noblesse nothing to do but to rally round the standard of Leopold, renouncing the fond hope of establishing a national independence, and of obtaining for their native land a name and a place among European nations.

To destroy the last gleam of hope, the violent democratic leaders quarrelled with the whole body of the clergy, country curés and all, and thus armed against themselves, and almost to a man, one of the most priest-ridden and superstitious of rural populations. The patriotic assembly at Brussels, who wanted something very like the French declaration of the rights of man, which had flown over the world on the wings of the wind, read insolent lectures and put in the most arrogant demands to the states and provisional governments. These things were but transcripts of the French revolutionary papers. These Belgian patriots represented that, though their country might not as yet be quite ripe and prepared for a civil constitution like that which was being reared in France, still an approach to its principles ought to be made upon the basis of liberty and justice. They claimed a share in the government, which would have left almost nothing to the aristocracy and the church, and they required the immediate summoning of a national assembly. The United Belgic States, strong in the support of the priests and the peasantry, boldly refused any concessions of this nature, and shackled the press through which they were recommended. The army of independence had been partially democratized and Jacobinized, but the mass of it was still imbued with the old feelings of reverence for priests; and, being of a less lively temperament and duller imagination than their neighbours the French, it would evidently be a work of time to convert these bores into unbelieving or misbelieving philosophes. Among their other antiquated notions, the Belgian soldiers retained a respect for their commanding officers, and were apparently much attached to General Vandermersch, who had deserted the Emperor Joseph at the beginning of the struggle, and had so incensed that potentate that he caused him to be hanged in effigy and threatened to hang him in

reality. This Vandermersch had acted in the field with great energy and ability, and to him the patriots had been indebted for nearly all the successes they had obtained against the imperialists. Warned by what was taking place in France, and by the mode in which a wild democracy let loose was treating all the superior officers of the army, and not having originally any predilection for that form of government, Vandermersch expressed in a pointed manner his disapprobation of the political clubs and of the extravagant pretensions of the temporary democratic congress, which assumed legislative and executive powers that belonged only to the states. Towards the end of March the said congress sent commissaries or deputies to Namur, where Vandermersch was lying with the greater part of the army. The object of these commissaries was to remove him from the command, and make him a prisoner; but, almost as soon as they arrived at Namur, Vandermersch, taking the initiative, arrested them and threw them into prison. He was backed by all his officers, who, the very next day, unanimously passed and published a variety of resolutions which did not merely amount to the denial of any power or authority in the congress, but seemed also to usurp, for the army alone, the powers which had been vested in the several states. The chief of these resolutions were, that the Duke of Ursel should instantly be placed at the head of the war department; that General Vandermersch was, and should continue to be, generalissimo of the whole Belgic army; that the Prince d'Aremberg, Count of Lamarch, should be appointed second in command; and that addresses should be sent to all the provinces, inviting them to co-operate with the army for the reformation of abuses and the re-establishment of order. The congress hereupon issued orders for the troops in Brussels and in other towns to march towards Namur, to concentrate and unite near that town, and then to advance in martial order against Vandermersch and the troops under him. Everything seemed to threaten a civil war; but by means which are not explained, but which may easily be imagined, the greater part of Vandermersch's troops were induced to rise upon their officers and to put their general into the hands of the troops despatched by the congress, who presently committed him a close prisoner to the fortress of Antwerp. It is even said that he was loaded with chains and thrown into a noisome dungeon. The Prince d'Aremberg was absent at Paris, where he was employing himself heart and soul in the cause of Marie Antoinette, and labouring to arrest the progress of the revolution there; but the Duke of Ursel was in the country, and upon him the congress fell with fury. This nobleman, hereditary chief of the order of noblesse in

Brabant, had spent his large income for the defence of the country's liberties, and had been one of the first to oppose the Emperor Joseph. But he was now denounced as a traitor, arrested by Vaneupen, thrown into prison, and for five weeks subjected to examinations and inquisitions in order to find grounds for charging him capitally. This was in the province of Flanders, into which he had fled from Brabant, his own province, for protection. The judges declared that he was innocent; but the states of Flanders attempted to prolong his confinement and to suppress the decision of the judges. As some companies of volunteers, to whom they applied for assistance, refused to co-operate, the states endeavoured to have the duke carried off by night, and consigned to the more powerful hands of his enemies in Brabant. A party of lawless ruffians they employed actually tore him from his family and forced him into a carriage; but the volunteers, who had before refused to co-operate, rushed to his rescue and delivered him.

These measures increased the odium and unpopularity of those who had been concerned in them; and the two supreme leaders of the democratic party—Vaneupen, whom Dumouriez had described as a hypocrite, and Vandernoot, whom he had styled a Masaniello—got still harder names from the Belgian people. The common people of Flanders who had been proud of General Vandermersch, a native of their own province, were well nigh fleeing to arms to rescue him from his captivity, and take vengeance on Brabant for arresting him. Favoured by these distractions and fierce dissensions, the troops of the emperor, who had been almost entirely driven out of the provinces, recovered heart and confidence, and, retracing their steps, they occupied again several important positions, and defeated the disorganized, ill-commanded Belgians wherever they met them and whatever was their superiority in number. Vaneupen and Vandernoot made a terrible noise, but could do little else. They wanted money and men, but their credit had sunk so low that they and the congress could not raise a small loan either at home or abroad; and on account of the arrest of Vandermersch all the towns of Flanders peremptorily refused to send a single man to the army. It was better, they said, to have the emperor back again than to live under two such emperors as Vaneupen and Vandernoot. At the same time the people in all the provinces were incensed by the discovery of enormous frauds and peculations which had been practised by many of the patriot drivers of this revolution, and of a palpable tendency in many of them to make advantageous terms for themselves with the court of Vienna. In this state of popular feeling the Emperor Leopold issued another me-

morial, in which he solemnly pledged himself to observe every article of the "Joyous Entry," and to restore to the states the constitutions they had enjoyed previously to the innovations of the Emperor Joseph. And very soon after, having wisely put an end to the causes of discontent in Hungary, Leopold was enabled to tranquillize that brave and important part of his subjects, and to obtain from them both money and men. By the month of August, the imperialists, who had concentrated their forces on and near to the frontiers, under General Bender, were strengthened by the arrival of several regiments, and of all the material necessary for prosecuting the war with vigour. The Belgian congress had applied in vain for assistance to Prussia, to Holland, to England, to France. Prussia even intimated that she would rather take part with Austria than permit the present anarchy to continue in the Netherlands; and what the house of Orange most feared was, that the Belgians, if assisted by France, might press upon the frontiers of Holland, and call upon the democratic party there, who had so recently been put down by force of arms, to rise again. In fact, the only country from which the Belgian democrats ought to have expected assistance was France, where a democracy fiercer than their own seemed all-triumphant.

The same revolutionary principle united these two nations; and, as Vandernoot proclaimed the sovereignty of the people in Belgium, and upheld France as his model, it seemed but fair and natural that the French people should assist him. By some strange and unaccountable means the subject was kept out of the national assembly at Paris, or at least no decrees were passed or direct motions made about the Belgians until it was too late to render them any service. But the Jacobin Club at Paris made up for the silence of the assembly; they discussed the business night after night, and returned the admiration with which Vandernoot had honoured them. The French Jacobins declared that, if the rights of man, and liberty and equality, were allowed to be trampled upon in Belgium, the attempt would soon be made to bring the iron-shod hoofs of despotism upon them in France; that if Belgium was overrun by the emperor, France would lie open to his attack. But the king's ministers were allowed to persist in their inactivity and seeming indifference, which appears the more strange, as they were accused of considering the Belgian provinces as the bridge over which the royalists' counter-revolution was to penetrate into France, and of being quite enchanted at beholding the fate which awaited insurrection in that near country.¹ In the month of October the Emperor Leopold, as had been agreed at the con-

¹ Dumouriez's *Mémoires*.

gress of Reichenbach between him and the courts of Berlin, the Hague, and London, engaged in the most solemn manner, and under the obligation of an oath to be taken under the guarantee of those three allied powers, to govern each of his Belgian provinces according to the constitutions, charters, and privileges which were in force during the reign of his beloved and popular mother the Empress Maria Theresa. In the same manifesto he invited, called upon, and summoned his Belgic subjects to acknowledge his lawful authority; declaring that he would bury in oblivion all the excesses and disorders committed during the late years by a general amnesty, to be published in favour of all who, before the 21st of November, should lay down their arms, and cease from all instigations and attempts against the peaceable exercise of his authority. He promised to visit all the states in order to ascertain the wishes of all classes, and concert, with persons properly chosen, the best means of promoting the general good; and he conjured and entreated them all, in the name of that oath which they had sworn to their country, and which was as dear to him as to them, not to reject the hand which he held out to them, and which was the hand of an affectionate father. The parties who had begun the insurrection, including noblesse, priests, monks, divinity professors, peasantry and common people, would have been disposed to rest satisfied with these conditions, even though they had not been disgusted with the Vandernoots. Many men who had hitherto remained in the field went home without furloughs. Still, however, the congress persisted, and maintained a tone of defiance, even when the army under Bender was raised to 30,000 men, consisting of the best troops in the Emperor's service. Vandernoot's diminished army was commanded by General Schoenfeldt, who is described by Dumouriez as a Prussian officer, an impostor also, and as being in the pay, at the time, of the King of Prussia. It had been foiled and defeated with terrible loss in the month of September by only a small part of the Austrian forces; and now that Bender was coming on, Schoenfeldt ran away to Prussia; and all that the disorganized, demoralized, distracted army of independence could do was to retreat skirmishing. In all these affairs a considerable number of French Jacobin volunteers got knocked on the head by the Austrians. The provisional governments in the different provinces began to disband as fast as the soldiers, fleeing for the most part to Paris. Vaneupen, who was a priest by profession, before he became a democratic revolutionist and co-dictator with Vandernoot, did what in him lay to keep up the spirit of his party, which seemed suffering everywhere a most rapid

thaw and dissolution. He entered the assembly of congress, holding a crucifix in his hand, and, placing the sacred emblem in the chair of state, and falling on his knees before it, he protested in the most solemn manner that he would never pay allegiance to the emperor or the house of Austria. A proposal was made on the 20th of November, the very eve of the day appointed for their submission, that the emperor's third son, the Archduke Charles, should be acknowledged sovereign of the Netherlands—the succession to remain in his family, but not to revert to any branch of the house of Austria possessing the sovereignty of any other country. If made at an earlier period—if proposed before the alarm spread through all the courts of Europe by the headlong course of the French revolution, and before the deliberations, conclusions, and treaties entered into at Reichenbach—there might have been a bare possibility of success to this scheme, and the Belgians might have obtained for their sovereign the ablest and most spirited prince that the house of Austria has produced for many ages; but now it was greatly too late for that or any other proposition, except absolute submission, to be entertained. General Bender was crossing the Meuse with his 30,000 men, and the army of independence was become an army of runaways. Advancing right upon Brussels, Bender despatched an aide-de-camp to the congress sitting there, to name a short number of days within which they were to determine whether they would accede to the conditions offered them, and trust to the honour and faith of the emperor and of the three mediating powers, assuring them at the same time that, if they obliged him, General Bender, to draw on his boots once more, he would not take them off again until he had chased them all out of the Netherlands. The congress was silent. The time expired. Old Bender drew on his boots and marched rapidly to beat up their quarters. But the congress-men did not await his arrival; with the members of the war department, and with all who had been most active in the revolution, they consulted their safety by flight, some fleeing into Holland, some into Germany, but the greater part of them betaking themselves to the more congenial atmosphere of Paris. The city of Brussels surrendered to the Austrians on the 2d of December. The example was followed by the other cities of Flanders and Brabant; and before the end of the year all those provinces quietly returned under the dominion of the emperor, who religiously kept all his engagements with them.

A convention between the ministers of the emperor and those of the three allied powers, Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, was signed at the Hague on the 10th of December, by which

the Belgic provinces were not only restored to their old rights and privileges, but also obtained several new advantages calculated to render more secure their ancient constitutions. These constitutions were not models of absolute perfection—they would have been regarded with sovereign contempt by that rule-and-line constitution-maker the Abbé Sièyes—but they had kept the Netherlanders a tolerably happy people, and they certainly secured some of the most important of the rights and blessings of freedom. With regard to the great question at issue in France, the easy overthrow of the half-fledged democracy and Jacobinism of the Netherlands certainly exercised some evil influences, which contributed essentially to enormous miscalculations and blunders, and to disgraceful and fatal reverses; it induced the French emigrants, the princes, and the aristocracies of Europe to believe that the overthrow of the gigantic democracy of France would be a work of almost equal ease; and hence arose delays, insufficiency of preparation, and a blind and presumptuous confidence.

In this busy year attempts were begun to revolutionize Poland, and the first impulse was evidently received from France; but we may wait till the year 1792 to give an account of the ill-judged or ill-timed proceedings, which ended in the total destruction of the Polish republic. The truce which the Emperor Leopold had concluded with the Turks soon after his accession, and which had so soon been followed by a treaty of peace, had not induced the Empress Catherine to lay down her victorious arms. During the summer and autumn of 1790 a desultory savage war was carried on between Russians and Turks on the shores of the Black Sea, and by the banks of the Danube. In several petty encounters the Turks had the advantage; but, when they made a grand effort to penetrate into the Russian conquests between the Black Sea and the Caspian, they were defeated on the river Kuban with terrible loss. The Russians, however, began to feel the effects of their long efforts in a languor and exhaustion; and the czarina was warned by the congress at Reichenbach, that England, Prussia, Holland, and even her old ally Austria, were determined not to permit any further dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. Moreover, she knew that the Poles had opened secret negotiations with Sultan Selim, and were disposed to rise and take her Turkish armies in flank and rear as soon as ever a favourable opportunity should offer. The great termagant of the North had already lowered the insolent tone of her diplomacy; it was therefore pretty clear that this war would soon cease.

Another war, which more directly concerned England had broken out in the East. Tippoo

Sahib, or Tippoo Sultaun, who could never forget or forgive the humiliations he had met with at the end of the last war, hated the English almost to the pitch of madness; and he had superadded a religious fanaticism as mad as this hatred. He



TIPPOO SULTAUN.—From a portrait engraved in Beatson's
View of the War with Tippoo Sultaun.

imagined himself the chosen servant of the prophet Mahomet, predestined, in the eternal book of fate, to root out the Nazarenes from India, and cast them into the bottomless pits of Gehenna. His cruelties to the poor nairs and Hindoo people of the Malabar coast, who had favoured the English, had been terrible. Nearly at the same time that Tippoo sent a numerous embassy to die of the plague at Constantinople, or on the road, he despatched a secret messenger to Paris to invite the French government to send six thousand of their best troops to the Carnatic, with which assistance he engaged to drive the English out of every part of Hindoostan. The Indian diplomatist, apparently a born Frenchman, arrived safely in France, and there met with a very favourable reception from all who wished the ruin of England—a wide category, which may be said to have included nearly every man, woman, and child in that kingdom or republic. Even some of the king's ministers were enchanted with the project, for Tippoo Sultaun offered to pay for transport, clothing, and maintenance of the troops, and to secure the French in the enjoyment of greater advantages than the English had ever possessed in India. Moreover, the terrible insurrection of the blacks in St. Domingo, who had been too suddenly in-

doctrinated in the *Rights of Man* and the gospel of liberty and equality, rendered necessary the sending a considerable force thither; and, under cover of this armament, it was calculated that an expedition might be sent to the Malabar or Coromandel coast, without exciting the suspicions of the English government. But these ministers and their encouraging representations could not overcome the scruples and the repugnance of Louis XVI. "*This resembles,*" said he, "*the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we are suffering for it now. The lesson is too severe to be forgotten!*"¹

Without waiting the result of this embassy, Tippoo made an attack upon the Rajah of Travancore, the close ally of the English ever since Colonel Fullarton's brilliant expedition, and before the end of the year 1789 he had overrun and occupied the greater part of that rajah's dominions. A detachment of the Company's army, under Lieutenant-colonel Floyd, found itself suddenly engaged with the main body of the Mysore army under Tippoo; many of our sepoys were cut down. Floyd, riding along the line, expressed his regret to the native officers, and cheered them with the hope of a speedy retaliation; these brave and faithful fellows replied, "We have eaten the Company's salt; our lives are at their disposal; and God forbid that we should mind a few casualties." The sepoys closed up their thinned ranks, and retreated in good order before an immensely superior force, and through an exceedingly difficult country.² But Tippoo's progress was soon stopped. Having formed a close alliance with the Mahrattas, the Nizam of the Deccan, and other native powers, the Bengal government raised two armies, one in the Carnatic of 15,000 men, which was placed under the command of General Medows, who had distinguished himself in the American war, and another of about 7500 men in the presidency of Bombay, under the command of the excellent General Abercromby. Tippoo, after some insidious attempts at negotiation, evacuated the Travancore country, and, before a shot could reach him, retreated to Seringapatam, his strong capital. In the month of June (1790) Medows, with the Carnatic army, marched from Trichinopoly, and, following nearly the same line of march which had first been opened by Colonel Fullarton, he took several important fortresses. But he was soon obliged to retrace his steps by intelligence that Tippoo, with a mighty army, was again bursting into the Carnatic, had passed the defiles of the ghauts, and was attempting once

more to carry fire and sword to the walls of Madras. Medows' countermarch soon drove the Mysorean back again beyond the mountains. In the meantime General Abercromby, with the Bombay army, landed at Tellicherry, and reduced nearly all the places which the enemy held on the Malabar coast, restoring the nairs and the other petty Hindoo rajahs, who all co-operated with the English in expelling their tyrants and oppressors. Our ally, the Rajah of Travancore, was completely re-established in his dominions, but no further progress was made against Tippoo Sultaun this year, and the war seemed likely to drag on.³

A newly-elected British parliament met on the 26th of November. The speech from the throne expressed great satisfaction at the amicable termination of the late differences with Spain about Nootka Sound. A cautious silence was observed on the affairs of France; but the pacification between Austria and the Porte, the separate peace between Russia and Sweden, and the endeavours then carrying on in order to put an end to the dissensions in the Netherlands, were briefly mentioned. Fox, disclaiming any intention to oppose the address, criticized various observations made by Carew in seconding it. After a few words about the Spanish convention, he adverted to what had been said on the subject of the Austrian Netherlands. It had been stated by Carew that it was good policy to promote the return of the Netherlands to the dominion of the house of Austria, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of another power, likely to prove dangerous or inimical to this country. Fox conceived the power alluded to must be France; but, as if blind to the proselytizing going on, and to the inevitable tendency of a war-loving democracy—as if putting confidence in the vapid declarations of the philosophes of the national assembly that a state of war was unworthy of a free, a just, and an enlightened people, who only wished other nations to be as free and happy as themselves—he asked how France had so suddenly become a greater object of terror to us now than at any other period? In his opinion the interference of France in the affairs of other nations was, at the present conjuncture, very little to be dreaded. With regard to the affairs of Europe in general, the interests of different powers had taken so new and singular a turn, that it was the undoubted duty of ministers not to overlook the change, but to turn it to the good of England. Not long ago it had been difficult for England to find any allies in Europe; but now she had only to pick and choose; she had nothing to do but to ascertain what number of allies it was necessary she should have. The address was carried without opposition.

¹ Bertrand de Molleville, minister of state at that time, *Mémoires*.

² Colonel Wilkes, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.

³ Colonel Wilkes, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.

On the 15th of December, Pitt gave in, in a separate account, the expenses of the late armament, intimating that some of those expenses, which arose out of the engaging an additional number of seamen, must be continued through the following year, inasmuch as it was impossible to disarm all at once. He added, however, that he did not mean to say that the proposed maintenance of the existing number of seamen was solely owing to that cause; he would make no scruple to declare that there were circumstances in the present situation of Europe which made his majesty's ministers think it highly necessary

to keep up a naval armament for a time to more than the ordinary extent; but he trusted that a few months would bring that necessity to a period. All the expenses incurred by the late armament, and the funds necessary to keep up the additional number of seamen, amounted to £3,133,000; and Pitt thought that he might defray the whole of this without entailing any permanent charge upon the revenue. The method he adopted was to impose some temporary taxes, and to obtain from the Bank of England the loan of £500,000, without interest, by which all current difficulties would be obviated.

CHAPTER XXVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1791.

GEORGE III.

Sheridan's speech in parliament on our foreign policy—Bill passed for the relief of protesting Catholic dissenters—

Bill for the better regulation of Canada—Debate between Fox and Burke on the French revolution—The debate continued—It deepens into an angry controversy—The new government of Canada introduced into the discussion—Attempts to drown the voice of Burke while condemning the French revolution—Fox's severe animadversions on Burke—He charges Burke with political inconsistency and apostacy—Burke's reply—The debate ends in a final rupture between Burke and Fox—Finance report—Sheridan's proposals of amendment in finance—Parliament prorogued—Burke's extreme views on the French revolution—Provocations given by his assailants—Favourable views of the revolution published by Sir James Mackintosh—He recants them—Thomas Paine's attacks on Burke—His extravagant laudations of the revolution—Undue commendations of the English republicans on Paine's *Rights of Man*—Dr. Priestley's political writings—His theological controversies—His defence of the French revolution—His unpopularity in Birmingham—His friends resolve to celebrate the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille by a dinner—Offensive proclamation to that effect circulated through Birmingham—The dinner and its proceedings—The meeting assailed by the townspeople—Counter dinner of the magistrates—Riot in Birmingham—Destruction of houses and property—Recompense of Priestley for his losses in the riot—Trial of the Birmingham rioters.



SHORTLY after the Christmas recess Mr. Philip Francis took the field to make war upon the war in India, and to eulogize that excellent and ill-used prince, Tippoo Sultan. For this purpose he moved thirteen resolutions in the House of Commons, which, however, he was obliged to drop without coming to a division.

In the course of a protracted and very warm debate on our foreign policy, Sheridan, in a long speech, ran over the political map of all Europe, and came, in conclusion, to France and her revolution, the grand centre of all political counsels and measures. He declared that nothing which had since happened had at all tended to alter the sentiments which he had expressed in the house the year before on this great subject. He thought, indeed, that there was more cause for congratulating France and mankind now than then. In a strain which might have become Abbé Fauchet and his social circle at Paris, he harangued on the wondrous improvements of

recent times, and the progress of modern philosophy, which had wiped away the antiquated prejudices that had been obstacles to the happiness of mankind. Taking too much upon himself, he affirmed that the great majority of Englishmen admired this revolution as much as the immense majority of Frenchmen admired it; that this revolution, so dear to the best heads and best hearts in both countries, would assuredly put an end to all jealousies, discords, and contentions; and that, instead of waging bloody war, Frenchmen and Englishmen would henceforward live together like friends and brothers, as in the golden age!

The solicitor-general moved in February for a committee of the whole house to enable him to bring in a bill to relieve from the penalties to which they were legally liable, those English Catholics who were termed protesting Catholic dissenters, on account of their protestation against certain dangerous opinions attributed to the Papists. The motion being agreed to, he brought in a bill to that effect, which passed the house

without opposition, the only objection made being, that it did not carry the principle of toleration far enough. In its passage through the House of Lords, it was observed by Bishop Horsley that the terms of the oath of allegiance enjoined by the bill might offend the feelings of some of those whom the bill was intended to relieve; and it was in consequence expunged, and another substituted. The bill was cordially supported by the episcopal bench, and passed unanimously.

The fate of a petition, presented by Sir Gilbert Elliot, from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for a repeal of the test acts, as far as concerned Scotland, was very different; the motion for taking the petition into consideration being negatived by 149 to 62.

On March 4, Mr. Pitt produced a bill for the better regulation of Canada. By its tenor, Canada was divided into two distinct governments—those of the Lower and of the Upper Province—and for each of these a legislative council and assembly were established, after the model of the British constitution. Particularly, the council was formed on an imitation of the House of Lords, by lodging a power in the governor to summon members to it; and in his majesty, that of annexing to hereditary titles of honour a right to a seat in the council. In the ecclesiastical establishment, to the former provision for the Protestant clergy, was added an allotment for their support out of the crown lands, and the appropriation of one-seventh in all future grants of land to that purpose. Future grants of land in Upper Canada were to be held in common socage as in England, and also in Lower Canada, when desired. The debates on this bill were made memorable by the final rupture between Burke and Fox.

There had been several preludes to this irreconcilable quarrel.

In a debate on the affairs of Russia and Turkey, Fox, even as Sheridan had done, struck away from the river Bog to get into that worse bog, the French revolution. He was more explicit than Sheridan as to the particular points of it that formed the objects of his approval and enthusiastic admiration. He praised the new government of France, both as it respected the politics of Europe and the happiness of the French people; in its internal relations he thought it superlatively good, because it aimed to make those who were subject to it happy. He knew that different opinions upon what had taken place in that country were entertained by different men; but he, for one, admired the new constitution of France, considering it, altogether, "*as the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation*

of human integrity in any time or country."¹ As soon as Fox sat down, Burke, who in the preceding month of November had published his celebrated *Reflections on the Revolution of France*, excessively agitated, rose to give vent to feelings which almost seemed to suffocate him. But it was already three hours after midnight, the house was anxious to adjourn, and the cry of "Question, question," becoming general, Burke unwillingly gave way to the division which took place immediately afterwards. Fox afterwards regretted that Burke had not been suffered to answer him then and there. The contention, he said, might have been fiercer and hotter, but the remembrance of it would not have settled so deep, nor rankled so long in the heart. Burke, who had never forgiven Sheridan for his flippancy on this awful subject during the last parliament, who had already plainly declared that he would separate from the dearest friends he possessed, if they gave countenance to French revolutionary doctrines, and who said that this must be a contest fought and decided hand to hand, and foot to foot, was not likely to be reconciled to men who, after all, were only a part of the party to which he belonged; and the part, on the whole, inferior in number, rank, wealth, and consideration to the other portion of the Whigs, who thought no better of the new French democracy than he himself did.

On the very next morning, the 16th of April, a very general alarm, or rather a certainty, of discord and final disseverance was spread through the Whig ranks; several conciliatory explanations were offered to Burke, together with some apologies, while many of the opposition who agreed with Fox condemned him for hastily and imprudently expressing opinions which were not called for, and had not been provoked by Burke, who had agreed with the party to avoid the topic in the House of Commons, unless it were absolutely forced upon him. It is said, however, that these gentlemen had urged Fox into the imprudence of which they now accused him, and that two or three of the number had taunted him with being deficient in firmness—for not doing earlier what he had done on the night of the 15th. But even the leaders of the Whig division who shared Burke's sentiments as to the revolution, and who regarded the enthusiastic and eloquent book he had written as a text-book of political wisdom, were most anxious to avoid

¹ *Burke's Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*—In the *Public Advertiser* of the 18th of April, Fox's concluding words are given thus: "With regard to the change of system that had taken place in the French constitution, Mr. Fox said there were different opinions entertained by different men. He for one admired the new constitution, considered altogether, as the most glorious fabric ever raised by human integrity since the creation of man."

a quarrel that must break up and keep the Whig party for many a year in the background, and without a hope of coming into power.¹ The Duke of Portland, the nominal head of all the Whigs, and most of Burke's personal friends and connections, advised him to pass over the challenges of Sheridan and Fox, and to continue to be silent in the house as to their offensive declarations of opinion. If Burke had taken this advice, and attempted to follow this silent course, he would assuredly have failed, and have been accused of a breach of agreement by many of his party; for the impetuosity of his feelings, which age had not cooled, nor experience or long trials put under control, would have carried him away, and thunder and lightning, wind and rain, must inevitably have followed any pertness of Sheridan, any imprudence of Fox, or any notes of exultation about the revolution from the mocking-birds of those two orators. But Burke would not engage to give any such promise or to pursue any such course. He declared that these were times that admitted of no such blinking of principles; that the opinions of a man like Fox might have great weight in the country, and that therefore they ought not to be permitted to go abroad unrefuted and uncontradicted. He said that he stood pledged to the house and to the country upon this subject more than any other member in it; that it would look like political cowardice to shrink from the contest; that he had risen to speak, and had been interrupted, more by the friends of Mr. Fox than by any other part of the house; but that he would speak yet, and discharge what he considered his solemn duty to the public. He had been already told that the adherents of Mr. Fox were determined to interrupt him whenever he should attempt to offer any remarks on French affairs; but this vulgar and unjustifiable resolution of theirs only made Burke the more resolute. He continued to speak kindly and honouringly of Fox, but the asperities of his temper showed themselves whenever he had occasion to mention his inferior adherents.

Those inferior spirits too became very rash and noisy. The very next night one of them, and the most busy and talkative of them all,

Michael Angelo Taylor, in the course of a speech in the house in a debate on the Quebec government bill, complained that gentlemen were now constantly introducing extraneous matter into debate; wandering from the subjects under discussion to introduce general principles of government, and to talk about the constitutions of other countries with which we had nothing to do; and he declared therefore, if he found the minister, or any other right honourable gentleman, wandering hereafter from the strict discussion of the matter before the house, he would call him to order and take the sense of the house upon it. Burke, and all present, knew that little Michael Angelo, by the "any other right honourable gentleman," meant himself, but he took no notice of his bluster. The thing, however, was irritating; and, when Fox rose to speak, his tone and manner were little calculated to allay Burke's irritability, or to soothe the apprehensions and fears which had been gathering for months round his heart's core — apprehensions that England might be driven into an imitation of the French revolution. Fox said that he had himself, perhaps, been guilty of digressions from the matters before the house, and of recurring too often to the general principles of all governments; that, perhaps, during the present session he had alluded too often to the French revolution; that he had also spoken much about the republican government of the United States of America, because those states were in the vicinity of Canada, for which the house was now legislating. He acknowledged that he had uttered one silly levity, not worth recollecting—he meant an allusion to the happy extinction of nobility in France, and its forced revival by us in Canada. [This silly levity, as he called it, was contained in the expression he had used in a previous debate on the Quebec bill, "that nobility stunk in the nostrils of the people of America."] But he would avow that he was not in the habit of concealing his opinions; that he retracted nothing which he had hitherto advanced; and that, though, from the high respect he entertained for some of his friends, he should be sorry to differ with them, he would nevertheless continue to deliver his opinions fearlessly. Old Mr. Powys hinted that Fox would do a great deal better if he followed the example of Mr. Burke, and wrote a book about the French revolution, instead of being eternally speaking about it in that house. This hint could scarcely have been palatable to the gentleman to whom it was addressed; for the accomplished Charles James, though so fluent and quick with his tongue, was slow at the pen, and, notwithstanding his high merits, his genius as an orator, he never wrote anything beyond a few state papers, that ascends much higher than

¹ It has been stated, however, that at this moment some prospect had opened of a Whig restoration. "Only a few days before, Fox himself had told Burke that there was a hope of the Whigs coming into office; for that the king had said at the levee, that if the government could not be properly conducted by Mr. W. Pitt, it might be done by others, as he was not wedded to Mr. W. Pitt."—*Prior, Life of Burke*. This seems to us very slight ground for believing that George III. really intended changing his ministers; and we think it scarcely necessary to Burke's honour and fame to insist upon a doubtful fact, though we thoroughly believe that Burke would have acted just as he did, if he had been sure of being himself Whig prime minister on the morrow.

mediocrity. Burke then rose, and in a very affecting manner assured the house that nothing depressed him more—nothing had ever more affected him in body and mind—than the thought of meeting his friend as an adversary and antagonist. After a cool and sneering allusion to Michael Angelo Taylor and his threat, he observed that, in framing a new constitution for Quebec, it was not unnecessary to refer to general principles of government and examples of other constitutions, made or making, inasmuch as a material part of every political question was to see to what extent certain principles had been adopted, and how they had succeeded in other countries. He presumed that his opinions on government were not unknown, as gentlemen had lately become fond of quoting him in that house. He would, however, now say that, the more he considered the French constitution, the more sorry he was to see it viewed with any degree of favour. Once in the preceding session he had thought himself under the necessity of speaking out; but since that time he had never mentioned it in the house either directly or indirectly; no man therefore could charge him with having provoked the conversation that had passed. He acquitted his right honourable friend (Fox) of any personal offence to himself in the interruption he had lately received in attempting to answer his panegyric on France. Should he and his friend differ, he desired it to be remembered that, however dear he considered his friendship, there was something still dearer in his mind—the love of his country. This was surely far more moderation than might have been expected, if we consider Burke's natural impetuosity of temper, the life-and-soul earnestness with which he pressed every important measure that he touched, and the repeated provocations he had received from a set of men who had at last come to the desperate resolution of attempting to drown his voice whenever he should express opinions contrary to their own on the French revolution. This last resolution, by the way, was quite worthy of that great object of these gentlemen's idolatry—the national assembly itself. There the same kind of thing had been a most constant and successful practice; but in England there was no hope for it. The Foxite journals, however, continued to recommend the practice, continued to heap abuse upon Burke and upon his book. It was impossible that the quarrel should remain where it was—that the schism should not be completed. If Burke could have been capable of despising the bitter attacks on himself and his writings, he could never have tolerated the continued plaudits bestowed upon the revolution.

There was an adjournment for the Easter holiday. III.

days. When the house re-assembled, on the 6th of May, Burke immediately rose, resolute to declare his opinions concerning the revolution in France and the doctrines maintained by the advocates of that revolution here. He stigmatized those doctrines, and held up as a warning the horrible consequences which had resulted, and which would yet result from them in France. As the house was about to appoint a legislature for a distant people, it ought to establish its competency to the assumption of such a right. A body of rights, he said, commonly called the "rights of man," had been lately imported, and held up by certain persons in this kingdom as paramount to all other rights. A principal article in this new code was, "that all men are born free, equal in respect of rights, and continue so in society." If such a doctrine were to be admitted, the power of the house could extend no farther than to call together the inhabitants of Canada, and recommend to them the free choice of a government for themselves. But he rather chose to argue from another code, on which mankind had hitherto acted—the law of nations. As for the Americans, he really believed that they had formed a constitution for themselves well adapted to their peculiar circumstances. They had, in some degree, received a republican education, as their old state governments partly partook of republicanism. The formation of their present constitution was preceded by a long war, in the course of which they had learned order, submission to command, and a regard for great men. They trained themselves to government by war, not by plots, murders, and assassinations. There was another circumstance of considerable weight: the Americans had never among them even the materials of monarchy and old aristocracy. Yet were they too wise to set up so absurd an idea as that the nation should govern the nation. On the contrary, they formed a constitution as monarchical and aristocratical as their situation would permit—they formed one upon the admirable model of the British constitution. But were the French Canadians to receive from us a copy of this new constitution of France?—a constitution founded upon principles diametrically opposite to our own, as different from it as folly from wisdom, as vice from virtue; a constitution founded on what were called the rights of man! The authors of it told us, and their partizans, the political societies in England, had told us, that it was a great monument erected for the instruction of mankind. This was certainly done with a view to our imitating it. But before we gave it to our colonies we should do well to consider what would be the practical consequences of such a step; to consider what had already been the effects of Parisian politics on the French West

India colonies. The mode of reasoning from effects to causes was the old-fashioned way. Continuing his speech, Burke described the deplorable condition of France itself. The national assembly had made loud boasts, and their boasts had been echoed in this country by the Unitarians and by the clubs, by the Revolution Society, the Constitutional Society, and a newer club called the Club of the 14th of July. Yet what had the national assembly really done? They had been nearly two years in possession of the absolute authority which they usurped; yet they did not appear to have advanced a single step in settling anything like a government, contenting themselves with enjoying the democratic satisfaction of heaping every disgrace on fallen royalty. They had a king such as they wished, a king who was no king, over whom the Marquis de la Fayette, chief jailer of Paris, mounted guard. Lately the royal prisoner, having wished to taste the freshness of the country air, had obtained a day-rule to take a journey of about five miles from Paris. But scarcely had he left the city before his suspicious governors, recollecting that a temporary release from confinement might afford him the means of escape, sent a tumultuous rabble after him, who, surrounding his carriage, commanded him to stop, while one of the grenadiers of his faithful and loyal body-guard presented a bayonet to the breast of the fore-horse, and— . . . Here Burke was called to order by that very determined Foxite, Mr. Baker. Great confusion ensued, and not a little time was wasted in violent and fruitless altercation. Fox himself rose and said that he conceived his right honourable friend (Burke) could hardly be said to be out of order. It seemed to him that this was a day of privilege, upon which any gentleman might abuse any government he chose, whether it had any reference or not to the question under debate. Nobody had said a word about the French revolution; and yet his right honourable friend had risen up and abused that event. He might have treated the government of the Great Mogul, or that of China or Turkey, or the laws of Confucius, precisely in the same manner, and with equal appositeness to the question before the house. Every gentleman had that day a right to abuse the government of every country as much as he pleased, and in as gross terms as he thought proper—to abuse any government, either ancient or modern, with his right honourable friend. Burke attempted to explain why he thought that he was in order, and that Baker had been guilty of indecorum and parliamentary disorder in interrupting him as he had done; but there was so loud a roar of voices from the opposition side of the house that he could not make himself heard, and, after several at-

tempts, he sat down. Then Lord Sheffield, the friend of Gibbon, but who did not yet share the historian's horror of democracy and Jacobinism, rose and moved, "That dissertations on the French constitution, and to read a narrative of transactions in France, are not regular or orderly on the question before the house." Fox himself instantly seconded the motion. Pitt then rose and said that he should be glad of anything that would reduce the debate to something like order; that the question of order and the question of discretion were two different things; and that, not conceiving that the right honourable gentleman (Burke) had been disorderly, he should certainly give his negative to the motion.

Fox then rose again, saying that he was sincerely sorry to feel that he must support the motion, as his right honourable friend, in his opinion, had been most irregular and disorderly. Instead of debating the principle of the Quebec bill, his friend had only come down to strengthen misrepresentations of what he (Fox) had said in a previous debate. The course which his right honourable friend had chosen to take was that which seemed to confirm the insinuation urged in a former debate, that he (Fox) maintained republican principles as applicable to the British constitution. No such argument had ever been urged by him, nor any from which such an inference was fairly deducible. On the French revolution he did, indeed, differ from his right honourable friend. Their opinions, he had no scruple to say, were wide as the poles asunder! But what had a difference of opinion on that, which to the house was only matter of theoretical contemplation, to do with the discussion of a practical point on which no such difference existed? On the French revolution he adhered to his opinion, and never would retract one syllable of what he had said. He repeated that he thought it, on the whole, one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind; but he meant to praise the revolution only, and not the present French constitution, which required to be improved by experience and accommodated to circumstances. At all events, the arbitrary system of government was done away, and the new system had the good of the people for its object, and this was the point on which he rested. He had no concealment in any of his opinions, but he did not choose to be catechised respecting his political creed, and respecting opinions on which the house was neither going to act, nor was called upon to act at all. He then drew an odious and stinging comparison or parallel between Dundas and Burke, as if he believed that Burke had made a regular bargain with Pitt, and was about joining him, as Dundas had done in 1783. He had once, he said, been thus catechised by a

right honourable gentleman (Dundas); yet the catechiser on that occasion had soon after joined another ministry to support the very measures he then deprecated. Nothing could be more bitter than this, and there was no misunderstanding the allusion or the inference. Returning to the great cause of difference, he said, were he to differ from his right honourable friend on points of history, on the constitution of Athens or of Rome, was it necessary that the difference should be discussed in that house? Were he to praise the conduct of the elder Brutus, and to say that the expulsion of the Tarquins was a noble and patriotic act, would it thence be fair to argue that he meditated the establishment of a consular government in this country? Were he to repeat the eulogium of Cicero on the taking off of Cæsar, would it thence be deducible that he went with a knife about him for the purpose of killing some great man or orator? Let those who said that to admire was to imitate, show that there was some similarity of circumstances. It lay on his right honourable friend to show that this country was in the precise situation of France at the time when the revolution began, before he had a right to meet his argument; and then, with all the obloquy that might be heaped on such a declaration, he would be ready to say that the French revolution was an object of imitation for this country. He then spoke contemptuously of Burke's book on the subject, which, though so recently published, was already circulated to an unprecedented extent, and producing daily more conversions than Burke could have expected, or than the enthusiastic admirers of the revolution could brook. He said, as plainly as words could say it, that Burke, who had taken infinite pains to inform himself of every particular, had written in haste and in ignorance of the great subject. He had hinted something of the same sort in the house before now; and his newspaper champions, his pamphleteers and essayists—with one or two exceptions, a most ignorant, ill-informed, incompetent crew—had been repeating this piece of criticism, and accusing the admirably informed Burke of gross ignorance. The words Fox now used were—"He had been warned by high and most respectable authority, that minute discussion of great events, *without information*, did no honour to the pen that wrote or the tongue that spoke the words." And this was followed by an insolent sneer. If, he said, the committee should decide that his right honourable friend should be permitted to pursue his arguments on the French constitution, he would quit the house; and, if some friend would send him word when the real clauses of the Quebec bill were to be discussed, he would then return and debate them. After all these insults, there seemed a hollowness and

insincerity when he returned, perhaps for the mere sake of consistency, to the tone of compliment and laudation. He said, when the proper period arrived for discussing French subjects, feeble as his powers were, compared with those of his right honourable friend, whom he must call his master, for he had taught him everything he knew in politics—as he had declared on a former occasion, and he meant no compliment when he said it—yet, feeble as his powers comparatively were, he should be ready to maintain the principles he had asserted, even against his right honourable friend's superior eloquence. He would be ready to maintain that the rights of man, which his right honourable friend had ridiculed as chimerical and visionary, were, in fact, the basis and foundation of every rational constitution. He next proceeded to compare the French revolution with the American, and to contrast Burke's conduct on this and on that occasion. Here, perhaps, the party that had most reason to complain was George Washington, for being put on a level with La Fayette and men like him. Fox said, during the American war he and his friend had rejoiced together at the successes of a Washington, and sympathized almost in tears for the fate of a Montgomery. From his right honourable friend he had learned that the revolt of a whole people must have been provoked. Such had at that time been the doctrine of his friend, who had said that he could not draw a bill of indictment against a whole people. But now he was sorry to find that his right honourable friend had learned to draw such a bill of indictment, and to crowd it with all the technical epithets which disgraced our statute-book; such as false, malicious, wicked, by the instigation of the devil, not having the fear of God before your eyes, and so forth. He concluded by saying that he had said more than he had intended, possibly much more than was either wise or proper; but if his sentiments could serve the ministerial side of the house, which had encouraged the discussion, apparently, in order to get at them, they had acted unnecessarily, for they might know him and his sentiments on every subject, without forcing on anything like a difference between him and his right honourable friend; and that now, having heard them, they might act upon them as they thought proper.

Here Burke rose, and commenced his reply in a grave and governed tone, observing that, although he himself had been repeatedly called to order and interrupted, he had nevertheless heard his right honourable friend with perfect composure, and without attempting the least interruption. Yet that speech, to which he was to reply, was perhaps one of the most disorderly ever

delivered in that house. His public conduct, words, and writings had not only been misrepresented and arraigned in the severest terms, but confidential conversations had been unfairly brought forward for the purpose of proving his political inconsistency. Such were the instances of kindness he had just received from one whom he always considered as his warmest friend, but who, after an intimacy of more than two and twenty years, had at last thought proper to commence a personal attack upon him. He could not conceive that the manner in which he had been accused of having written and spoken without information, and without the support of facts, manifested any great degree of tenderness towards him. On the subject, however, of the French revolution, uninformed as he might be supposed to be, he had not the least objection to meet that right honourable gentleman hand to hand, and foot to foot, in a fair and temperate discussion. But this, it seemed, was not the principal ground of quarrel; he was accused of attempting to bring forward a discussion of French principles, in order to fix a stigma upon certain republican opinions, which the right honourable gentleman was said to have advanced in a former debate. This charge he denied in the most positive terms. He added the startling fact that Fox himself was no stranger to his intention of introducing the subject of the French revolution in this night's debate. He said he had, previously to the last conversation in the house on the Quebec bill, opened to the right honourable gentleman very fully and particularly the plan of the speech in which he had that evening been interrupted; he had explained how far he had intended to go, what limits he meant to impose upon himself. This he had done at his own house, from whence they had walked down together to that house, conversing upon the subject the whole way. The right honourable gentleman had then indeed disagreed with him in opinion, but had entered into no quarrel with him; on the contrary, he had rather treated him with confidence, mentioning some private circumstances of a political complexion to which, notwithstanding what had since happened, he felt no inclination to allude. After these private explanations Burke said he felt it to be an imperative duty to speak upon French affairs, and to point out the danger of extolling upon all occasions that preposterous edifice the French constitution. The right honourable gentleman had himself termed it "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which had been erected on the foundation of human integrity in any time or country." There was a secondary motive, of a more personal nature, which had indeed some little influence over him. He had been accused both of writing and speak-

ing of the late proceedings in France rashly, unadvisedly, ignorantly, wantonly. He was certainly anxious to refute this charge; but at the very moment when he was about to produce facts in corroboration of his assertions, blended with private information and respectable authorities, he had been stopped in that house in the most unfair and disorderly manner. If they had permitted him to have continued his speech, he would have shown that the issue of all that had been done and was doing in France could never serve the cause of liberty, but would inevitably tend to promote tyranny, oppression, injustice, and anarchy. But what principally weighed with him, and determined him in his present conduct, was the danger that threatened our own government from practices already notorious to all the world. Were there not political clubs in every quarter, meeting and voting resolutions of an alarming tendency? Did they not correspond, not only with each other in every part of the kingdom, but with foreign countries? Were there not Socinian, Unitarian, and other dissenting preachers, preaching from their pulpits doctrines which were dangerous, and celebrating at their anniversary meetings proceedings incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution? Did they not everywhere circulate, at a great expense, the most infamous libels on that constitution? He apprehended no immediate danger; at present we had a king in full power, possessed of all his functions, ministers responsible for their conduct, a country blessed with an opposition of great strength, a common people that seemed to be united with the gentlemen; yet, nevertheless, there was cause for circumspection, for in France there were 300,000 men up in arms, who, at a favourable opportunity, might be happy to intermeddle; and besides, some season of scarcity and tumult might arrive, when the greatest danger was to be dreaded from a class of people who might now be termed low intriguers and contemptible clubbists. He again adverted to the unkindness with which he had been treated by an old associate, who had ripped up the whole course and tenor of his public and private life. The right honourable gentleman, after fatiguing him with skirmishes of order, which were wonderfully managed by the light infantry of his party, then brought down upon him the whole strength and heavy artillery of his own judgment, eloquence, and abilities. In carrying on the attack against him, the right honourable gentleman had been supported by a corps of well-disciplined troops, expert in their manœuvres, and obedient to the word of their commander! Here Mr. Grey called him to order, saying that it was disorderly to mention gentlemen in that way, and to ascribe improper motives for what

they chose to do in the house. It has been believed that a little incident which had occurred a few minutes before led to Burke's remarks on the docility of a part of the Whig camp, and thence to Mr. Grey's call to order. Fox, it will be remembered, had declared he would leave the house if Burke were permitted to continue his discourse on French affairs. While Burke was speaking, Fox quitted his seat and went towards the lobby. He was only going to get some refreshment to strengthen his inward man; but his party thought he was going to carry his threat into execution, and quit the house altogether; and from twenty to thirty of his more immediate friends rose, following their portly leader, and vanished with him. After Grey's interruption, Burke, much agitated, proceeded to remark, that this was not the first time that there had been a difference of opinion between Fox and himself; that he had, indeed, frequently differed with that gentleman, particularly on the subjects of parliamentary reform, of the dissenters' bill, and of the royal marriage act; but that no one difference of opinion had ever before, for a single moment, interrupted their friendship. He alluded to his long services and his gray hairs, and said, it certainly was indiscreet at his time of life to provoke enemies, or give his friends occasion to desert him; yet, if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and, as public duty required, with his last breath exclaim, "FLEE FROM THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION!" Here Fox, who had returned from the coffee-room to his seat, whispered that there was, that there could be no loss of friendship between them. But Burke replied, Yes, there was! He knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of his friend—their friendship was at an end!

On the 8th of April a finance committee was appointed to consider and report the amount of the public income and expenditure, during the last five years, or since 1786, when a select committee had reported on the subject. The present committee gave in the annual income at £16,030,285, and the expenditure, including the £1,000,000 for liquidating the national debt, at £15,969,178, which left an excess of the income over the expenditure of £61,107. On the 18th of May the chancellor of the exchequer, in his account of the state of the finances, referred to this report. Sheridan triumphantly remarked that the report showed the fallacy of the estimate of future expenses which had been made by the committee of 1786. Pitt replied, that the increase of the expenditure had arisen chiefly from incidental charges, and circumstances which it was impossible the committee of 1786 should

have foreseen. Nevertheless, Sheridan, on the 3d of June, moved no fewer than *forty* resolutions, calculated to discredit the management of the finances, and to show how much better care he (Sheridan) could have taken of the public money. Of this tedious series the greater number were rejected altogether, and others were amended according to data laid down by the minister and his friends, and more particularly by Mr. George Rose, now one of Pitt's closest friends. Not satisfied with rejecting or amending all Sheridan's handiwork, the ministerialists brought forward sixteen resolutions of their own, which all went to prove that the finances had never been so well managed before, and that there was every prospect of keeping the expenditure far within the limits of the income, and of reducing the national debt at the same time. A wild dream this, indeed, to be entertained on the very brink of the French revolutionary war! In the House of Lords a committee for inquiring into the state of the finances had been moved for by Lord Rawdon, on the 30th of March; it had been opposed by Lord Grenville as altogether unnecessary, since a committee was to be appointed in the House of Commons; and the motion had been negatived by fifty-five against twenty-three. On the 24th of May, Dundas laid a very flattering account of the state of the finances in India before the commons, making it appear that the revenues there, amounting in all to £7,000,000 sterling, after defraying all expenses, left a clear surplus of nearly £1,500,000 per annum. On the 10th of June parliament was prorogued by the king in person. His majesty's speech contained nothing noticeable except the avowal that he was not as yet enabled to inform them of the result of the steps which had been taken with a view to the re-establishment of peace between Russia and the Porte.

With all his wisdom and rightness of attention, Burke, as we have already hinted, had put a good deal of his excessive enthusiasm and heat in his book upon the French revolution, and had carried out some of his conservative principles to a length which justified some cavil from the friends of liberty, and even from such of them as might think as ill of the phenomenon, and deprecate as much any imitation of it, as he did himself. His heat and violence might have excited violence and heat in his opponents, although it may be doubted whether any such provocation were required by a most excitable and excited class of politicians, who, from the beginning, had fallen down upon their knees to worship the revolution, and who seemed determined never to get up again so as to look it in the face or examine its real complexion. We have alluded to the fierce war carried on by the newspapers

against the *Reflections*; but, in addition to these light troops, heavier troops took the field under the form of volumes of all sizes and pamphlets of the most truculent description. Nearly every one of these combatants declared that Burke's book was a flimsy piece of rhetoric and fine writing, which the simplest logician might tear to pieces; but the tumultuous numbers in which they took the field, and the fierceness with which they all gathered round this single isolated foe, seemed to tell a very different story. The most noted of the combatants were the late Sir James Mackintosh, Thomas Paine, and Dr. Priestley.

Mackintosh was at that time a very young and inexperienced man—with a profession and fortune all to seek—with a strong turn for political inquiries and speculations, with a good deal of enthusiasm, such as most young men worth anything possess, for abstract notions of liberty and the perfectibility of man through improved governments and institutions. His *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, or defence of the French revolution, was published in the month of April, while parliament was sitting, and was distinguished amidst a rabble-rout by the beauty of its language, the happiness of its illustrations, and its gentlemanly tone. It immediately made its amiable author famous; he was applauded and courted by all the Whigs that shared the sentiments of Fox; and his essay was quoted by them in parliament and at public meetings. Burke himself was struck with some beauties in the work, and probably discovered that a little time and a little more study and experience (for Mackintosh was deficient in both these) would correct what was wrong in principle, and soften what was extravagant in expression: he had no insult to complain of; for Mackintosh, instead of treating him as Thomas Paine, Priestley, and so many others did, as an apostate, a renegade, and scoundrel, spoke of his character and motives with respect, and of his genius and elegance with a most fervent admiration. What Burke seems to have foreseen and to have calculated upon, from the right-heartedness that was in this young writer, speedily came to pass; the massacres of September, and the other atrocities that so crowded upon one another in Paris, soon disenchanting Mackintosh of the French and their bloody experiment. He began, in various essays (which chiefly appeared in the *Monthly Review*), to retract some of the boldest assertions he had made in the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*; and at the close of that great man's life, he entered into a correspondence with Burke, which would have ripened into a friendship, if Burke's heart had not been broken, and his hours numbered.¹ In a short time longer Mackintosh's recantation became

much broader, increasing exactly in proportion with his experience and calm study; and he was ready to declare "democracy the most monstrous of all governments, because it is impossible at once to act and to control; and consequently, the sovereign power in such a constitution must be left without any check whatsoever." If he had been cooler, or better informed of what was really passing, the progress of the French revolution, which was utterly hopeless in April, 1791, ought to have carried this conviction to his mind before he wrote the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*; but, like so many other men of far maturer years, he had indulged the hope that the revolution would correct its own vices. At the short peace of Amiens, in 1803, when Mackintosh paid a visit to Paris, he found that his book was better known than he then wished it to be, and that his recantation was not known at all. To some Frenchmen who complimented him on his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, as the best defence of their revolution, he replied—"Gentlemen, you have so completely refuted my arguments!—*Messieurs, vous m'avez si bien réfuté!*"

A very different assailant was that incurable democrat Thomas Paine, whose coarseness and violence had been materially increased by his residence in Paris, by his frequenting the galleries of the assembly, and the hall of the Jacobins, and by the French citizenship which had been conferred, or was about to be conferred upon him. The man had become almost as rabid as Marat. He exhausted his knowledge of the English language in finding terms of opprobrium and reproach to heap upon Burke, although, in the course of his peripatetic, discontented, comfortless existence, he had tasted largely of the elegant hospitality of Beaconsfield, and had received many favours which a better man would never have forgotten, even in the rage of controversy and the madness of liberty and equality. Starting with the proposition that the cause of the French people was that of all Europe, or rather that of the whole world, and that nothing was wanted to make a heaven upon earth but an immediate and universal imitation of the French revolution, Paine accused Burke of high treason against human nature for attempting to check its progress and repudiate its principles. The motives, he said, were as base as the design was atrocious; for Burke had received, or was to receive a pension from the liberty-hating court of England for his book, and for his equally abominable speeches in parliament. Because Burke had taken the most liberal side on the question of the American revolution, which resembled the French one scarcely more than water resembles blood, Paine held that he was bound to support every revolution or insurrection against kings

¹ See letter written in December, 1796, as given in the *Life of Sir James Mackintosh*, by his son.

and priests and nobles that any people might choose to make, and that his not supporting the French revolution proved him to be the meanest of turncoats, the blackest of apostates. He also held that Burke, the man most filled with knowledge of any of his time, was labouring to stop the progress of knowledge, to restore the darkness and barbarity of the feudal ages, to reduce the people of England to the condition of serfs, to the state of beasts, "to eat straw, as in Hanover or in Brunswick." He compared Burke most disadvantageously with La Fayette. "How dry, barren, and obscure," said he, "is the source from which Mr. Burke labours! And how ineffectual, though gay with flowers, are all his declamation and his argument, compared with the clear, concise, and soul-animating sentiments of the Marquis de la Fayette!" Like the vast majority of the great man's assailants, this half-educated, vulgar-minded writer accused Burke of ignorance and incompetence, of a total want of the higher reasoning faculties, and, in short, of being capable of nothing but an inflated, over-ornamented rhetoric. He was quite sure that Burke had no idea of principles in contemplating governments. In describing with an undying eloquence, and in words that are engraven on every heart, the fate of the fair Marie Antoinette, Burke had deplored that the age of chivalry was gone. Paine taxed this as being very ridiculous, saying—"When we see a man dramatically lamenting, in a publication intended to be believed, that *the age of chivalry is gone! that the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever! that the unbought grace of life, if any one knows what it is, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone!* and all this because the Quixote age of chivalry nonsense is gone—what opinion can we form of his judgment, or what regard can we pay to his facts? In the rhapsody of his imagination, he has discovered a world of windmills; and his sorrows are, that there are no Quixotes to attack them. But if the age of aristocracy, like that of chivalry, should fall—and they had originally some connection—Mr. Burke, the trumpeter of the order, may continue his parody to the end, and finish with exclaiming, 'Othello's occupation's gone!'"

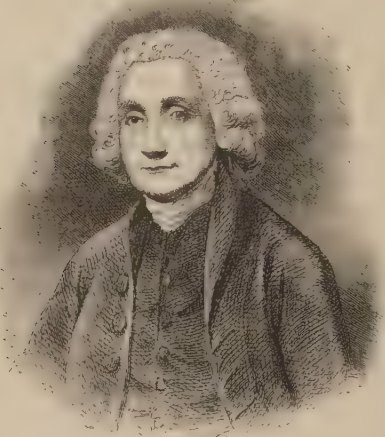
The republican party in England—if we can call by that, or by any other fixed name, a confusion of theorists, disaffected sectarians, disappointed Whigs, and discontented murmurers—considered this rude and crude piece of reasoning as a master-piece of human intelligence and genius, and as a complete refutation of the sophistry and all other parts of the *Reflections*; and such of them as could meet at public dinners were accustomed to drink the toast—"Thanks to Mr. Burke for the discussion he has produced!"

Fox himself, it is said, was loud in his applause of Thomas Paine and his *Rights of Man*. Other individuals, who would have had still more to lose than Fox and the noble family to which he belonged by any practical illustrations of Paine's French theories, not only perused the book with ecstasies of delight, but contributed to get up cheap editions of it, and to scatter it over the country, as if to teach the people of England the way they ought to go—as if to invite them to cut the throats of their patriotic instructors, and make an equal division of the land and of all that was upon it. But the book itself, without any such high patronage, and without the recommendation of societies and clubs that boasted of lords for their presidents and members of parliament for their vice-presidents, seemed well fitted to make its own way among the uninformed and less fortunate classes of society. It appealed directly to their passions and their supposed interests; it was, in good part, written with very considerable power; its arguments seemed as clear and simple as the first rule in arithmetic, and its coarseness was but a recommendation the more to coarse and vulgar minds. The wonder is that it did not produce more impression than it did; and particularly as some of the correctives adopted by government were injudicious in the extreme, and calculated—as all petty persecutions are—to promote rather than check the evil. Mackintosh's *Vindicia Gallica* had not been half so well suited to the vulgar taste, and, though it ran through several editions, its circulation was far inferior to that of the *Rights of Man*. But the *Reflections* carried along with them the vast majority of the better educated classes, and they certainly contained a pabulum more suited to English natures in general, at that time, than the foreign nutriment. The real disciples of Paine, either among the poorer orders or the middle classes, were at no time very numerous.¹

Joseph Priestley, who, like Dr. Price and some other preachers of that class, waged the controversy not merely through the press but also from the pulpit, was a Socinian or Unitarian minister settled in the manufacturing town of Birmingham. His best fame depended then, and will ever depend, on his devotedness to natural philosophy,

¹ Burke himself has given what we consider a true and correct character of Paine and his book:—"He is utterly incapable of comprehending his subject. He has not even a moderate portion of learning of any kind. He has learned the *instrumental* part of literature—a style and a method of disposing of his ideas—without having ever made a previous preparation of study, or thinking, for the use of it. *Junius*, and other sharply penned libels of our time, have furnished a stock to the adventurer in composition, which gives what they write an air (and but an air) of art and skill; but as to the rest, Paine possesses nothing more than what a man whose audacity makes him careless of logical consequences, and his total want of honour makes indifferent to political consequences, can very easily write."—*Letter to Sir William Smith*.

and on the experiments and discoveries he made in it. When the world shall have forgotten the bold sectarian, who was far from being disposed to grant that toleration to others which he claimed for himself and for his infinitesimal sect, and the rash and somewhat unscrupulous politician, they



DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.—From a print by Holloway, after Artaud.

will remember with respect and admiration the experimentalist—the chemist that unlocked some of the secrets of nature, and opened the way to great and important discoveries. In treating of a season that was fiery hot, and when all classes, or nearly all classes of politicians and writers seemed to lose the best of our national attributes, calmness and moderation, we would, with all our heart, endeavour to preserve the balance of the strictest impartiality, and we trust it is alien to our nature to carp at, or lightly to disparage a man of science and genius. But, after a perusal of some of his writings, polemical and political (few ever look into them now or know the spirit that is in them), we are forced to the conclusion that Priestley, even before this violent and exciting season, had proved himself a dogmatic controversialist, an intemperate disputant, and a man that would risk the peace of society for a dogma of his own, or for the insane purpose of enforcing the speculative opinions of his almost invisible minority upon the majority. Horace Walpole said of him that he wanted a Papal power; and the wit is scarcely too severe. In his controversy with Gibbon, the historian, who, whatever he was besides, was a good-natured person and a gentleman, Priestley conducted himself in a manner to disprove his claim to be either one or the other. In his polemical discussions, even with his friend Dr. Price, he was neither gentle nor charitable;

and no Pope of Rome could have spoken more contemptuously of other churches or faiths than he wrote and habitually spoke of the Church of England, and of all sects or modifications of sects that differed from his own, which was in good part a sect of his own making, and of which he was, in very truth, the pontifex maximus. His disciples describe him as “the grand restorer of the ancient Unitarian system, maintained at the era of the Reformation by Socinus and other learned men of the Polish or Cracovian school,” and as the vindicator of “the genuine, unadulterated doctrine of primitive Christianity.” He regarded all civil establishments of Christianity, and all connections between church and state, as crying abuses and barriers to the propagation of truth—by which truth, to apply Horne Tooke’s analysis of the word, he meant simply what he, Dr. Joseph Priestley, trowed. But at various periods of his life he had trowed or believed in very different manners, reversing the ordinary process, and believing less and less as he grew in years; and the great and rapid transitions in his own creed ought to have moderated his zeal in enforcing his present belief or conviction upon others. He had lately held a long and terrible controversy with Dr. Horsley, who had been provoked by one of his many publications, and had taken the field as a champion of the Established church, and with far more heat than was decorous, although assuredly Priestley had no right to reproach him on that account. In the month of January of the present year, 1791, Priestley declared to his friend Dr. Price, who, he says reproachfully, had meddled but little with the Established church, that he “had long since drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and was very easy about the consequences.”¹

This surely was not language becoming the apostle of primitive Christianity: this sentiment was even adverse to toleration, and the first principle and foundation of the gospel of Christ, teaching love unto all men, and even unto foes. It were magnanimous, it were wiser and better, for men to act otherwise; but in these matters, when a preacher and teacher of doctrines odious to the vast majority hoists the black flag and cries no quarter, he must expect at the very least some hard knocks. Priestley must have foreseen the consequences, though perhaps not their full extent, when he boasted that he was so easy about them. He had contrived before this, by expressing doubts concerning the immateriality of the sentient principle in man, to obtain the reputation of an unbeliever in revelation.² Like Price,

¹ Letter from Birmingham, dated January 27, 1791.

² This was by and through his “Introductory Dissertation” to Hartley’s *Observations on Man*, published in 1775. Matters were not much mended by his later publications. In 1782 he

he took the earliest opportunity of exulting in the French revolution, and he did not abate a jot of his admiration with the progress of the phenomenon. At a moment when the excitement was at the highest, he published his "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, in refutation of several Charges advanced against the Dissenters and Unitarians by the Rev. Mr. Madan," in which his ironical style gave great offence even to the populace, who were very loyal and very orthodox.¹ The personal popularity of George III. had kept on the increase throughout the kingdom; and, taking the great body of the people, there probably never was a time when England was in so high a royalist humour as at the beginning of the French revolution. Events and circumstances, not unassisted by exertions purposely made, gave somewhat of fanaticism to this feeling; but, after all, the feeling was as pure and quite as rational as the contemporary fanaticism of liberty and equality. Long before the excitement of politics was superadded to the excitement of religious controversy, Priestley had become exceedingly obnoxious to the Birmingham people. The French Academy of Sciences had paid a very proper compliment to the scientific merits of Priestley in electing him an honorary member of their body; and he maintained a correspondence with several of those men of science and literature who had put themselves foremost in the revolution, and who were labouring to bring about a republic without that titular king which as yet they retained. Other incentives, besides his own strong political sympathies, were not wanting to set the ready pen of Priestley agoing against the *Reflections*. Besides some strong things said in parliament against Price, Kippis, Towers, and other dissenting ministers, including Priestley himself, who had made such use of "the pulpit, drum ecclesiastic," Burke had fallen upon old Price in his book, and had given him a terrible mauling—such a mauling, indeed, that Price, happening to die soon after the appearance of the *Reflections*, was said to have been killed by it, although his fourscore years seemed to make death a very possible accident, without attributing it to mere pen and ink. Before the murderous book had been long in existence, Priestley put forth his "Letters to the Right Honourable Mr. Burke, on his *Reflections* on the Revolution in France." Though professing a re-

gard for the English constitution, Priestley applauded all that was doing in France as supereminently just and wise, and, with very little periphrasis, recommended an imitation of those performances. Mankind, he said, were everywhere opening their eyes to the nature and uses of government, and consequently the whole of the Gothic feudal system, embracing matters both civil and ecclesiastical, was beginning to shake to its foundation, producing a tremor and a convulsion that must be felt in every state in Europe. He attempted to repay with interest the sarcasms of Burke, but his periods had little of Burke's pungency. Many other things in the book would have inflamed the Birmingham mind, which was getting as hot as a furnace, against a man or writer not otherwise obnoxious; but, as coming from Priestley, who had incurred so long a score of grudges and spite, it roused all the angriest passions. He was told in anonymous letters to look to himself, as such an enemy to church and state, as such a deist or atheist would not long be tolerated in a town into which he had introduced nothing but dissension and discord.

In this state of feeling in Birmingham, a certain number of Priestley's friends resolved to celebrate with a dinner and toasts, speeches and songs, the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. A few days before this appointed feast a printed hand-bill was circulated through the town, to act like a challenge and defiance to the hot church-and-king citizens and in-dwellers. It bore no signature, and was addressed to the people at large. It was as follows:—"My countrymen, the second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism would give his sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember that on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that 'high altar and castle of despotism,' fell! Remember the enthusiasm peculiar to the cause of liberty with which it was attacked! Remember that generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors! Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the national assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal? your ministers hypocritical? your clergy legal oppressors? the reigning family extravagant? the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it?—too weighty for the people who gave it? your taxes partial and excessive? your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of

had produced his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, in which he had treated all churches as congeries of selfishness and iniquity. The Dutch took the book so much to heart, that in the city of Dort they caused it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

¹ In these *Familiar Letters*, Priestley, assuming the prophetic tone, announced the speedy triumph and establishment of Unitarianism, which the inhabitants of Birmingham considered as something almost synonymous with atheism.

property, religion, and freedom? But on the 14th of this month prove to the political sycophants of the day that you reverence the Olive Branch; that you will sacrifice to public tranquillity till the majority shall exclaim, *The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom!* Of that moment let tyrants beware." The people of Birmingham believed that this paper proceeded from the dissenters and republicans that had appointed to feast at the tavern on the 14th; but Priestley and these individuals affirmed that it had been written, printed, and distributed by some bigot or bigots of the church-and-state party in order to make mischief and interrupt their celebration.

On the appointed day, about eighty persons assembled at Dudley's Tavern, to commemorate the French revolution; and the magistrates and a number of the church-and-state inhabitants at the Swan Tavern, to drink long life to the English constitution. Priestley did not attend. The landlord or the company had procured, to be set upon the table, three figures: one a medallion of the king encircled with glory, another an emblematical figure of British liberty, and the third an emblematical figure of Gallic slavery breaking its chains. Either through ignorance or design (or it might be through some defect of the Birmingham artist) a spy of the loyal mob, who got admittance into the room, reported out in the street that the revolutionists had cut off the king's head and placed it on the table! The toasts which are said to have been really drunk began with the "King and Constitution," and were by no means exceptionable, or even ridiculous, except the second on the list, "The National Assembly and patriots of France, whose virtue and wisdom have raised 26,000,000 from the meanest condition of despotism to the dignity and happiness of freemen." But out of doors it was rumoured, and believed by the people, that their first toast was "Destruction to the present government, and the king's head upon a charger." And, in the language of a newspaper reporter, "no sooner had this treasonable toast been made known to the people, than loyalty, *swift as lightning, shot through their minds, and a kind of electrical patriotism animated them to instant vengeance.* They rushed into this conventicle of treason, and, before the second course was well laid upon the table, broke the windows and glasses, pelted and insulted these modern reformers, and obliged them to seek for safety in immediate flight."¹ But according to less rhetorical and more reliable authority, the "electrical patriotism" was not quite so sudden in its action, the orthodoxy of Dudley, the keeper of the tavern, acting as a non-conductor. Some persons of

better condition cried out to the dirty little boys that were piping "Church and King!" and beginning to throw stones, "Don't break Dudley's windows: he is a churchman." And it appears that it was not during the dinner, but some hours after, when most of the company had separated, that some of the mob broke into the tavern in search of Dr. Priestley, who had not dined there. "They wanted," they said, "to knock the powder out of Dr. Priestley's wig!" A well-conditioned townsman, zealous for church and state, smiled his assent to the proposition; and it is said that the ultra-loyal magistrates, who had been dining at the "Swan" (it ought to have been at the Goose) close at hand, huzzaed "Church and King!" and waved their hats in the air, "which inspired fresh vigour into the mob, so that they verily thought, and often declared, they acted with the *approbation* at least of the higher powers, and that what they did was right." There appears to be little doubt but that the worshipful magistrates and their friends had over-heated their excessive loyalty by too much drink at the "Swan;" and that the recollection of old grudges urged them to pat the mob on the back, neither foreseeing nor wishing for the very serious consequences that followed to the good town of Birmingham. No doubt they wished to see the powder knocked out of Priestley's wig, and a meeting-house or two, in which, according to their conceptions, treason had been preached, knocked down or otherwise destroyed; but there, no doubt, they wished the rioting to cease. The result, however, was a long, destructive, and very disgraceful riot. On that night the new building where Priestley preached on Sundays was demolished and burned, as was also the old meeting-house.

When the old meeting-house was burning fast to the ground, the mob marched away, about a mile and a half, to Priestley's dwelling-house, at Fair Hill. The doctor and his family had fled; but his house, the whole of his valuable library, and more valuable collection of apparatus for philosophical experiments, together with some manuscript works and notes, on which he placed a high value, and all the furniture, were plundered, burned, or destroyed. This finished the work of the night of the 14th of July. But on the following morning, the rabble of the town—being joined by the worst rabble of a very indifferent neighbourhood, by miners and founders, by workers in iron and in brass, by the Amazon nail-makers of Walsall and all that district, where the fair sex still work at the anvil, and by strong-armed women from other parts—renewed their destructions and depredations to the

¹ The *Times* of Tuesday, July 19, 1791.

² *Life of William Hutton*, stationer, of Birmingham, written by himself.

tune of church and king! They were armed with bludgeons and carried terror wherever they appeared, for there was no military force in the town, and the stupid magistrates knew not what to do. About the hour of noon a body of men, women, and children mixed, and about 1000 strong, attacked the house of Mr. John Ryland at Easy Hill. "Every room," says Hutton, "was entered with eagerness; but the wine-cellar, in which were wines to the amount of £300, with ferocity. Here they regaled till the roof fell in with the flames, and six or seven of them lost their lives." Mr. Ryland had not been at the anniversary dinner; but he was a dissenter, and a friend of Priestley, and probably the odour of his well-filled wine-cellar contributed as much as anything else to bring upon him the visitation of these drunken royalists. In fact, the love of drink and the maddening effects of liquor were at the bottom of nearly all this mischief, from first to last. But even in the madness of intoxication this rude rabblement, furnished by some of the worst districts in the country, gave proof that they were of English breed; for though they had for many hours the whole town and neighbourhood at their mercy, and talked about knocking on the head the enemies to church and state, they shed not a drop of blood, nor ever appear to have really thought of shedding any. A French mob, in the like circumstances, would not have got so drunken, but they would have butchered at least some of the victims of their fury. The tumult, after raging four days, was suppressed without bloodshed by the arrival of five troops of light dragoons.

These Birmingham riots were sad and disgraceful enough, but it requires great ignorance or a stupendous impudence to assert, as is done by one of Priestley's disciples in politics and in religion, that they were "far worse, indeed, than any disorders which had as yet occurred in the progress of the French revolution."¹ The liberality of the doctor's friends and admirers more than made up for his pecuniary losses: his brother-in-law gave him an annuity of £200 a year, and made over to him the sum of £10,000; but as the money was invested in the French funds, it may be doubted, notwithstanding the deep sympathy which Frenchmen professed for him, whether he ever got much of it. He also recovered by law compensation for damages to the amount of £3098. Nor was Priestley without other consolations. He published pamphlet after pamphlet to exhibit his wrongs and to attribute them all to the infernal malice and preconceived designs of a bigoted, intolerant clergy, and a set of selfish slaves, who were ready to barter for gold or distinctions, or the smiles of a court, the

birthright of all Englishmen.² He occupied, at least in the eyes of his own party, the enviable and honourable position of a martyr; and, besides numerous other testimonials, condolences, and most flattering compliments, he received from his French brethren of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, who called him their "most illustrious associate," a letter brimful of compliments and generous sympathy. This letter was written by no less a man than Condorcet, who was at this time secretary to the academy, and who was soon after one of the leading republicans in the national convention. In a very short time Priestley published the letter to the world, together with addresses from the committee of dissenters at Birmingham, from the members of the new meeting-house, from the young people belonging to his congregation at Birmingham, from the congregation of Mill Hill, Leeds, where he had once officiated, and from the Protestant dissenters in Great Yarmouth, from the Philosophical Society at Derby, &c., &c. Condorcet, as might have been expected, expressed himself very strongly. "You are not the first friend of liberty," wrote this scientific secretary, "against whom tyrants have armed the very people whom they have deprived of their rights. . . . At this present moment a league is formed throughout Europe against the general liberty of mankind; but for some time past another league has existed, occupied with propagating and with defending this liberty, without any other arms than those furnished by reason; and these will finally triumph! It is in the necessary order of things that error should be momentary and truth eternal. Men of genius, supported by their virtuous disciples, when placed in the balance against the vulgar mob of corrupt intriguers—the instruments or the accomplices of tyrants—must at length prevail against them. The glorious day of universal liberty will shine upon our descendants, but we shall at least enjoy the aurora." [We shall presently see the sort of aurora it was that Condorcet enjoyed.] This letter from a zealot of the revolution, with the other matter which Priestley printed so rapidly, was not likely to allay the storm which had been raised. He seized every opportunity of contrasting the bigotry and misery of England, and the enlightened toleration and happiness of France. In the preface to the first of his appeals he said:—"How different are the spectacles that are now exhibited in France and in England! Here bigotry has been fostered, and has acquired new strength. There it is almost extinct. Here the friends of

² In the second of his appeals to the public, which was published early in the following year (1792), he pretty directly accused Burke of being one of the promoters or originators of the persecution he had endured.

¹ Belsham.

the Establishment are burning the meeting-houses of the dissenters, with all the rage of crusaders; while in Paris one of the churches has been procured by the Protestants." To keep up and increase the irritation of these blisters, fresh addresses and condolences poured in from France upon Priestley, who published a proud list of them all, while he or his friends published many of the peppery documents at full length. A few days after Condorcet's letter, the Jacobins of Lyons wrote him an address, and this was followed, in rapid succession, by other addresses from the Jacobins of Nantes, from the Jacobins of Marmande on the Garonne, from the Jacobins of Clermont, in Auvergne, from the Jacobins of Toulouse, and from the Société-Mère—the great genetrix and nursing-mother of them all—in the Rue St. Honoré, at Paris. As a climax, the national convention, almost as soon as it met, nominated Priestley a citizen of the French republic.

The public mind was in a most excited state when the trials of some of the Birmingham rioters who had been apprehended came on. As the circuit was at hand, the prisoners had not long to wait. Of five of them who were tried at the assizes for Worcestershire, on the 22d of August, for offences committed *near* Birmingham, only one was convicted. But of those tried at the Warwick assizes on the 25th, four received sentence of death. Those who had suffered in their property, and all those who sympathized so deeply with Priestley, maintained that there ought to have been a good many more convictions; that the trial was unfair, or at least that the jury was all chosen from among the high-church party. But if they had taken some of the sturdy partizans of the other side, we really believe—so inflamed were both parties—that they would have fought in the jury-box, and would never have

agreed in any one verdict; and if they had taken them all from that opposite party, who, great philanthropists as they were, had no notion of secondary punishments, but, in their vengeance, a most decided taste for gibbets and halters, there would have been such a black list of convictions as had not been seen in Warwick for many a day. But, besides the advantage of the one-sidedness of the jury, the rioters had in their favour nearly the whole strength of public opinion in those parts, and many witnesses who, believing that the original motive of their conduct was a good and loyal one, were probably not over-scrupulous as to what they swore, in order to screen them and get them off. It could also be proved, upon better evidence, that several of these rioters had previously been inoffensive, well-conducted men, and that they had only been excited by their own inward belief that Priestley and his friends were sworn enemies to the king and church. Besides all this, there was the favourable confusion of great numbers, the contradictory evidence of the illiterate witnesses for the prosecution, and the common flaws in indictments, when drawn up, as these had been, in a hurry, and upon loose testimony. And, after all, it is a difficult and odious and agonizing task to select out of so great a number a few men for examples. Previously to, and even during the trial, when a reaction of sympathy might have been expected, the sufferers from the riots and their witnesses were publicly abused and threatened in the streets of Birmingham and Warwick, where—as in many other places—the favourite toast of the church-and-king party was—"May every revolutionary dinner be followed by a hot supper!" Although, including the man convicted at Worcester, five rioters were sentenced to death, only three were hanged, the other two receiving his majesty's free pardon.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1791.

GEORGE III.

Progress of the French revolution—The *serment civique*—The attacks on the church threaten to produce a civil war—Covenant of the Jacobins for the suppression of their enemies—Establishment of the Société Fraternelle—Violence of the Jacobins against the priests—Decree issued by the national assembly against the clergy—They are compelled to emigrate—Contests between the church and the popular infidelity—Marat and his ferocious journalism—Riot at Vincennes—It is quelled by La Fayette—Treatment of the royalists who repaired to the Tuileries—La Fayette again interposes—His account of the proceeding—Marat's counter-statement—The event called the "Day of Poignards"—Cause of the title—Character of Mirabeau—His indecisive attempts to restore the monarchy—His last illness and death—His unfitness to arrest the career of revolution—The king denounced for harbouring priests in the Tuileries—He resolves to keep Easter at St. Cloud—A riot at his departure—He is compelled by the mob to remain in the Tuileries—Contradictory accounts of the event—Louis XVI. complains to the national assembly of the insult—Unsatisfactory answer of the president—La Fayette persuaded to resume the command of the national guard—Attacks against him by the Cordeliers and Marat—Proposal of Prudhomme for the abolition of royalty—Changes in the names of the streets of Paris—Growing influence of the Cordeliers—The Jacobins establish their *Journal des Débats*—The king and his family resolve on flight—His hopes of a restoration by a coalition of European sovereigns—The King of Sweden sends Count Fersen to aid the escape of Louis—The Emperor of Austria's preparations to reinstate the fugitives—Escape of Louis XVI. and his family—The proclamation he leaves behind him at his departure—His list of the injuries he had endured—Proceedings in the Parisian clubs at the king's flight—La Fayette denounced in the Jacobin club as a traitor to the people—The king arrested at Varennes and brought back to Paris—His rough reception at his return—Effects of anguish upon the queen—The Marquis de Bouillé's threatening letter to the national assembly.



EVERTING once more to the leading subject, we turn to the startling events in France—or to the aurora of French liberty. It was soon seen that the courage of the majority of the clergy had not been over-rated by Maury, and that the forcible exacting of the *serment civique* would lead to a civil war, at least in a part of France. Before matters had come to this extremity with the clergy, Louis XVI., as a really scrupulous Catholic, had written to Rome for the opinion and advice of Pius VI. The pope's opinion was opposed to the plans and determinations of the assembly, and therefore the liberal Archbishop of Vienne, minister for ecclesiastical affairs, and the equally liberal Archbishop of Bordeaux, keeper of the seals, into whose hands it fell, had kept it for a long time from the knowledge of the king. But neither the strong opinion of the pontiff of the Catholic world, nor the sentiments of the French hierarchy, among whom were many individuals that he revered, could be permanently kept from the knowledge of Louis; and his own firm conviction gave him courage to withhold for some time the royal assent to the civil constitution of the clergy, and to the forced *serment civique*, which was a part of it. At one time he is even said to have declared that he would rather die than be a party to the destruction of the established church; and, as he studied very attentively

the history of our Charles I., he may have thought of acting with the Church of France, as that prince had done in his last days by the Anglican church. But Louis had none of the boldness of Charles I.; and even on this point, where his feelings and principles were perhaps stronger than upon any other, he was incapable of any steadiness of purpose. He was not born to be a voluntary martyr. Day after day the majority of the assembly were thrown into transports of rage by the reception of protests against the civil constitution of the clergy, and by the positive refusal of some prelates, curés, and other priests to take the *serment civique*. This hardihood was attributed to the obstinacy of the king. To extort compliance through terror, the Paris patriots made an *émeute*, and a terrible uproar, under the windows of the apartment of the poor weak prisoner of the Tuileries, who then gave his assent.

On the 24th of January, the Jacobins of Paris had bound themselves by an oath to defend with their fortunes and their blood every citizen who should have the courage to devote himself to the denunciation of traitors to the country, by which they understood all men that entertained different opinions from their own. The decree to this effect—for the Jacobins made decrees like the assembly—was unanimously adopted, as was also the resolution that copies of it should be sent to the affiliated societies in all parts of France, in order that they might bind themselves

by the same oath—an oath which would have suited the original assassins of the Old Man of the Mountain. The president, on the night when all this was decreed in the *Rue St. Honoré*, was Victor Broglie, ex-count, and father of the late Duke de Broglie; and one of the secretaries was Alexandre Beauharnais, ex-viscount, the first husband of Napoleon Bonaparte's first wife, Josephine, Empress of the French.¹ The immediate effect produced by the infernal vow and covenant was a red-hot persecution against all unsworn priests. Mirabeau had proclaimed in the assembly that those priests who would not take the oath, and that gave up their livings, places, and appointments, were not to be treated or considered as *culpable*; but the Jacobins and the unbelieving mobs, and the dastardly majority of the assembly itself, determined to consider them as *suspect*. [This terrible word was already in use, and equivalent to a sentence of proscription; but the champions of the rights of man and the zealots of liberty and equality went on improving, until *soupçonné d'être suspect*—suspected of being suspected—had the same force, and was a common term.] At this time also another democratic club started into existence, in aid of the Jacobins, to which it was to serve as a sort of seminary or preparatory school. This club of the people, called "*Société Fraternelle*," held its meetings in the section of *Enfans Rouges*, or Red Boys, and had for its first president M. Tallien, a leading member of the Jacobins, lately a compositor in a printing-office, but now the editor of a journal, and destined to be, for a time, a sort of dictator in France, and one of the first patrons of young Napoleon Bonaparte. This *Société Fraternelle* especially undertook to explain, in an easy and familiar manner, to the populace of Paris, the decrees and other proceedings of the national assembly; and they admitted to their discussions, free of expense, all citizens and citizenesses, with all their children that had attained the age of *twelve years*. "Such establishments," says an approving journalist, "which cannot be too much encouraged, are the best arms to oppose to the fanaticism of the priests and the insidious practices of pretended devotees."

The French historians most in vogue at the present day can see nothing to condemn in these methods of constitutionalizing the church, and very little to regret in the atrocities that ensued in consequence. Thiers, indeed, can find nothing to blame, except "the violence" of Abbé Maury, and that too, "with the ordinary intolerance of these gentlemen," he hints was all feigned, or a noisy pretence to excite the people against the assembly and liberty. His account of the transaction is glaringly unfair—unfair in omission

and unfair in commission:—either he has not read the reports of the debates, and the decrees themselves, or he has intentionally falsified their meaning and import. Thiers starts with the principle that he will not be excited in narrating what took place, and that he will be angry with no man or men, or parties; and he so far adheres to the latter part of his principle as not to lose his temper at any atrocity or rascality whatsoever, provided only it be committed by or for the revolution. He hands his Jacobin scoundrels across the stage one after the other with all the politesse of a courtier or master of the ceremonies of the old régime; and he dismisses nearly every one of them with the assurance that he has done his best according to the light of his own reason and conscience, and that, if he have in some respects done amiss, his evil doings have, in the end, and the great result, been productive of good. In these matters he is an optimist, a very Pangloss, for in revolutionism all is for the best. But when a priest is struggling for his church, a noble for his order, a king for his crown, Thiers' suavity is by no means so perfect; and here his affected moderation, his under-toned, half-whispered malice and spite, his innuendoes and cavils are, by several degrees, more revolting than the openly blurted, loud-thundering malice of others.²

A good many country curés who had conformed and taken the oath soon repented and retracted, declaring they had been misled. These repentants were seized by the municipalities or other branches of the civil power, and thrown into prison. Their martyrdom or their sufferings have probably been exaggerated; but there is little reason to doubt that, wherever the Jacobins were in force, and religious feeling very low—and this was the case in by far the greater part of France—these poor priests were treated with great barbarity. As Mirabeau had proclaimed that every priest that took the oath, and then abjured it, would be highly criminal, the assembly presently issued its decree against all such retractions, ordering that all such priests should be immediately deprived of their appointments, arrested, and punished as rebels to the law and traitors to the nation. This terrible decree gave a fresh impulse to emigration; shoals of priests crossed the Alps, the Rhine, or the ocean, and there was soon not a country in Europe but had its quota of French bishops, abbés, and curés, all penniless, and all desperate. England had her full share, or more than her share; and be it remembered to her honour, that in spite of the difference in faith, and the still lingering dread of Popery, she gave a kinder and a more generous

¹ *Hist. Parlement.*

² See almost any chapter or page of M. Thiers' *History of the Revolution*.

reception to these expatriated priests than they met with in any other countries, including the most Catholic of all. But in La Vendée, which was now getting into a blaze from end to end, in some parts of the south, and in several remote cantons in other quarters of the kingdom, where the people still believed what their fathers and their priests had taught them, and retained a strong attachment to the pastors who had been born among them and had lived among them all the days of their lives, it was not so easy to carry the decrees of the assembly into execution: here many of the extruded clergy remained undisturbed for a long time, and in preaching about the persecution of the church they revived or gave fresh strength to the people's old attachment to their kings. Nor did they fail to represent the new constitutional clergy, who never said mass without wearing the tri-colour sash over their albs, as heretical intruders, who would be damned in the next world for their brief triumph in this. On the other side, the *sermentés* treated the *insermentés* as rebels and traitors that ought to be hanged. Both parties, like every other faction or power, or would-be power, in France, appealed to the people, to the masses, who were indeed courted on every side, as the sovereigns of the day. The unsworn clergy tried to make fanatics of them, and the revolutionists to make atheists of them, which the philosophes had in good part done before the revolution began. As the latter party monopolized all the powers of the state, and all the liberty of the press, as they had a wonderfully complete machinery in their clubs, as they had disciples and propagandists quite as fanatic for the rights of man as any priest could be for the dogmas of his church, as newspapers, novels, tales, obscene anecdotes, and smutty songs, which contained the cream—nay, the sum and substance—of the philosophy, moral and political, they wished to inculcate, were lighter reading, and pleasanter to the national taste, than sermons or pastoral letters, bishops' mandamuses and parish priests' appeals—which, moreover, could not be printed or circulated without great difficulty and danger—it could scarcely be doubtful which side would make the most progress. The papers which the extruded clergy addressed to the faithful were chiefly printed abroad, smuggled across the frontiers and distributed in secret by a few zealots and a few unsworn priests, who remained disguised and concealed near their old homes, to say mass and perform the other offices of religion to such portions of their flock as were too scrupulous to attend the intruding priests in the parish churches. In the capital the scrupulous and devout hired the church of the Theatin monks, who had been suppressed like all the other monastic

orders, and they engaged priests who had not taken the oath, to officiate for them in a manner satisfactory to their consciences. They claimed that liberty of conscience which had been promised even to Jews and Mahometans, and, as their priests were free from any engagement, and exercised no public functions paid by the state, the laws or decrees of the assembly had no hold on them. The assembly assented to the reasonableness of these propositions, and granted the Theatin Church a guard from the city militia to protect those within in their hours of worship; but the assembly's master, the Paris mob, would not brook this monstrous toleration; they broke into the church in spite of the guard, or—which is just as probable—with the consent and encouragement of the guard; they insulted and threatened with the *lanterne* the devout old ladies and gentlemen that more regularly attended that place of worship, and they made it as dangerous to go to the Theatins as it had been to go to the Monarchic Club. That club, by the way, in consequence of Barnave's denunciation in the assembly, was forcibly suppressed a month or two later by Mayor Bailly and his municipals, who said that it was a nuisance, and the cause of exciting the people to daily riots. Even so went this Gallic liberty, and thus far and much farther had it gone when Priestley and others were worshipping it in England.

One of the oracles of the French people was now the notorious Marat, a diseased wretch, who conducted a journal, in which insurrection and assassination were constantly recommended as the only sure means of establishing freedom and the rights of man. From the beginning of the revolution the people had been excessively prone to suspicion; and now Marat was maddening them into cruelty, by exciting their fears. He was every day telling them, in language more or less plain, that if they did not butcher the aristocrats and the priests, they, and their wives, and their children would be butchered by them. While in this temper the slightest incident was enough to drive the Parisian mob into a fury. Such authority as La Fayette and Mayor Bailly had ever possessed over them, was now completely lost. Marat had pointed out both the general and the mayor as fitting subjects for the *lanterne*.

On the 28th of February, a day or two after Marat had given some dark hints respecting repairs begun at Vincennes, a report was suddenly spread in the Faubourg St. Antoine that the court—the miserable court who were prisoners themselves—were going to shut up the Duke of Orleans and all his family, together with all the true patriots of the assembly, in the donjon. Forthwith all that faubourg, whose glory it was

to have been the demolishers of the Bastille, poured forth on the road to Vincennes to demolish the donjon likewise. They had been in in-



JEAN PAUL MARAT.—From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

surrection a day or two before, for the purpose of burning the gates and barriers of Paris, where the *octroi* or duty on provisions was exacted, so that they had their pikes and clubs all ready for action. A part of the national guards of the district, under that burly small-beer brewer Santerre, marched after them, but it was to assist, not to hinder them in their work of demolition. The municipality of Vincennes and a few officers on the spot represented that the reason why the fortress was undergoing a slight repair was, that it might serve to relieve of some of their inmates the prisons of Paris, which were so crammed as to give serious apprehensions that pestilential disorders might break out among them and spread through the city. They also added that the repairs had been ordered by the national assembly itself, in a decree sanctioned by the king. But all was of no use: the St. Antoine men drove away the masons and other workmen, seized their sledge-hammers, crowbars, and other implements, broke into the fortress, and threw out of the windows, or broke to pieces, everything they found therein. They then proceeded to demolish the building itself, beginning with a parapet, for the walls of the

tower, though old, were discouragingly strong. The terrible noise that these faubourg men had made in taking their departure from Paris had been heard all over that city, and had created an universal alarm, for very few knew the object they had in view. La Fayette was summoned to the Hôtel de Ville, and instructed by the municipality to march after the insurgents as fast as he could, with the more respectable part of his national guard. The hero of two worlds was presently on his white charger, and before long, in front of the donjon of Vincennes, with several thousands of his militia, both horse and foot, and not without some light artillery capable of grape-shot, at his back. Close by the old tower he found Santerre, with his faubourg militiamen, looking complacently on the havoc the mob were making. He rode up to him and ordered him to fire upon those rascals. "Mr. General," said the broad-faced brewer, "those are the men that took the Bastille!" La Fayette then applied to the magistrates of Vincennes to issue some necessary orders, and to assist him in arresting some of the rioters; but these worshipful personages refused to co-operate in any way whatsoever. The general, therefore, took the whole duty upon himself; and, after some hard blows given and received, but miraculously without any recourse to firearms, the respectabilities of the national guard succeeded in clearing the donjon, and in taking about sixty of the demolishers prisoners. Retracing his steps to Paris with these captives in his train, he found the gates of the Faubourg



THE DONJON OF VINCENNES.—From a print after Moreau, 1783.

St. Antoine shut and barred in his face. He threatened to blow them open with cannon-ball and gunpowder; and thus obtained an entrance. Several shots were fired at him and the officers of his staff; and as he rode through the faubourg a very deadly attempt was made upon the legs of his white charger, in the view of bringing horse and rider to the ground together.

In the morning, as La Fayette was starting eastward for Vincennes, a good many devoted royalists went westward to the Tuileries to offer their very useless services to the king, believing, as they said, and as appears really to have been the case, that the insurrection was to become general, and that the life of the sovereign was to be attempted. These royalists, gentlemen all, and apparently all crazed, began to arrive at the palace about noon, or shortly after; but, if we guess rightly in a confusion of contradictory accounts, it was not till towards evening that their numbers excited any notice or suspicion. It is said that they had been admitted into the interior of the palace by different doors, having tickets of admission from the Duke de Villequier and other gentlemen of the household; but many of them must have had what were called in court language *les petites entrées*, which would render unnecessary any such tickets or smuggling in. The national guards doing duty that day at the Tuileries were the salaried Centre Grenadiers, the terrible ex-Gardes Françaises. It is said that reports reached these desperate fellows that La Fayette had not only been fired at but had been killed on his return from Vincennes, and that they were just going to rush into the palace to bring the king to account for this foul deed, when one of their corps seized a gentleman as he was going into the palace, and found that he had a long dagger in his coat pocket.¹ This quickened their suspicions and their movements; a rush was made up the great staircase; and in the ante-chambers, galleries, and saloons were found collected from 400 to 500 very suspicious aristocrat-looking persons, with powdered heads and black coats. A search much ruder than that of the rudest custom-house officers was immediately commenced by these ex-Gardes Françaises; and then it was found that many of these gentlemen carried small sword-canes, or had daggers in their pockets or under their waistcoats—nay, that two or three of them had pocket-pistols. As these things were brought to light the guardsmen hurled or kicked them down the stone stairs, at first singly, then by twos and threes, and at last by dozens and by scores at a time, until the terrace and the upper part of the garden of the Tuileries were littered with powdered heads and black coats. Ex-dukes, ex-marquises, ex-counts, ex-chevaliers of the order of

St. Louis, ex-parlementers, and among them the hottest of all parlementers, and once the chief of all patriots, D'Espréménil, were direfully constrained to make this sort of exit. Well had it been for these unlucky zealots if their punishment had ended here. When the Gardes Françaises had done with them, they fell into the hands of the mob that had collected in the garden and outside the iron railing, and they were hustled and tossed, beaten and bruised, and sent running home at last all tattered and torn. Marat, who took the earliest opportunity of describing this opprobrium of gentility and chivalry, was elated and rhapsodized into his grandest style in thinking of the kicks behind, the twitches by the nose, the spittle in the face, that the aristocrats received from the plebeians.

La Fayette arrived safe and sound at the Tuileries soon after the Gardes Françaises had cleared the apartments of these royalists. We have his own account for what followed—"He treated several of the courtiers very sharply, and read a particular lecture to the Duke de Villequier, first gentleman of the chamber, of whom he thought he had the most reason to complain. He saw the king, who expressed his regret at this piece of folly, which, it seemed, had been begun without his privacy. The king told him that the false zeal and wild extravagance of the people who called themselves his friends would end in ruining him. On his return to the great hall the general-in-chief learned from public rumour that a whole pile of arms had been secreted in the closets of the apartments, a thing not to be endured by those who were charged with the protection and safety of the king: consequently the general requested that an order should be given for the surrender of these arms. They were brought out in a hand-basket, and it was visible to everybody present that *there were daggers amongst them*. They were given up to the national guards, and were broken to pieces in the court of the Tuileries, with an exhibition of gaiety little respectful perhaps to the palace of the sovereign, but especially offensive to the chevaliers, who from this time bore the name of "the Chevaliers of the Poignard." Some were not less shocked on the morrow, by an order of the day, in which the general-in-chief spoke in severe terms of the chiefs of the domesticity, meaning the courtiers and the gentlemen of the household.² But the very strangest part of this unseemly,

¹ According to La Fayette's account, it was not a dagger but a pocket-pistol that led to the discovery. "The first alarm," he says, "was given by a hot-headed royalist, the Chevalier de St. Elme, who, setting ajar the doors of the apartment, exhibited a pistol to the national guards. This discovery produced a great sensation. The king was frightened, and begged the chivalrous company to disband and lay down their arms."—*Narrative of Events from the Federation to the Departure and Arrest of the King, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts, published by his Family.*

² *Narrative of Events from the Federation to the Departure and Arrest of the King, written by himself, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of La Fayette, published by his Family.* La Fayette, rather from a desire to make up a good case for his national guards, than from any anxiety about the humiliation of the order to which by birth he belonged, or from any regard to the feelings of gentlemen that were royalists, says that there was not much beating or kicking—that "the chevaliers escaped with a few insults and blows as they went out."

ridiculous business, and that which throws most light on the temper of the times and the state of the factions, is the variety of ways in which the plot was accounted for; though, as we verily believe, there had been no plot at all, but a rash, hot-headed impulse, such as all classes of Frenchmen were liable to, especially in these maddening times. La Fayette himself was quite sure that the whole thing was preconcerted by the fanatic royalists and the courtiers; but he does not say for what object, nor attempt to explain how four or five hundred gentlemen, many of them far gone in years and in infirm health, with their sword-sticks, daggers, and pocket-pistols, were to effect a counter-revolution in the midst of a hundred thousand armed men, and in a great capital where the population were quite as frantic for their new liberty as these *preux chevaliers* were for their old royalty; nor does he, indeed, so much as hint that the object was to carry off the king, an object impossible to be executed in this open manner. He says—and his authority is certainly worth no more than that of those who deny the facts—that many of the crowd of royalists found in the Tuileries had been expressly invited from the provinces; and that from daybreak an attempt had been made to ply the national guards on duty at the palace with drink, under pretence of treating them with breakfast; that the aristocrats got up the insurrection in the faubourg in order to decoy him out of the capital to Vincennes, and to get him murdered there; and that but for the bayonet of one of his national guards he would have been murdered on his return. On the other hand Marat, in a terrible article headed “New Conspiracy discovered by M. la Fayette,” swore that La Fayette himself, aided by Bailly, the police, and the more opulent of the citizens, had not only incited the Faubourg St. Antoine to march upon Vincennes, but was also in league with the royalists who meant to carry off the king. He dwelt upon the subject many days, in order to show what a narrow escape the common people, the only patriots, had had on the “Day of the Poignards.” He pretended to describe with the utmost minuteness and accuracy the labours and machinations of “the hero of two worlds and his head valet Bailly,” declaring upon numerous other particulars, that they had brought furtively into Paris gangs of brigands and assassins; that they had corrupted the staff of the citizen army of the capital, composed of scoundrels that were wallowing in luxury, and that ought never to have been trusted; that they had bought with money a part of the soldiers, and had enchained another part by cajoleries and promises, or by threats.

Some little circumstances contributed to give, with the multitude, additional weight and effect

to this newspaper article. A few days before the “Day of Poignards,” Marat had announced to the people that 5000 poignards, to butcher patriots, were a-making in Paris; an extra-judicial search had been made by the people, who had found in a certain shop *thirty-six* poignards. It was true that this number was very small, and that the armourer gave proof that they were made to the order of some persons engaged in the African slave trade, who found such implements very useful; but to the popular credulity the circumstance was quite enough to confirm their own suspicions, and Marat’s reputation for vigilance and veracity. On the other hand, the royalists maintained that the *émeute* in the faubourg and the march upon Vincennes had been planned by the ultra-revolutionists and the *Duke of Orleans*, and that the assembling of the gentlemen in the palace was wholly unpremeditated and arose out of the impression of the moment, that violence was intended to the royal family. Other parties again, who were less anxious to fix the *émeute* upon any particular persons, thought that the riot had arisen, like so many others, out of a determination to control the national assembly, and terrify them into the passing of a most severe law against the emigrants, which was under discussion on this very day; and to these parties it appeared not very unlikely that a number of enthusiastic royalists should gather in the Tuileries to offer up their lives a sacrifice to the royal family. If there was a previous plot, one surely might have expected some better preparation. There is not perhaps a more striking specimen of the bathos, than La Fayette’s *pile of arms*, brought forth in a *hand-basket*, in which it was visibly beheld by all present that there were *some daggers*. As to the daggers, sword-canes, and pocket-pistols carried by the royalists, there was nothing in them to establish a proof of any preconcerted plan or bloody design whatever; for, as one of them said, when examined by Mayor Bailly and his municipals, these were days when nearly every gentleman constantly carried arms about his person for his own protection from the rabble. It was long before this that Abbé Maury had taken to wearing pistols: and Mirabeau himself had adopted the practice long before Maury—never going down to the assembly, or anywhere else, without putting his pistols in his pocket, and looking well to their priming. We admit, however, that there is no possibility of calculating the extent of popular rashness and folly under such exciting circumstances, and that the fanaticism of some of these ultra-aristocrats and royalists was capable of almost any madness, and of almost any sanguinary excess, if they had succeeded in making, at any time, a successful counter-revolution.

For many months the queen and a part of the court had been relying with a desperate hope upon the promises and services of Mirabeau, the most eloquent speaker, and probably the most unprincipled, profligate man in the national assembly. This orator, who had lived some time (though in no very honourable manner) in England, had certainly some knowledge of our institutions; among his private friends he seems to have invariably expressed a preference for an hereditary constitutional monarchy; but when he saw how unpopular this notion was becoming, and what a complete ascendancy the republican and democratic principle was obtaining, he timidly shrank from any public avowal of his preference. He was a loud magnificent talker; but his courage, whether moral or physical, was very doubtful. He was a vainglorious, most excitable man; but though self-indulgent and dissolute, he had occasional visitations of high, generous, and noble thoughts. He had quitted the queen after a private interview on the heights of St. Cloud, in the month of May, 1790, by solemnly assuring her majesty that from that moment the French monarchy was saved!¹

By fits and starts Mirabeau was really of opinion that he could save the monarchy; but he was most assuredly deficient in moral courage, deficient in principle, altogether wanting, from first to last, in character and fixity of purpose. If he had really proposed to himself to be this saviour, he ought to have begun the work of salvation with courage and steadiness long before this—he ought to have checked the glowing wheels of the revolutionary car before they were about reaching their maximum velocity on that steeply inclined plane that ended in a gulf too fearful for the eye to look at—he ought to have made a life-and-death struggle at the time of the confusion of the three orders of the state into one anomalous chamber or house—at the time when the declaration of the rights of man was under discussion—at the time when the veto question was debated—at the time when the plots were forming to drag the court to Paris at the feet of the multitude;—but on all these times and occasions, as on others equally critical and equally potential upon future events, the heart of the loud-tongued man had failed him, and, instead of seeking the salvation of the state, he had sought his own personal safety by conforming with the tyrannous will of the majority of the assembly and of the populace, by explaining away his own words and sentiments, and by sneaking out of the principles he had professed. His chiefest care had been to keep free of the black lists of proscription. We repeat it, he had not such courage, nor nearly so much courage, as that

despised priest, the Abbé Maury, whom historians and annalists still rejoice in depicting as a mere casuist and deception. Rarely has self-seeking been made more unscrupulous than by Mirabeau, who, in the midst of all these convulsions



MIRABEAU.—After a French print of the period.

and constantly increasing dangers, was unable to resist the propensity of indulging all his vicious habits and tastes for expenditure and prodigality.

When the royal coffers were almost empty—when every louis-d'or was wanted—he took his money and spent it in luxury and profligacy. A tribune of the people thus leading the life of a Lucullus, could not escape suspicion; and suspicion was every day becoming equivalent to a sentence of proscription or of death. Although he continued to take the wages of the court, he did absolutely nothing for it, his fears preventing him from persevering in a plan to form a party in the assembly. To those who hinted that the court was leading him into great danger, and might betray him, he replied, in words too gross to be literally translated, that, if they did, or attempted it, he would drive them into a republic. He declared in private that the Jacobins and the Parisian mob would destroy alike the whole monarchy and the new reformers—would swallow up the king and the assembly—would plunge the country into a frightful and long-lasting anarchy; yet he continued to frequent the Jacobin Club, and to pander to the worst passions of the people. But by this time he had utterly ruined his robust constitution by his excesses, and a mortal disease had him in its grip. He made one more apparition in the hall of the Jacobins, to do away, by force of declamation, some evil reports which had been raised against him for his behaviour on the emigrant-law question, and to declare that he would remain among the

¹ Madame Campan, *Mémoires*.

Jacobins even to the time of ostracism;—and then he returned home to suffer agonies and die. He was at the Jacobins on the night of the 28th of March, and on the 29th he took to his bed, suffering excruciating agony. Some of his greatest admirers among the people instantly set up the cry that he had been poisoned by the court; and the respectables of the national guards had hard work to prevent another *éméute*. Those who better knew the man and his debauched habits could easily account for his malady in a simpler manner; and it was no secret to them that his health had long been declining. Three months before this, he said to Dumont, “If I believed in slow poisons, I should not doubt but that I have been poisoned. I feel myself wasting away; I feel as if I were consuming by a slow fire!” Dumont observed to him that the kind of life he led must have killed any man less robust than he long ago. He suffered and died in public, his chamber being continually crowded, and he making speeches and saying smart things to the last. Even the Jacobin Club thought proper to send a deputation to wait upon the illustrious sufferer. It was headed by Barnave, but several of the most conspicuous of the Jacobins refused to attend. On learning this last circumstance, Mirabeau said, with a contemptuous smile, “I knew very well that they were scoundrels and cowards, but I did not think they were such fools!” He deplored the sad state in which he must leave the country, a prey to all kinds of factions and intrigues. “I carry with me,” said he, “the mourning of the monarchy; the factions will divide among them its rags!” Talleyrand, who was very constantly with him during these last four days of his life, said of him afterwards, in one of the happiest of his many happy sayings, “*He dramatized his death;*” and from all that is told of him he must have died acting—like an actor on a stage, conscious that the eyes of the world were upon him, and that everything he did or said would be repeated. He died on the 2d of April.

If Mirabeau dramatized his death, others have dramatized his life, exaggerating the good, and perhaps even the evil, so as to make a fine *chiarcuro*. Madame de Staël, partly out of magnanimity, as he had been the bitter enemy of her father, and partly from her habitual half-romantic and half-metaphysical manner of seeing things, began this picturesque process; and she has been followed by others of abilities equal, and in one instance superior to her own. She saw in Mirabeau's death the failure of the only hope of saving France from a frightful anarchy, and her fanciful vision has been continued, being precisely of that kind that may last for ever; for, as he died, there was no possibility of proof as to what he

might have done if he had lived. We have ventured to express our own opinion that it would have been beyond his power, or that of any other merely mortal man, to have stopped the headlong course of this revolution after the fusion of the three orders, and the other monstrous errors committed in the beginning; but what is more than this, we doubt whether Mirabeau ever honestly or steadfastly set to work to make the attempt. Certainly, from the time he took the pay of the court, and particularly between the period when he saw the queen in the garden of St. Cloud and the period of his death, the revolution had been allowed to run its course without one important check or impediment; the Jacobins had been allowed to gain strength daily; he himself had considered it expedient or absolutely necessary to put himself at the head of some of their movements, and advocate some of their extreme measures; and whenever he had tried their temper in the way of opposition, he had done it in a timid, undetermined, ambiguous manner, and had, in nearly every one instance, drawn in his hand as soon as they set up their porcupine quills. After his death the revolutionary wheel revolved neither faster nor slower than it had been doing since the month of May, 1789.

There was no exaggeration in Burke's description of the king's intended journey to St. Cloud.

The journalists and the clubs began to denounce the king for harbouring within the Tuileries, and in other places, unsworn, unconstitutional priests. This led to a terrible riot at the church of the Theatins, and to great disorders in other parts of Paris. On the same day, Sunday, the 17th of April, the Cordelier Club, directed by Danton, the true Mirabeau of the lower classes, placarded the streets of Paris with a bolder decree than any that had yet appeared. “The Society of Cordeliers,” said the paper, “upon denunciation made to them that the first public functionary of the nation suffers and permits refractory priests to retire into his house, and there openly exercise, to the scandal of Frenchmen and of the law, the functions from which the law has excluded them—that he has, even this very day, taken the sacrament and heard mass from one of these refractory priests—have determined that, the truth of the fact being proved and established, they will denounce to the representatives of the nation this first public functionary, this first subject of the law, as being refractory to the constitutional laws which he has sworn to maintain; thus authorizing disobedience and revolt, and preparing to set against the French nation those factions which the enemies of the rights of man are trying to excite against the constitution.” All this might have been expected and clearly foreseen when Mirabeau was driving for

the civil constitution of the clergy, and that *serment civique* which no conscientious or respectable Roman Catholic clergyman could possibly take. The Cordeliers' denunciation, in order to produce more effect, was placarded on Sunday. The very next day the court was to go to St. Cloud, to pass the holy week and keep Easter. The return of spring made the country desirable, and the king was ill in health, and had avowedly

scruples of conscience as to performing the religious duties of that solemn season with irregular priests, that were interdicted, or as good as excommunicated, by the supreme pontiff. People of another faith may despise these scruples, but they are precisely such as any devout Roman Catholic must have felt; and nobody, as yet, has attempted to doubt the sincerity of Louis XVI.'s devotion. He had previously consulted



LOUIS XVI. OF FRANCE, AND HIS QUEEN, MARIE ANTOINETTE.—From French prints of the period.

or asked permission of Mayor Bailly and his chief jailer La Fayette, and these illustrious men had given their consent; and, in order that he might be well guarded, the commandant-general had given his orders for a whole host of the national guards to march and be ready to keep watch and ward at that pleasant summer palace, and in the country all round about, as they had done the year before. A detachment of these national guards had even marched to their destination at an early hour on Monday morning. The domestics of the royal household had gone, the palace of St. Cloud was prepared, the guard that were to escort were mounted, the horses were put to the carriages, their majesties came out of the Tuileries and entered their coach, and, with La Fayette at the side of it, they were just going to start, when there arose shouts and shrieks of "Down with that carriage! Down with it! No St. Cloud! The king must stay where he is!"—and a dense mass of men, women, and children, chiefly from the faubourgs, threw themselves before the horses, threatening to murder the postilions if they moved. Mayor Bailly, who was at hand, came up and harangued the mob from his gilded coach, and La Fayette harangued them from his white horse, representing how proper

it was that their king should enjoy personal liberty; but it was all of no use, for the mob kept crying that the king intended to escape, to bring the aristocrats, emigrants, and the armies of the emperor upon them. The general then turned to the national guards; but instead of showing any alacrity in reducing the people to order, or in forcing a way through them, they declared that they were for the people, and that the king should not quit Paris; and while they were disputing with La Fayette, who again ran some risk of being shot or bayoneted by his civic heroes, Danton—the herculean, the terrible Danton—arrived on the spot at the head of the battalion of his district, pretending a laudable anxiety to check the riot, but really intending, as La Fayette well knew, to join the rioters. According to La Fayette's own account, two battalions of the national guards, composed of men from more respectable districts, were steady to their duty or obedient to his command, and offered to secure the king's departure; and upon this he requested the king to remain in the carriage while he went himself to open a passage. But, as it was clear that this passage was not to be opened without bloodshed, and without a combat in which two battalions would have to en-

counter all the rest of the national guards and all the mob; as musket-balls must soon be flying about; as the king had his wife, sister, and children with him; and as he was far from being a hero, it is not surprising that he should have acted contrary to La Fayette's advice, and hastened back to the palace with his family, instead of remaining in a coach which had come to such a dead-lock. Yet, for this, the hero of two worlds bitterly condemns him, and says, that all Louis and the court wanted was, to prove that they were forcibly detained in Paris. But other accounts say that La Fayette himself, seeing the hopelessness of the case, and fearing, from the horrible imprecations uttered by the mob against the queen, that murder might ensue, was the first to suggest that the king ought to abandon all thoughts of the journey, and get under cover in the Tuileries as quickly as possible. Though assailed by the most opprobrious epithets, Marie Antoinette walked nobly erect and with a firm and majestic step, so long as she was in sight of that ill-tongued, sanguinary rabble; but once in the privacy of her own apartment, she shuddered and wept. Humiliated to the dust La Fayette hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, and threw up his command of the national guards. The municipality and departmental authorities drew up an address to the king, not to condole with him upon what had happened, not to promise him a pleasanter journey for another day, but to tell him that they saw with grief that he was favouring the refractory priests, that he was making use of the services of none but enemies to the constitution, and that it was to be feared that such preferences only showed the true feelings of his heart. On the morrow Louis went over to the assembly to complain of the terrible insult he had sustained, and to declare that he considered it essential to his dignity and liberty to go to St. Cloud, and that he persisted in his intention of going. The president, on whose right hand the king was seated, told him that the assembly was filled with sweet emotions on seeing him in the midst of them; that unquiet agitation was inseparable from the progress of liberty; that in spite of the care of virtuous citizens, anxious to calm the people, other men still delighted in spreading rumours and alarms; that the circumstances of the times were menacing, and proper to excite some suspicions; that the cowardly enemies of the constitution and liberty were also the king's enemies; that a faction, but too well known, were endeavouring to place themselves between the king and the nation; and that this visit of his majesty to the assembly ought to produce a very good effect, as it would show the friendship and confidence which existed between them. As for the king's journey, he

said not a syllable about it; for, as the sovereign people had determined it should not be allowed, there was small chance of the assembly being able to manage it, even if they had sincerely and earnestly wished the king to go. After Louis had quitted the hall, and it had been voted that his speech and the president's speech should be printed and sent to all the departments of the kingdom, M. Blacon, who had never spoken before in the house, ventured to express his astonishment that no notice should have been taken of his majesty's desire. "The king," said he, "has given you a mark of his confidence: he has told you that this journey to St. Cloud is necessary for the maintenance of law and the constitution—necessary to give him the appearance of being free"— . . . Here he was interrupted by a loud uproar from the *côté gauche*, who demanded that he should be sent to the Abbaye Prison for the words he had spoken. The *côté droit* applauded the member that made so unfortunate a maiden speech; but the majority carried the order of the day, and no more was said about the unlucky St. Cloud journey.

In the meantime La Fayette was flattered by the public efforts made to induce him to assume once more the command of the national guards. For three days his house was constantly crowded by deputations. Some of the liberty and equality men even fell on their knees to implore him; but this unseemly sight was "ennobled by the beautiful idea of one of them, who said, 'General, fear nothing, we are still in the attitude of free men, for it is before the image of Liberty that we kneel!'" The whole municipality, with Mayor Bailly at the head of it, stayed one night arguing and praying till past midnight, and still the general played the inflexible. But after resisting temptation during three whole days, La Fayette yielded upon conditions. All the sixty battalions of the Paris national guard were to swear on their words and honours to be, in future, orderly and obedient to the laws; those who refused this oath were to be excluded, and some individuals that had behaved with most indecency towards the royal family were to be punished. It is worth while noting how these conditions were executed. In the battalions appertaining to the more popular or mobbish of the districts, many of the men stayed away at swearing time, and many of the rest laughed while they swore; the redoubtable Centre Grenadiers refused the oath, and were disbanded; but, with the exception of some fourteen, they were all instantly incorporated in other battalions; and as for punishment, there was none, and there could be none, because the mob were stronger than La Fayette and his respectabilities. A grenadier had distinguished himself by an atrocious discourse he delivered at the door of

the king's carriage when the horses were stopped by the mob. That evening he gave a report of his speech in the Cordelier Club, who crowned him with a civic crown. The company to which he belonged expelled him; the club took him under their protection; and who was there in France that durst defy Danton and his Cordeliers! La Fayette, however, continued in his pride of place, and the laws fared much as heretofore. Marat devoted three entire papers to what he called the "Curious, True, and Remarkable History of the Life of Marie-Paul-Joseph-Roch-Yves-Gilbert-Mottié, Marquis de la Fayette; Deputy of the Noblesse, Founder of the Club of Monarchists, Institutur of Spies, President of the Austrian Committee, Generalissimo of the Counter-revolutionists, Conspirator-in-chief of the Kingdom of France, and General of the Parisian Army." He took for a motto, "All is not gold that glitters"—(*Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas d'or*)—and he spared not his malice and his lies, to which he had the art of giving the appearance of verisimilitude. "Oh, stupid Parisians," exclaimed Marat in finishing, "and you can throw yourselves at the foot of a man like this, who will try to put you in chains again, after inundating France with blood!"

Nothing could be more reasonable, after all these proceedings, than that the printer Prudhomme should propose in his newspaper, early in the month of May, the immediate abolition of royalty. "To abolish royalty," said this friend of the Abbé Fauchet, "is to abolish the greatest curse and plague that ever desolated mankind. Yes! the illustrious citizen of Geneva was right when he said that monarchy was a government against nature! . . . The grand basis of every free constitution is that principle of eternal truth declared by the national assembly itself, that men are born free and equal, and remain equal in their rights. Yes! all men are born free and equal, and remain so; and yet you decree a royal dynasty in which future generations of individuals are to come into the world with rights that other men have not and can never have! And you decree that they shall have these rights in hereditary succession, whatever be their ignorance, their ineptitude, their baseness, or their vices!" The municipality, receiving their impulse from the mob, who had changed the name of the Chaussée d'Antin into that of "Street of Mirabeau the Patriot," took it upon themselves to change the names of all the streets and squares of Paris, being particularly careful to paint or plaster over every royal designation. The quay which had been called Des Théatins, after that order of monks, was renamed Quai Voltaire; and the Rue Plâtrière got the name of Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau.

In the course of the month of May, Danton and his Cordeliers, becoming bolder every day, denounced La Fayette and Mayor Bailly for having ordered the national guards to fire upon the people when they were opposing the king's departure for St. Cloud. They also changed the name of their club into that of "Society of the Rights of Man." As the building in which they held their meetings was national property, Bailly thought he might take his revenge by putting the seals of the municipality upon the doors, and by ordering it to be immediately sold. The Cordeliers thereupon repaired to a tennis court, for Paris had its Jeux-de-Paume as well as Versailles; and there, like the *tiers état*, they swore that they would never separate. In a day or two they hired a hall that was private property; and at the same time the *Central Committee of all the clubs and fraternal societies of Paris* hired the great ball-room of the Sieur Cirier, citizen and dancing-master. They said they would some day bring Mayor Bailly to account; and they kept their word. The Jacobin Club announced for the 1st of June a newspaper, which was to give a full account of their debates, and which was to be published every Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The editors hoped that this newspaper would be at the very least as interesting and as valuable as any that reported the debates of the national assembly. From the moment that this journal was set on foot Robespierre seems to have attended more frequently, and to have taken more pains about the discourses he delivered in the mother society. The *Journal des Débats des Jacobins* soon became exceedingly popular, as, besides reporting all the violent harangues that were delivered in the hall, it published, in occasional supplementary numbers, other speeches which had been written, but which had not been delivered for want of time or opportunity.

There was now an incessant cry in all these clubs for proscription and blood, and the cry was directed not against the royalists, but against the men who had begun the revolution, and who wanted it to stop where it now was. Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, the idols of the mob, united their terrible powers against the La Fayetteists.

There no longer remained any hope for the royal family except in flight. The king had a warm love for his country, and a dislike or detestation of foreign interference. So long as there seemed a shadow of a chance that the revolution would settle down into a quiet and safe order of things, leaving a constitutional throne, an established religion, and a national church, he had certainly turned a deaf ear to those who advised him to flee from France, put himself at the head of the emigrants, and call for the co-operation of

the other crowned heads of Europe. But when murder had paraded in his own palace; when he had been dragged a prisoner from Versailles to Paris; when every possible insult had been heaped upon him and his family in the Tuileries; when the church had been revolutionized, and in fact destroyed; when he had seen that the clubs and the mob—the real masters of France—were driving for an anarchy under the name of a democratic republic; when he had felt, day after day, that his life and the lives of his wife and children were not safe in Paris, he had addressed himself to his brother kings.

As early as the 3d of December, 1790, Louis had addressed himself to his brother-in-law the emperor, to the Empress of Russia, and the Kings of Spain, Prussia, and Sweden. Vague applications had been made to some of these courts before, but at this date Louis proposed the immediate assembling of a congress, to be supported by an armed coalition.¹ In short, the project appears to have been broadly put, and the throne of the Bourbon was to be re-established by foreign invasion, aided by civil war. It is doubtful whether any other form of government was thought of except the restoration of the old absolute monarchy: no other constitution could be approved of by the absolute sovereigns to whom application was made for help; nor could those hare-brained fanatics, the emigrants, bear to hear of any other. Except in a few cases, these ruined aristocrats had learned no useful lessons from their misfortunes, had acquired no moderation from watching the immoderate fury of their democratic enemies. They thought it less dishonourable to owe their restoration to foreign armies, and to devastation and carnage, than to enter into any compromise with their plebeian foes, who, on their part, were resolved to reject every compromise whatsoever, and refuse the slightest concessions. The noblesse were to be satisfied with nothing less than the restoration, not merely of their titles and property, but also of all their old rights, privileges, and exemptions, of many of which they ought to have been deprived centuries before this revolution began. The Czarina Catherine had not yet arranged her peace with the Turks, and was much occupied in watching events in Poland; the King of Prussia was busy in watching her; and both these sovereigns appear to have already contemplated the final partition of Poland. The King of Spain, the imbecile Charles IV., was willing enough to assist the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, but knew not how to set about it, his finances being deranged and his army disorganized. The King of Sweden, the eccentric Gus-

tavus III., though united by no ties of blood either to the King or Queen of France, was by far the most enthusiastic of all the sovereigns; but he was also the poorest of them all, and it was most difficult for him to bring an army of brave Swedes into France without the assistance of the other powers. In the old forms of chivalry Gustavus had sworn himself the knight of the fair and unfortunate Marie Antoinette; and, if a bravery as romantic as ever existed even in a Swedish king and a race of heroes—if an ecstatic devotion to the cause could have sufficed—he would have performed wonders, and saved that queen from the dungeon and the block. Even as it was he did something, nay a great deal, towards liberating her from captivity, and speeding her on her present journey, for he had sent her the gallant and intelligent young Count Fersen; and, if all parties engaged in that evasion had only done their duty as well as that noble Swede, Marie Antoinette and her husband and children had been saved. The Emperor Leopold, the queen's own brother, was certainly not insensible to her sufferings and danger, and he had a very royal and imperial antipathy to revolts and revolutions; but he was averse to war, much fonder of pacific congresses than of the most brilliant campaigns; he had a good deal of the Austrian slowness and indecision; and the very easy way in which he had put down revolution in his own Belgic states seems to have duped him into a belief that it would not be much more difficult, at any given time, to arrest and undo the revolution of France. He had been told by the noble French emigrants that the revolution, after all, was but a temporary insurrection; that they and the court had still a most powerful party in the heart of the kingdom; and that the common people, and the national guards, without discipline, without officers of experience and name, would be routed at the first onset. At the same time the emperor was perplexed by differences of opinion and plan, and by intrigues and jealousies, that existed among these emigrants, and apparently among the royal princes themselves. At last, however, Leopold was convinced that it was time to do something. After some interviews at Mantua with the king's brother, the Count d'Artois, he despatched to Paris Count Alphonse de Durfort, to ascertain accurately the sentiments and intentions of the king and queen. De Durfort returned to Mantua in the month of April with all the information the emperor wanted from the Tuileries, and then Leopold engaged to send 35,000 men into Flanders, and 15,000 men into Alsace, to hang upon the French frontiers. The emperor further announced to the court of the Tuileries, by means of secret emissaries, that an army of Swiss would advance in the direction of Lyons, that an army

¹ *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, attributed to Hardenberg, the Prussian minister.

of Piedmontese and Savoyards would invade Dauphiny, that the King of Spain would have 20,000 men ready to pour through the last defiles of the Pyrenees, that the King of Prussia had promised to co-operate, and that England had engaged to remain strictly neutral. All the princes of the house of Bourbon, the King of Spain, the King of Naples, the Duke of Parma, and the expatriated princes of the French branch, were to sign a solemn protest and manifesto, and to co-operate in the great work according to their respective faculties.¹ Overtures of reconciliation and accommodation were even made to the Duke of Orleans, but they came to nothing, and his friend and negotiator, the Duke de Biron, declared to Bouillé that Orleans had been carried by artful and wicked men farther than he intended to go, but thought he could not, with honour, desert his party; that his royal highness was weak, but that, although his want of resolution had placed him at the disposal of dangerous men, who had sadly misled him, Bouillé might be certain of one thing—that it was the Duke of Orleans and his party who would save both the king and kingdom.²

Louis, who had kept up a pretty frequent correspondence with De Bouillé, wrote to that officer early in May, that he was fully resolved to flee from Paris, and retire to Montmedy, where De Bouillé had made a fortified camp, and whence, in case of necessity, it would be easy to retreat into the emperor's territory of Luxemburg, where Austrian troops were to be stationed to support him. His majesty further acquainted De Bouillé that he had reason to believe the Austrian troops would be in Luxemburg before the middle of June, and that he proposed leaving Paris on the 15th of June. It was not, however, until the 21st of June, that the royal family were enabled to effect their escape from the Tuileries. A paper was left behind, headed, "Proclamation of the king to all the French on his quitting Paris." It was a long list of the insupportable grievances Louis had undergone, and of the disorders and outrages which had been committed in every part of France. It declared that he had been a prisoner ever since the month of October, 1789, when they brought him from Versailles to Paris: and that, though he could have borne his own misfortunes, he could no longer bear to see that the operations of the national assembly had ended in the destruction of royalty itself, in the violation of property and personal security, in a complete anarchy in all parts of the empire. It complained, perhaps with too much emphasis, of the bad lodging and unsuitable accommodation he and his family had found in the Tuileries. It

spoke of the bitter sacrifice he had been compelled to make in dismissing the *gardes du corps*, whose fidelity to him had been so long proved. It spoke of the massacre of two of them, and of the wounds and ill-treatment they had received under his own eyes. It spoke of the savage outcry which had been kept up all along against the queen, "a faithful wife, whose conduct had been so heroic;" and it declared that it was evident all the machinations were directed against the king himself. "It was to the soldiers of the *ex Gardes Françaises* and the Parisian national guard that the custody of the king was intrusted, under the orders of the municipality of Paris, from whom the commandant-general derived his appointment. The king therefore saw himself a prisoner in his own states—for what else can one be called who sees himself forcibly surrounded by persons he suspects?" It recapitulated the first acts of the reform, where the king had willingly and readily concurred with the assembly, and the acts which immediately followed, and which had continued ever since, in which his assent had been extorted from him by violence and threats. "The assembly has put the king out of the constitution, in refusing him the right of sanctioning the constitutional acts, and classing as constitutional acts whatever other acts they think proper, and in curtailing and limiting his veto. They have allowed him 25,000,000 livres, about £1,200,000, which are entirely absorbed by the expenses of his household. They have left him the usufruct of some domains, with embarrassing forms, and have deprived him of the patrimony of his ancestors. Let the different points of administration be examined, and it will be seen that the king is set aside in all of them. He has no share in the making of laws; he can only beg the assembly to occupy themselves about such or such a matter. As for the administration of justice and the appointment of judges, he has no share in them. There remained a last prerogative, the most beautiful of all, that of pardoning and commuting punishments: you have taken that too from the king!" It asserted, with a truth that no one will dispute, that the Society of Jacobins had made themselves the chief power in the state, and had reduced all other authorities to a state of nullity. It said the king had been declared supreme chief of the army, and yet the army had been directed, without his participation, by committees of the national assembly: and he had never been able to exercise any authority or to appoint to any places, *because his choice displeased the clubs*, and his authority was envied him by the assembly. The king had been declared supreme chief of the administration of the kingdom; but the assembly had taken that administration into their own hands, and the agents of

¹ Bertrand de Molleville, *Mémoires*.

² Marquis de Bouillé, *Mémoires*.

the king had been left without any power or influence. "Above all, the form of government is become vicious through two causes; the assembly exceeds the limits of its powers, and it exercises by means of its committee of research the most barbarous of all despotisms. It has established associations, known under the name of Jacobins, or Friends of the Constitution, who compose corporations infinitely more dangerous than the ancient ones: these associations or clubs deliberate on all the parts of government, and exercise a power so preponderating, that all public bodies, not even excepting the national assembly itself, can do nothing but by their orders. The king does not think that it can be possible to preserve such a government as this; the nearer the assembly draws to the conclusion of its labours, the more do sensible people despair of it. Their new regulations, instead of throwing balm upon wounds, embitter discontents; the thousand journals and calumnious pamphlets, which are but the echoes of the clubs, perpetuate the disorder, and never has the assembly dared to apply any remedy. *What it tends to is a metaphysical government, impossible in its execution.*" The paper then mentioned that a motion had been made in the assembly, and loudly applauded, that the king should be carried off from Versailles, and the queen put in a convent. It described the massacre of an innocent man, almost under the king's own eyes, in the garden of the Tuileries; and it dwelt with a natural feeling on the affronts studiously put upon the king and the royal family at the federation festival. It affirmed that all those men who had spoken against religion and the throne had received the honours of a triumph. It complained of the harsh insulting treatment which the king's aunts, who were leaving France on account of religion, had met with on their journey. It alluded to the "Day of Poignards," saying, that, when the factions had excited the *émeute* at Vincennes, those gentlemen had gathered round him out of pure love to their sovereign, and yet they had been shamefully ill-treated; and men had carried their audacity to such a pitch as to break their arms before the king's face. After mentioning the interrupted journey to St. Cloud, and the forced attendance at mass in the parish church, and the circular letter to the foreign ambassadors, which, it said, had been forced from the king, the proclamation concluded with these words:—"After all these sufferings, and seeing the impossibility of hindering the evil, it is natural that the king should endeavour to put himself in safety. Frenchmen, and you whom he was wont to call inhabitants of the good city of Paris, place no confidence in the suggestions of the factious; return to your king; he will ever be your friend, when your

holy religion shall be respected, when government shall be placed on a proper footing, and liberty established on a solid basis.—P.S. The king prohibits his ministers from signing any order in his name, and enjoins the keeper of the seals to send him the great seal as soon as he shall be required so to do." This paper was, possibly, not the very best or most political of compositions; but it was still farther from being the mean contemptible thing that Thiers represents it; nor can any man in his senses, that will honestly look at the mountain of evidence which exists, attempt to deny that it contained a true picture of the state of France, and of the sufferings and humiliations which Louis had undergone.¹

As soon as the flight was known there was a fearful storm in the national assembly and fresh riots in the streets of Paris. General officers were sworn to serve the nation without any reference to the king; and votes were rapidly passed that all the national guards of the kingdom should be called out, that more arms should be distributed among the people, that the national guardsmen should name their own officers, and should receive regular pay like the troops of the line. But the proceedings in the clubs were in reality far more important than those in the assembly.

The Jacobins, who were for ever swearing, now swore to be true to the people; and then denounced nearly every member of the assembly and nearly every officer and public functionary as a traitor in league with the fugitive king, the aristocratic emigrants and priests, and the crowned tyrants of Europe. As Robespierre was finishing a tremendous speech, La Fayette and a few members of the assembly appeared in the club, and caught the quick eye of Danton. That formidable man rose, and instantly said, "I solemnly engage to carry my head to the scaffold, or prove that the heads of those men ought to fall at the feet of the people they have betrayed. In the first place I call upon M. la Fayette!" And terrible was the call; for he accused the commandant-general of all the deadly crimes imputed to him by Marat, and asked him how he dared present himself in that society of patriots. La Fayette made but a very timid reply, consisting of a compliment to the Jacobins, and a miserable commonplace sentiment. As an orator, and

¹ All that this historian says about the paper is—"The king complained of his losses of power without sufficient dignity, and showed himself as much wounded at being reduced to 30,000,000 of civil list as at having lost all his prerogatives. The assembly listened to the complaints of the monarch, pitied his weakness, and passed on to other matters."—*Hist. de la Rev. Française*. In absolutely nothing will this writer be correct. The civil list, as we have seen, was 25,000,000. This may be considered as a trifle, although 5,000,000, even of livres, make rather an important sum; but Thiers is constantly working at this kind of arithmetic, adding here and subtracting there just as it suits his purpose.

in such an assembly, the hero of two worlds, as opposed to Danton, had no more force than a mouse in the claws of a cat. "I have been asked," said he, "why I come to re-unite myself to this society: I come because it is here that all good citizens ought to repair in times of crisis and alarm. It is more than ever necessary to fight for liberty, and I was the first to say that when a people desired to be free they became so; and I have never been so sure of liberty as I am now, after enjoying the spectacle which this capital has offered us on this day." And having thus said, La Fayette, who had courage, but no orator courage, slunk out of the hall of the Jacobins, wherein, we believe, he never appeared again.

In the faubourgs and in the Palais Royal it was proclaimed that the king had vacated his throne, and that a republic which would realize all the rights of man was going to begin. In the Place de Grève they broke to pieces the bust of Louis XVI., which was lighted up at nights by the celebrated *lanterne*, that dread of the enemies of the revolution. In every street the words *king, queen, royal, Bourbon, court, &c.*, were effaced from the signs of shops and warehouses; and while this was doing Marat called upon the people to cut off the heads of La Fayette, Bailly, and all the traitors of the assembly, to summon to Paris all the armed people of the departments, and to name a dictator or a military tribune.

After many misadventures, and not a few signal follies on the part of the king, the royal family reached Varennes; but there they were stopped and put under arrest. On the 25th, at half-past seven in the evening, it was announced to the national assembly that the king had arrived at Paris, and was surrounded by the mob, who were threatening to hang three gardes du corps that were fastened on the coach-box.

Suffocated with grief and shame, with dust and heat—for that June month was excessively hot—the royal family had arrived at the barriers a little before seven o'clock, escorted by La Fayette, who had gone out beyond Pantin to meet them, and by at least 10,000 national guards, mixed with a multitude ten times more numerous. The assembly and the municipality had carefully prepared the reception which they were to meet: a placard had been stuck up beforehand in all parts of Paris with these laconic words upon it—"WHOSOEVER APPLAUDS THE KING SHALL BE BEATEN: WHOSOEVER INSULTS HIM SHALL BE HANGED." One part of the order, though the infraction of it was only punishable with a beating, was much more strictly attended to than the other where the penalty was hanging. The Paris citizens stared at the captives with hat on head, and one poor fellow, who, out of royalist sentiments, or pity and respect, ventured to take his

hat off to the queen, was nearly torn to pieces; and the accursed berline was several times stopped by the blood-thirsty vociferous rabble, swearing that they must at least murder the gardes du corps; and, though these gentlemen were not massacred nor hanged, they were beaten while sitting on the coach-box. To avoid passing through the streets of Paris, where worse might have happened, the berline was dragged round the boulevards, through the Champs Elysées, and then into the garden of the Tuileries by the gate of the Pont-Tournant. But even there it was in an instant surrounded by a mob, and apprehensions were entertained for the personal safety of the royal family. The king and the Princess Elizabeth descended and walked precipitately towards the open door of the palace. The queen, who was the last to quit the berline, had scarcely touched the ground with her foot when the Dukes of Noailles and Aiguillon came up to her, and almost carried her in their arms across the garden; for, though hot and inconsiderate patriots, and in very bad odour at the court, these two noblemen could feel for her perilous and deplorable situation. To some one in the crowd who ventured to whisper a few words of comfort and encouragement, the queen gently said, "Monsieur, I am prepared for everything!" Every gate, door, wicket, and outlet whatsoever of the palace was now guarded, both from within and from without; and the national guards had orders never to lose sight of any of the family, or at least never to permit the king or the queen to go from one room to the other without watching them. Louis lost no flesh, but the effect of these humiliations on Marie Antoinette, and of the agitations she had undergone during the journey, was terrible. "The first time," says Madame Campan, "that I saw the queen after the sad catastrophe of the journey of Varennes, I found her rising from her bed; her features were not extremely altered, but, after her first words of kind greeting, she took off her cap and bade me observe the effect which grief had produced on her head of hair. In a single night her hair had become as white as that of a woman of seventy years! I will not describe the feelings which rent my heart. . . . Her majesty showed me a ring which she had prepared for the Princess of Lamballe: it contained a tress of her white hair, with the inscription, *Blanchis par le malheur*—(Made white by misfortune)."

The royalist general, the Marquis de Bouillé, who, through a combination of accidents, had arrived at Varennes a few hours too late to rescue the king, was obliged to flee for his life across the frontiers. From Luxembourg the marquis wrote a terrible letter to the assembly, telling them that the king had only endeavoured to break his

chains; that there was no longer any law or morality in France; that it was he that had prevailed upon the king to go towards the frontiers; that now those frontiers would soon be crossed by the disciplined armies of the princes related or allied with Louis; that their disorganized armies and armed rabble could never stand against those veteran troops; and that if they dared to touch a hair of the king's or of the queen's head, not one stone would be left on another in all Paris. Most of the deputies present, and all the mob that crowded their galleries, laughed very heartily at the old royalist's threats.

The assembly, with affected magnanimity, passed to the order of the day; but nevertheless, a price was set upon the head of the author of the letter soon after. Most of the great powers of Europe were, as we have said, occupied about other matters, foremost among which was the final partition of Poland; and De Bouillé him-

self says that he saw no dispositions among them for any invasion of France, and that he knew at the time it was impossible to put his threats into execution. For once we agree with Thiers, that but for the generous motive which dictated it, and which was to turn the torrent of popular fury from the king and queen upon himself, De Bouillé's letter was a mad one. Thiers is, however, wrong when he taxes the fugitive general with falsehood in representing the military forces of the country as being in a contemptible state. Those forces were in that condition when De Bouillé wrote, and it was only through the long time allowed them before the allied powers attempted to strike their blow, that the patriot armies were got into some order and consistence. If the armies of the allies had really been ready to march into France in the summer of 1791, it would have been no laughing matter for Frenchmen.

CHAPTER XXIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1791.

GEORGE III.

The French revolution—Suggestion in the Jacobin Club of the deposition and trial of Louis XVI.—Thomas Paine's attendance at these Jacobin meetings—His writings in Paris—He recommends a republican government for France—The suggestion favourably received—Petition for the abolition of royalty—Meeting for its signature appointed at the Champ de Mars—Causeless alarm of treason at the meeting—The commotion and its effects—La Fayette accused of having instigated it—The petition not brought forward—Another drawn up and signed on the spot—Its motley character and accompaniments—Proclamation of the municipality—Various accounts of the meeting of the Champ de Mars—The meeting fired upon by the military—Martial law established—Counter-war by the journalists—Charges against La Fayette—Proceedings of the national assembly—A constitution of government drawn up—It is proclaimed immutable—It is presented to the king for subscription—He assents to it—He comes to the assembly to ratify it—Debate about the mode of his reception—The clubs denounced—Robespierre's defence of them—The national assembly dissolved—New members elected—Character and rank of the new members—La Fayette and Bailly resign their offices—Petition chosen mayor of Paris.



HE national assembly was now drawing near the end of its days; and it had been for a long time so much less powerful than the Jacobin Club, that it is rather in the great hall of the Rue Saint Honoré and in the Jacobin journals, than in the Salle de Manège and assembly decrees, that we ought to look for the grand effects produced by the flight to Varennes. Girey-Dupré finished a tremendous speech to the Jacobins, by demanding that Louis de Bourbon should be provisorily despoiled of all the royal functions until he could be tried before a grand jury, which should meet at the latest on the 30th of August next, the terms of his motion hinting very plainly that the proper punishment for the king would be that which Charles I. met with in England. An unnamed Jacobin, who

spoke next, approved of everything that had been said except the mention of the block and the axe, and moved as an amendment that the phrase should be left out which referred to Charles I. of England. To this another unnamed facetiously responded, that he would readily second this amendment, provided only the club would also agree that all the histories, engravings, pamphlets, and accounts of the decollation of the English king which had been collected by the society should be publicly burned. There was a good deal of laughing at this jest—a jest which proves that the Jacobins had, at a very early period, contemplated and studied the bloody finale of Louis's history, without the faculty or the wish to discover any difference between the lives and characters of the two princes, Charles and Louis. Antoine, another potential Jacobin, thought there

could be no doubt that Louis had merited death by his treacherous and ignominious flight; but conceived it might be magnanimous and wise to spare at least his life. "All his plots and projects," said he, "oblige you to make sure of his person, as you can have no security in his oaths or faith. He is a prisoner, and a prisoner he must ever be; for you know that if he were free for a moment he would flee again. Now, I ask you, can a state prisoner be the chief of the executive power of a great nation?"

At these exciting moments one of the most constant attendants in the hall of the Jacobins was Thomas Paine, who did not content himself with playing the part of listener and applauder, but sometimes spoke, and more frequently wrote in journals and pamphlets. He passed for a great republican luminary; and his opinions, particularly when written, and put into decent French by native *littérateurs*, were always received with wonderful deference. "The famous Paine," says Dumont, who had just returned to Paris from Switzerland, "was very intimate in the house of Condorcet; he believed that he alone had made the American revolution, and that he was called to make a new revolution in France." The author of the *Rights of Man* was constantly recommending a republic, something like that of the United States, but a good deal more democratical; and he spoke the words of truth and common sense when he said that the French had made a republic already in everything but the name, and that the co-existence of a king and of such a constitution as they had framed was incompatible, anomalous, impossible. Even before the flight to Varennes, Paine had been busily engaged in writing arguments and manifestoes for a Gallican republic. His most zealous disciple was Achille Duchâtelet, who had served in America under La Fayette, and had there imbibed some crude republican sentiments, to which he added certain extravagant notions about the perfectibility of mankind by means of altering their governments, which he had since contracted through his close intimacy with Condorcet. . . . "When the king fled, Duchâtelet was acting alone; it was Paine and he—an Anglo-American and a thoughtless young man belonging to the French noblesse—that were putting themselves forward to change the face of France! . . . The idea of a republic had scarcely presented itself, directly and nakedly, to any of them, and this first signal carried consternation to all the *côté droit*, and to the more moderate portion even of the *côté gauche*." . . . When Duchâtelet sounded some of the chiefs, he met at first with but little encouragement. Sieyès refused his concurrence with marks of contempt, and a good many of them told him it was not yet time. "If

I was not deceived in my information," adds Dumont, "La Fayette, in particular, repulsed those who tried to speak to him about a republic, saying that it would take twenty years to ripen liberty and make republicans of the French people. But the seed thrown by the audacious hand of Paine began to germinate in a good many heads. Condorcet, at the moment of the king's flight, had become a decided republican. Clavière, Petion, Buzot, met together to discuss this question. They spoke about it at Biddermann the banker's, where I was residing; and I there saw formed the first filaments of that opinion which soon grew strong in the southern provinces. Here are some of the weightiest things that were said in these private committees:—The king has lost public confidence, and will never recover it. The nation can never forget that flight, after so many positive and even gratuitous oaths; the king himself can never forget that he was brought back by force, and that he reigns by an act of grace over a people that despise him. The elements of the monarchy are destroyed; the king can no longer appear in any other light than in that of a conspirator; and nothing can be so absurd as to intrust great powers in the constitution to the man who has declared himself its enemy. This reasoning was very strong against the king, but it was very weak against royalty. They did not draw this distinction, because a difficulty presented itself, which they could not overcome without placing on the throne a branch of the Bourbon family. This last scheme pleased none of the men I have named. The Duke of Orleans appeared to them too despicable a personage. They also said that for two years past the king had not governed, but the national assembly; that all the obstacles came from him, and all the resources and powers from the assembly; that all the resistance to government was owing to his partizans, and that all the obedience was rendered to the assembly. 'In short,' says Condorcet, 'if a republic is made by revolution, if the people rise against the court, the consequences will be terrible; but, if we make a republic now that the assembly enjoys its omnipotence, the transition will not be difficult; and it will be better to make it at present, when the king is powerless and has nothing to hold by, than when his constitutional power shall have been restored to him; for then his dethronement will require an effort.' As for royalty itself, it was now regarded as a scarecrow for children, and as a puppet for men. I never heard in these meetings any true arguments in favour of monarchy. The greatest mischief is to quit what we know for what we do not know. To ask for a republic is very easy, and signifies nothing; but what form of republic is it to be?"

How many kinds of republic are there, or have there been?" The assembly, however, pretended and decreed that the monarchy should be preserved—that France should continue to be a *constitutional monarchy*—though the constitution was altogether democratic, and though the king was a prisoner *gardé à vue*. But again the clubs waxed furious, and there was soon riot and blood about it.

On the night of the 15th of July, the Jacobins, in their club, decided that the sovereign people should be invited to sign a petition demanding the abolition of royalty. The petition was drawn up by Brissot;¹ but Robespierre, with his consti-



MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE.—From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

tutional timidity or caution, thought it yet too soon, and said he had a *presentiment* that it would be made the pretext for some sanguinary attack on the people. It was probably through the manoeuvres of Robespierre that the club determined to keep out of the scrape, and leave the people or the mob to act for themselves. Another petition was drawn up (apparently in the Cordelier Club) on Saturday the 16th; and by the usual means of proclamation in the Palais Royal, and placards in the streets, the people were invited to sign it on the next day on the altar of the

¹ La Fayette says that the petition was drawn up by Laclos, the author of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, and still secretary to the Duke of Orleans, and corrected by Brissot. According to Madame Roland and Brissot himself, Laclos was associated in the task of drawing up the petition, but left it all to Brissot, after having failed to obtain the insertion of a paragraph favourable to the Duke of Orleans' pretensions to the vacant throne. One thing is quite clear, and that is, that the direct attack upon royalty intended in the petition was a measure which Madame Roland and the whole Gironde party had taken to their heart of hearts. After the bloody scene in the Champ de Mars, the Rolands scamped away from Paris, but they soon returned, and under auspiciously republican circumstances.

country in the Champ de Mars—which wooden construction had been left standing right in front of the Hôtel des Invalides ever since the federation festival of the preceding year, when La Fayette had almost been kissed and hugged to death by the people. Betimes on the Sabbath morning Paris began to flock to the field of Mars. A great many of that republican party afterwards called the Gironde, with Madame Roland (who has as good a title as any of them to be considered as the leader of the party), went out to see, and also to sign. The petition was not yet there, but a place was prepared for it on the boards of the altar of the country—deal planks, easy to pierce with awl or gimlet. A number of persons ascended the deal fabric, and were walking about gratifying their curiosity, and expecting the arrival of the petition, when a patriot, or some say a patriotess, felt something prick the sole of his or her foot; and springing aside, and looking down, he or she discovered a brad-awl working through the deal boards. Hullabalù! Here was some deadly treason! No doubt some gunpowder plot to blow up the altar of the country, together with the petition and all the sovereign people upon it or round about it! In brief time the planks were torn up, and underneath were discovered, lying *perdus*, with victuals enough to last them for four-and-twenty hours, two comical-looking fellows, one being an invalid with a wooden leg, and the other a Parisian hairdresser out of work. When first unearthed, these two drolls pretended to have been asleep, or to have just awakened from a sound sleep; and when taxed with their awl-and-gimlet work, they said, with a titter, that they only meant to look at the women's legs. As lubricity was so common a propensity among the Parisians, this ought to have saved the wooden-legged soldier and the idle perruquier, more particularly as no barrel of gunpowder, as nothing but cold meat and a little wine, a brad-awl and a gimlet, could be found in the cavity, or in any other hollow part underneath the deal altar of the country. But the word had gone abroad that they were spies of the court; and so the patriots clutched the man of the wooden leg and the man of scissors, hanged them both at the nearest *lanterne*, then cut off their heads, stuck them upon pikes, and carried them through the most peopled parts of Paris to that great Gehenna, the Palais Royal. This was at an early hour of the morning, and not in the latter part of the day, as represented by Thiers and the other advocates of La Fayette, who tell the story as if the massacre of the people which followed was the immediate and almost instantaneous consequence of the murder of these two obscene rogues by the mob.² We can perfectly

² The editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire*, who have carefully

believe that the motive assigned by the two men for their being where they were found was the true one; but the republican faction have not scrupled to accuse La Fayette and others of that party, of having paid the men to conceal themselves under the precious altar in order to excite suspicion and an *émeute*, which might give them an opportunity of employing their armed force, and suppressing the aspirations of the republicans by terror and blood.

Madame Roland, that *angelic* republican, as she is still fancifully represented by so many writers, in one place repeats this accusation as being *vraisemblable*, or very probably true; and in another place directly charges the treachery upon La Fayette by name, as an *instrument of the court*.¹ Another party accused Robespierre of being the cause of all the mischief; but, with a strict impartiality in judging between La Fayette and Robespierre, we cannot possibly conceive why either of them should have put the two men in the hole. It is quite true that La Fayette was prepared beforehand to attack and disperse the people; and that everything was ready for such an attack at a very early hour in the morning, before the invalid and the barber were discovered, and when scarcely a hundred people had collected in the Champ de Mars; but he had constitutional authority and license to attend at such a great meeting with his national guards at his back; he might calculate pretty confidently that some provocation or collision would take place between his respectabilities and the mob, and there were a hundred little means to bring about an occasion for reading the riot act, or proclaiming martial law, and firing upon the people, without having recourse to that round-about way of putting the invalid and the perruquier under the altar of the country, &c. At mid-day, or nearly five hours after the perruquier and the invalid had been murdered, La Fayette despatched a detachment of his national guards to the Champ de Mars, with several pieces of artillery; but, though there was an immense multitude assembled, there was no rioting, and the petition, it appears, had not yet arrived. And these national guards retired without doing anything. The mob remained expecting Danton and his Cordeliers, who had engaged to bring the petition; but Danton and his confrères, panic-stricken at the indecision of the Jacobin Club, at the parade

of military force which La Fayette had got up, and at confident reports that there was a design on foot to butcher or imprison the popular champions and journalists, had either fled out of Paris or concealed themselves in it.² Some time after the national guards had retired from the Champ de Mars a committee arrived at the altar of the country from the Jacobin Club, which, on the motion of Robespierre, sent them thither, not to inform the people that the club had withdrawn the petition which had been written by Brissot, but simply to see and report what was passing at that great meeting. Tired of waiting, and convinced at last that neither the Cordeliers nor the Jacobins would venture to bring a petition to be signed, some of the mob, who could turn sentences themselves, set to work and drew up, upon the altar of the country, a petition of their own, telling the national assembly that their political existence was drawing near its close; that an enormous crime had been committed by the king; that the empire was on the brink of ruin; and that the assembly ought to be guided by the will of the people. And presently such patriots as could write began to sign their names, and such as could not, to scrawl their crosses. As the people wrote on different loose sheets of paper, which were afterwards fastened together so as to make an enormous scroll, more than six thousand signatures and crosses were soon obtained. Some of the signers, not satisfied with writing their names, gave their reasons for signing, or accompanied their signatures by denunciations of royalty—in words ill spelt and in sentences that defied the arbitrary power of French grammar.³ Women and children signed as well as men. The mass of signatures proceeded from people who hardly knew how to write. There were *marchandes-de-modes*, *soubrettes*, and *filles-de-joie* in abundance; and these practical ladies, probably not without an eye to business, seem to have generally given their addresses as well as their names. Among the men who signed were several conspicuous members of the Jacobin Club—as Brewer-battalion-commandant Santerre, and Gateau; and a good many of the Cordelier Club, *maigre* the fright and the flight of their leader Danton. “The whole petition,” says a Frenchman who has examined it attentively, “is perhaps one of the most curious relics which have been found under the rubbish

collected and compared all the newspapers and other documents of the day, say that the account of it given by Toulougeon is nothing but a gross and clumsy sketch, full of false or inexact allegations; and that the same may be said of the account given by M. Thiers, who has followed Toulougeon almost word for word. None of the documents they give, and not one of the numerous memoirs of the time which we have read, will bear out Thiers' narrative. Dulaure's account is contradictory and incorrect from beginning to end.

¹ Madame Roland, *Mémoires*.

² Yet Dulaure says that Danton read the petition from the altar of the country with his stentorian voice, and was greatly applauded. The Stentor Danton was running away into the country at this moment as if for his life!

³ The editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire* give the following example, which they say they took at hazard from among a heap of other signatures just as bad:—“Je rénonce au roy je ne le veux plus le connette pour le roy je suis sitoien fransay pour la patry du batoillon de Boulogne Louis Magloire l'ainé à Boulogne.”

of our revolution. It has a form, a physiognomy, which paints better than all the apologies of the time the character and the very nature of this grand petitioning meeting."¹

It was five o'clock in the evening, and still La Fayette and Bailly, and the municipality, though anxious to strike a blow, wavered and hesitated. The municipality had issued one of their proclamations and pasted it up in print on the Paris walls, apparently about the same time that La Fayette sent his detachment and artillery to the Champ de Mars—that is to say, between twelve and one o'clock, or five hours after the murders. This proclamation was as signal a piece of quackery as ever proceeded from that illustrious body. It was conceived in these terms, which ought to be well remembered:—"The municipal body, being informed that factious men and foreigners, *paid to sow the seeds of disorder, and to preach rebellion*, are proposing to hold great meetings, in the culpable hope of leading the people astray and carrying them to reprehensible excesses; and having heard the report of the second substitute of the procureur of the commune, declare that every crowded meeting whatever, with or without arms, in the public places, streets, or thoroughfares, is contrary to the law: prohibit all persons from flocking together or forming in groups in any public place: order all those who have thus formed groups to separate on the instant: enjoin all the commissaries of police to repair without delay to such places in their several districts as may seem likely to become places where public tranquillity may be menaced, and to employ, in order to maintain tranquillity, all the means which are given to them by the law: send to the commandant of the national guard to give the most precise orders for dispersing these meetings; and the municipal body reserve to themselves to take such other necessary measures as circumstances may call for." But nothing followed this proclamation and the visit of the detachment of national guards to the Champ de Mars for several hours, although, at about two o'clock, the municipals were informed that some of the national guards had been insulted in the streets. According to their own account, or *procès verbal*, Bailly and the municipals then, considering that the armed force could not alarm *good citizens*, resolved that martial law should be proclaimed; but it appears they did not come to this resolution till past five in the evening. Three municipal officers descended from the Hôtel de Ville and read the law, which corresponded in some respect with our riot act; and the blood-red flag was then hung out at one of the principal windows of that

townhouse. At half-past five, at the very moment, say they themselves, when the municipality were going to put themselves in march for the Field of Federation or of Mars, some commissaries arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, and announced that one of the murderers of the morning had been arrested, but had effected his escape the very next minute; that Commandant-general La Fayette had been fired upon; that the individual guilty of that crime had been arrested, but M. le Commandant-général had caused him to be set at liberty on the spot; that the two murders in the morning had been accompanied by very atrocious circumstances (the municipals might have known this, and we think must have known it, eight or nine hours earlier than half-past five in the evening); that the national guards had been insulted in the Palais Royal, and that one of their principal officers had narrowly escaped death; that they, the commissaries, had been at the altar of the country, and had found it covered by a multitude of citizens and citizenesses, who said that they had met quietly to sign a petition in a proper and legal manner; that, upon being commanded to disperse, they had insisted that a deputation of twelve persons should accompany them, the commissaries, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand the liberation of some patriots who had been arrested without any offence; and, finally, that this said deputation of twelve was outside the door of the Hôtel de Ville. It was now six o'clock. The municipals say that they were preparing to hear this deputation, but found that they had run away, no doubt to inform their friends in the Champ de Mars that martial law was proclaimed. But Printer Prudhomme, who was one of the deputation, says that they did not run away at all—says, they executed their mission and spoke with Mayor Bailly, who told him he was only going to march in order to introduce peace—says, that it was now for the first time that that signal of massacre, the red flag, was displayed from the window, and that the national guards in the Place de Grève, collected from the aristocratic and unpatriotic districts, set up a shout of joy at sight of the red flag, raised their muskets towards heaven, then grounded arms and loaded them. "We saw," adds Prudhomme, "a municipal officer go from rank to rank and whisper in the ears of the national guard officers. Frozen with horror, we then returned to the altar of the country to warn our brethren of all that we had witnessed." This printer is not to be believed implicitly; but no more is Mayor Bailly, or whatever municipal it was that drew up the *procès verbal*. But, according to this official document itself, it was considerably past six o'clock ere the municipal body, preceded by a detachment of

¹ *Hist. Parlement*. The original petition is still preserved in the archives of the municipality of Paris.

cavalry, three cannons, and a blood-red flag, and followed by a very numerous detachment of national guards on foot, really began their march; and half-past seven ere they arrived at the Champ de Mars. They say that their intention was to march straight up to the altar of the country, but that they were scarcely at the entrance of the Champ de Mars when a number of people cried out furiously "Down with the red flag! down with those bayonets!" that they nevertheless continued their march across the field, and were approaching the altar when the mob began to throw stones, and one of them fired a gun or pistol, the ball of which, passing pretty close to Mayor Bailly, lodged in the thick of the thigh of one of the mounted national guards; that the national guards then fired in the air or over the people's heads, and that thereupon a good many of the mob dispersed; but that the more desperate part of the rioters soon re-united on the flank of the procession or march, renewing their terrible cries and their pelting with stones; and that then at last, the national guards, using the right vested in them by the laws and decrees of the assembly, and seeing that these acts of violence rendered it impossible for the municipal officers to summon the people to depart, fired in among them. Prudhomme and the rest of the republican journalists tell this part of the story also in a very different manner. They say that the people were perfectly quiet, and that the national guards entered the Champ de Mars from three different sides, as if to surround the altar of the country and massacre all around it; that no firearm had been discharged nor a stone thrown, when a volley of musketry was heard; that the patriots on the altar said, "Do not let us move! They are only firing blank cartridges! They must come up here and read the proclamation of martial law before they can do anything." That the troops advanced; that there was a second discharge of musketry; and that the people on the altar—15,000 at least—were as tranquil as before, and preserved just the same countenance. "Alas!" adds Prudhomme, "they paid dearly for their courage and their blind confidence in the law! Men, women, and children were massacred, massacred upon the very altar of their country!"

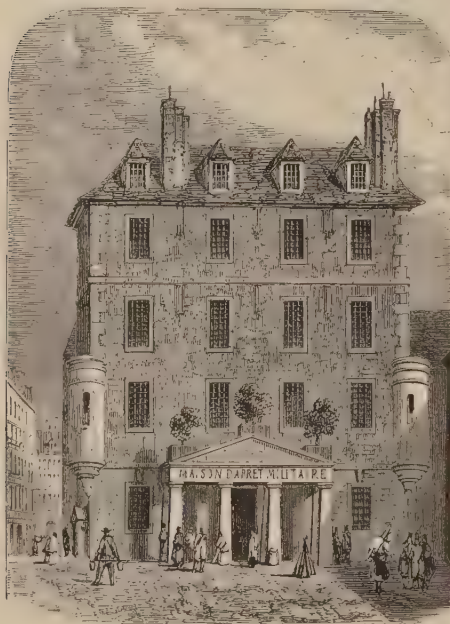
The moment chosen for entering the Champ de Mars and firing upon the people was certainly that in which the place was most crowded, and crowded too by persons indifferent to the petition; for it was the cool of the evening, and many thousands of persons were merely taking their evening walk, or were come to see what was a-doing; and—as it never yet failed to happen in these popular mêlées—several of these inoffensive individuals were killed or wounded. The total

number of victims is differently reported by Mayor Bailly and La Fayette, who wished it to appear as small as possible, and by the republicans and their journalists, who were eager to exaggerate the number in order to augment the fury of the people. The municipal *procès verbal* only admits eleven or twelve killed, and ten or a dozen wounded; and three or four national guardsmen that were assassinated by the people with knives, besides a good many more that were wounded by stones; but, according to the other party, more than sixty men, women, and children were killed or wounded by the national guards, who fired nearly point blank more than once. A considerable number of the republicans were seized and committed to the prison of La Force, and by ten o'clock at night Bailly and La Fayette, who, by this day's work, had signed their own death-warrant or proscription for some no distant day, returned triumphant to the Hôtel de Ville. In the course of the night the rest of the journalists and a swarm of scoundrels who had been so long preaching liberty or death, and urging on the people to every bloody excess, fled into the country or hid themselves in the most recondite parts of the faubourgs, thus showing what mettle was in them; and by the following morning there was not a newspaper-man to be seen in all Paris, and the offices of the journals were all shut.

There had previously been five hundred occasions on which martial law might have been proclaimed and firearms used with a far greater appearance of justice than in this case. The people had not assembled to riot, but only to petition. And had not the declaration of the rights of man given the people a right to petition, or a right to demand whatsoever form of government they might think best? It is true they had murdered two common men; but how many gentlemen and priests had they lanterned or otherwise massacred without any attempt being made to stop their fury? But the hanging of those two men had nothing whatever to do with the proceedings. La Fayette had determined upon a *coup d'état*, or *coup de terreur*. For the moment his blow succeeded; but it was only for a moment. His guards were soon to be swamped by the influx of the lowest and fiercest rabble of the faubourgs; and then the sword must fall from his hand, and the people be left to interpret the rights of man in their own way.

After that black Sunday in the Champ de Mars, open war was declared between the assembly and the ultra-Jacobins; and it only remained to see which should prove the stronger in a contest which must be worse than a war to the knife. For a few days the assembly and the moderates seemed all triumphant: many arrests were made in the old arbitrary manner (*Et vive*

la *Liberté personnelle*!), and a great many of the journals (*Et vive la Liberté de la Presse!*) were summarily suppressed. According to Brissot, whose journal, *Le Patriote Français*, escaped the general doom, more than two hundred individuals were imprisoned *au secret* in the Abbaye.



LA PRISON DE L'ABBAIE, PARIS.

Drawn by T. Boys, from his sketch on the spot, 1824.

For five or six days the red flag was kept flying at the Hôtel de Ville, to inform the Parisians that the reign of martial law was not over. Some addresses were obtained from divers departments congratulating the assembly, and Bailly, and La Fayette, on the wisdom and energy they had displayed, and on the flight and confusion of the leading anarchists. Under the patronage of the assembly and the municipality a new journal was started, called "The Crowing of the Cock" (*Le Chant du Coq*). It was printed on broadsides, and pasted on all the walls of Paris, of which Bailly's bill-stickers now claimed the entire monopoly. It denounced every morning, by name, a certain number of plotters and republicans; and it described, with a broad, coarse pen, the personal history and appearance, the character and conversation of these individuals, who could not for the present answer for themselves, seeing that they were in prison, under hiding, or in flight, and that Bailly's police left them no press to print their responses, and his bill-stickers no space on the walls for their placards. The "Cock" crowded the most infamous details of the private

life of these revolutionists: it was a preface to the great biographical combat which soon ensued at the elections for the new assembly or convention. For several days no newspapers appeared except such as spoke the sentiments of the majority of the assembly; and continual arrests were seen going on in the streets and coffee-houses. It was a little Reign of Terror; but it could not last long. Marat, in a very few days, got type enough in his hiding-place to resume his journal; and there were plenty of people ready enough to hawk, and many more eager to read *L'Ami du Peuple*. From his *Patmos* he described his sufferings for liberty, and assured the people that he would not abandon them. Fréron's journal, *L'Orateur du Peuple*, was taken up and continued with spirit by Labenette, editor of the "Devil's Journal" (*Journal du Diable*). In some quarters of the town, and more particularly in the Faubourg St. Antoine, all the force and address of Bailly's policeman and bill-stickers was found insufficient to secure the monopoly of the walls for any length of time; republican placards began to re-appear, and the most exciting appeals were made by this means to the people. Camille Desmoulins, who had fled with the rest, put forth from his solitude a terrible paper, describing, in his half-mad, half-elloquent manner, the massacre of the citizens on the altar of the country, and all the plots and intrigues which had preceded and the prosecutions which followed that black Sunday. The paper began with La Fayette, "the liberator of two worlds, flower of janizary-aghaz, phoenix of Alguazils, Don Quixote of the Capets and the two chambers, and constellation of the white horse;" and it held him up to the execration of the people as an ambitious conspirator, a tyrant insensible to blood. It related that Danton had accused La Fayette in the hall of the Jacobins of four or five capital crimes; and that, not being able to justify himself, the traitor had resolved to proscribe the patriot Danton, and get up a plot to massacre the people, who had every right to meet and sign a petition. He said he had been assured by eye-witnesses that the number of killed, instead of twelve, as represented by the municipality, was *four hundred*.

The assembly meanwhile occupied itself very successfully about the army, about the revision of the constitution not quite so successfully (for no revision could materially improve a thing that was a blunder throughout), and about the trial of some of the men that had been arrested on the petition-Sunday in the Champ de Mars. As a very important part of their proceedings, the assembly, or the constitution committee, thought proper to lay it down as an unalterable law that no changes or modifications should be

made in the present constitution by any national convention or legislature whatsoever previously to the year 1800! Malouet, who lived to see heaven knows how many constitutions made and unmade before that fixed term, harangued against this arrogant prohibition. "Remark, I pray you," said he, "in what a season and under what circumstances we are to be prohibited from altering our new laws. You only know the wishes and opinions of those classes of men whose interests and passions have been gratified and promoted. All contrary opinions are subjugated by terror or by force. France has hitherto been heard only through the organ of the clubs; and at present every public functionary that exists has either sprung from those societies or has become subjected to them. . . . Are we to remain till the year 1800 in the horrible state we now live in?" It was finally resolved that such an interval should not elapse, and the mode in which the necessary reforms were to be proposed and gone about was distinctly settled and specified.

It would be a mere waste of time to describe all the clauses of a constitution which was strangled in its birth. The number of representatives was fixed at 745; and these were to be elected every two years by means of primary and electoral assemblies, who were to be chosen by the active citizens, and who were then to choose the deputies or members. Although universal suffrage was rejected for the present, a very near approach was made to it; for to be an active or voting citizen nothing more was required than to be aged twenty-five years, to have a fixed domicile in some town, village, or canton, to pay a direct contribution equal to the value of three days' labour, not to be a footman or valet—or, as these constitution-mongers expressed it, "not to be in a state of domesticity, that is to say, a servant on wages;"—to be inscribed on the roll of the national guards, and to have taken the *serment civique*. The person of the king, who was still a close prisoner, and exposed every day to insult and even to violence, was declared to be inviolable.

On the 3d of September the national assembly, after hearing it all read over article by article, voted and declared that the constitution was *finished*, and that they themselves could no longer make any alterations in it. And, having made this declaration with proper solemnity and emphasis, they named a committee of sixty members to offer it that very day to the king for his pure and simple acceptance. The poor prisoner in the Tuileries was allowed a week to make up his mind, the assembly having the gratuitous impudence to assert that there was nothing to force his sanction from him, nothing to prevent that sanction having the character of a free and deliberate act. To give some colour of truth to these as-

sertions, they, on this said 3d of September, granted the king a little more personal liberty, or at least the appearance of it; the inner guard and bed-room sentinels were removed from the palace, and he was told that he might go to St. Cloud or wherever he liked in order to study the constitutional charter, and accept it freely. Even Thiers says—"But what could Louis XVI. do? To have refused the constitution would have been to abdicate in favour of the republic. The safest thing he could do, even according to his own system, was to accept, and to await from time the restitution of those powers which he believed to be his due." But there was more than this—there was more than a mere abdication attached to a refusal of this crude and inexecutable constitution;—there was a horrible captivity, and there was a certain death at the end of it—and this Thiers must have known, though he does not choose to say it. The only honourable path the king could pursue was assuredly that of abdication; but Louis could not but know that abdication would not give him the liberty of quitting France or of sending his wife and children out of it—that he would only step from the throne to the state prison and the block. The king, though a slow, was not a dull man; he had read much, he had attentively studied the spirit and forms of constitutions, and appears really to have possessed more information about them than all the fluent and precipitate men in the assembly put together. He said secretly to those in his confidence that the thing would never do, that this constitution could never march; but, yielding to circumstances and to the force of the people, and faintly hoping in the chances of the future, he gave, on the 13th of September, his acceptance pure and simple.

When the acceptance pure and simple was announced to the assembly, there was a hollow show of great jubilation. The letter containing the great fact was honoured with tremendous applauses; but sharp eyes that looked along the *côté gauche* saw little but contemptuous smiles; and the "Vive le Roi" of the galleries sounded like a mockery. La Fayette, taking advantage of this seeming return of generous feelings, proposed a general amnesty for all political offences since the beginning of the revolution; and the cessation of the legal proceedings already instituted against those who had been concerned in the flight to Varennes; and the assembly immediately passed a decree to this effect. On the next day, the 14th of September, a discharge of cannon announced that the king was coming down in person to the Salle de Manège, to give his assent *viva voce*, and to swear; for more swearing was exacted from the hapless and already perjured man. Before Louis arrived, the assembly vehemently discussed the question whether they should receive the

king sitting or standing, and whether he should sit or stand while he pronounced his oath. A great number of voices cried out that of course they were all to be seated, and the king to stand with his hat off! Malouet observed that in all circumstances the assembly, in presence of the sovereign, ought to recognize him as their chief; that it would be insulting the nation as much as the monarch, not to treat the chief of the state with the respect which was due to him. And Malouet demanded that, as the king would pronounce his oath standing, the assembly ought to hear him in the same attitude. This seemed to make some impression on the house; but a rustic Breton deputy spoiled the effect by crying out in his sharp provincial voice—"I have an amendment to propose, which will suit all of us. Let us decree that it shall be permitted to M. Malouet, and to whomsoever else is anxious for it, to receive the king on their knees; but let us maintain our dignity!" The assembly thereupon decreed that they should be seated, and that the king should stand; because the king was only the chief functionary of the state, and because the deputies represented the state itself and the sovereignty of the people. Upon entering the hall the king was hailed with a few vivats, and was then conducted to a chair by the side of the president, and on the same line with it—for the assembly had legislated about these matters of chairs and stools. The queen was conducted to a private box, which had been prepared for her. Louis naturally rose from his seat to pronounce his discourse, but, perceiving that the president and all the deputies, except a very few, whose coat-tails were not safe, remained seated, he sat down also. In concluding, he said, with a desperate and most painful effort to look happy and in earnest:—"I thus solemnly consecrate the acceptance I have given to the constitutional act; and in consequence I swear to be faithful to the nation and the law, and to employ all the power which is delegated to me in maintaining the constitution and causing the laws to be executed." Then the president rose to deliver his obligato harangue; but, seeing that the king did not rise, he sat down also, and spoke sitting. His vapid nonsense was applauded to the skies by the house and by the galleries; and in their admiration of it men cried "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" with their loudest voice. Having signed and sworn, and having nothing more to do in that place, poor Louis was reconducted to the gate of the Tuileries by the whole assembly in a body, by military bands, by detachments of national guardsmen, and by crowds of the sovereign people. Once within that palace, he let his forced disguise drop from him, and revealed his real feeling as a man and as a king. He rushed after

the queen into her apartment; he was pale, and his countenance almost convulsed; he threw himself into a chair, and putting his handkerchief to his eyes, he muttered in an agony, "Ah! madame, why did you go to witness my humiliation? How! you came into France to see..." His words were stopped by his sobs and tears.

On the 29th of September, Chapelier, who was attempting to do now what ought to have been done a year and a half earlier, presented a report on political clubs and societies, and the perilous Jacobin system of affiliation. Robespierre, who now well knew his force and the weakness of his enemies, vigorously defended the clubs against this attack, which was chiefly directed by the Feuillants and the members of that club who had seceded from the Société Mère. He greatly embarrassed Chapelier and his friends by reminding them of the time when they too were among the hottest of the clubbists and Jacobins—when they too counted on the clubs as the best weapon to be employed in working out the revolution, and forming the public mind. He threw in their teeth the illimitable liberty accorded by their own laws and decrees; and he was at no loss to find good logical arguments for the support of the affiliating system. "High eulogiums have been passed in this house on the Jacobin clubs. Those societies have rendered the greatest services to liberty and the nation ever since the beginning of our revolution; and this consideration alone ought to have been sufficient to prevent your committee from hurrying to injure and hamper those societies. But it is said, *we have no longer any need of those clubs, for the revolution is finished, and it is time to break in pieces the instruments which have served us so well!* We shall see! For my part, *I do not believe that the revolution is finished yet!*"¹ In these speeches Robespierre was sowing the seeds of his own future greatness, and keeping alive that spirit which would render it impossible that the revolution should not go a great deal further. But he was beaten on a division, and a large majority carried a law against the clubs:—"Considering, said the preamble, that no society, club, or association of citizens can have, under any form, a political existence, or exercise any influence or inspection over the acts of the constituted powers and legal authorities; that under no pretext, these societies or clubs can appear under a collective name to draw up petitions or appoint deputations, to assist at public ceremonies, or to carry any other object, the national assembly decrees, &c. The penalties were not very severe, and it was very soon evident that they could not be enforced.

On the 30th of September, Louis XVI. went to the assembly, which was that day to dissolve itself.

¹ *Hist. Parlement.*

The king made another hollow speech, in which he said that it might perhaps have been desirable that they should not have dissolved so soon, but have continued to sit a little longer in order to give stability to their work. He told them that he had announced to the foreign powers of Europe his acceptance of the constitution, and that he would constantly occupy himself in causing that constitution to be respected both abroad and at home. When the king had withdrawn, Thouret, its last president, solemnly declared that the constituent national assembly had fulfilled its mission, and that its session was at an end. A great many of the new deputies that were to succeed the members of this assembly were present and were radiant with joy and with hope at this dissolution. The elections had been finished before the dissolution, for the Jacobin clubs had attached great importance to this mode of proceeding; and the assembly, where the great majority seem to have considered it as a matter of no importance, had decreed in conformity with the wishes of the clubs. By a law which had been proposed by Robespierre none of the deputies or members of the present assembly could be re-elected.¹ The same great Incorruptible had, by another decree, excluded all members of the assembly from the ministry; and he tells us that he had once intended to extend the prohibition to the acceptance of any public office whatsoever, but was dissuaded from this last piece of rigour by the influence of his private and political friend Petion. But not only did Petion presently obtain Bailly's appointment of mayor of Paris, but Robespierre himself obtained a place of equal, or perhaps superior power, namely, the post of *public accuser*; and it is pretty certain that these appointments were foreseen and arranged some months before the dissolution of the assembly.² A great deal has been said about the motives of Robespierre in urging on the self-denying ordinances, and about the mischief produced by them. As for *his* motives, they were no doubt complex; but, as for the mischief wrought by his excluding decrees, we cannot attach so much importance to

it or to them as most writers have done. We trust we have shown what the national assembly was worth when opposed to the clubs and the mobs; we hope we have shown how little reliance could be placed on the political wisdom and political courage of the moderate party, who retained a majority to the last, but who could never be styled or esteemed moderate, except as being contrasted with the fanatics of the *côté gauche* of their own body, or with the madmen who succeeded them as members of the convention. We have entirely failed in one of our great objects if we have not demonstrated that this said moderate party had made a kind of revolution which could not possibly stop where it was. In the last hours of their political existence, these moderates, these pretended wise and great men, were humiliated and brow-beaten by Robespierre and Petion; and Barnave, the cleverest and most eloquent of all that party that had bound themselves to check the march of a rapid democracy, and to restore respect and some degree of power to the crown, had been unable to do anything—had been compelled to quail before Robespierre. We cannot believe that, if the entire *côté droit* of this assembly had been re-eligible, and had been re-elected, they could have done more good or prevented more mischief in 1792 and 1793, than they had been able to do or to prevent in 1790 and 1791.

But, as it has been well observed, there was not the remotest chance of these moderate men being re-elected if they had been re-eligible. If Robespierre had never made his excluding decrees, still none but men determined to carry the revolution further could possibly have been re-elected. "As it was, not one person who had belonged to the privileged orders was chosen, nor more than half a dozen *constitutionalists* of any note; the rest were selected from amongst those who, in the different districts, had exhibited the greatest revolutionary zeal—factious lawyers—infidel sophists—club orators—newspaper writers—and unprincipled adventurers of all disreputable classes and characters. In times of

¹ "The king hoped that the establishment of the constitution would remove the principal causes of discontent, and that the new representatives would be animated with sentiments less hostile to the regal authority. But these frail hopes were disappointed. The constituent assembly having, by a disinterested though absurd decree, declared themselves incapable of being re-elected in the legislative body, by this vote excluded those who were animated by moderate sentiments, and who, as framers of the constitution, were interested in its preservation, and enabled the Jacobins to obtain the preponderance. The new members therefore were principally drawn from the middling and lower classes of society, visionary projectors, men of ruined fortunes, the most furious declaimers in the political clubs, all animated by the boldest spirit of enterprise, and breathing the fury of revolutionary principles. They were headed and directed by a few chiefs, who, for the scourge of Europe, united superior talents with a courage exalted to fanaticism. The faction which

thus gained the ascendancy received the appellation of 'Girondists,' from the department for which the leaders were principally chosen; and 'Brisotines,' from the name of their chief. The object of these demagogues was to establish a republic on the ruins of the throne. They laboured to realize the plans of a Richelieu and of a Louvois by extending the limits of France to what they termed her natural boundaries, the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the ocean. From this centre they traced, in imagination, the limits of an empire as stupendous as that of ancient Rome; from a territory in which the bounty of nature or the ingenuity of man had comprised every requisite for defence and every advantage for attack, they purposed to extend their power, and to diffuse the contagion of their principles over the whole habitable globe."—*Coxe's House of Austria*, chapter cxxxi.

² Article in *Quarterly Review*, on "Certain Forged Mémoires of Robespierre."

such popular excitement every new election must always make matters worse; moderate men either retire or are displaced—only the most violent of the former body are re-chosen—and the new men, eager for distinction, seek it in exaggeration. The non-election of the constituents was, therefore, in no degree the cause of the anarchy and horrors which ensued. All the men of rank, property, and experience would have equally been swept into oblivion, and replaced by the Brissots, Louvets, Rolands, Gorsas, Carras, Guadets, Garats, and hundreds of other names, till then wholly obscure—but soon to have such a momentary importance and such eternal infamy.¹ As to the exclusion of the privileged orders from the next assembly, there were two or three exceptions, but such as scarcely merited to be called exceptions. Thus, Condorcet, who had been a marquis, was elected by the city of Paris; but he had declared himself the great champion of republicanism, and was ready to go any lengths with his party. The disproportionate multitude of journalists, pamphleteers, and writers of all kinds that were thrust into this new legislature, presented a very alarming symptom; for the worst of them were needy, desperate rogues, ready to look any enormity in the face; and the best of them were distraught with theories and vanities, and a fanaticism which might have stood up and measured stature and strength with the religious fanaticism of the old times, against which there was now such an incessant railing.

The terrible *convention*, which at first took the name of *legislative assembly*, met for the despatch of business on the 1st of October.

To act up to the spirit of the self-denying ordinances, and the articles of a decree of the assembly, passed in September, 1791, La Fayette, on the 8th of October, surrendered in the Hôtel de Ville, and to the general council of the commune, his charge and dignity as commandant-general of the Parisian army; addressing on the same day a very long letter to the national guards whom he had commanded. The hero of two worlds retired to his estates in Auvergne, and gave out that he was only anxious to enjoy the pleasures of retirement and the happiness of private life; but the truth is, he was very desirous of becoming mayor of Paris; for Bailly, hunted to death by the journalists and the mob, who accused him of being the cause of the badness and the dearth of bread, and who had never for a moment forgiven him for his conduct on the black Sunday, had made up his mind to resign the shining glory of the gilded coach, and all the honours and powers attached to the revolutionized Parisian mayoralty. Bailly, who pleaded the delicate state of his health, and his literary and scientific occupa-

tions, resigned in November. His retreat was followed by the same kind of music as that which had accompanied La Fayette: he was accused of the grossest speculation, of poisoning the people to make money by it, of intriguing and conspiring with the court and the emigrants—of being, in short, one of the greatest scoundrels and plunderers that ever put on the mask of patriotism. La Fayette's party and friends immediately named him as candidate for the vacant mayoralty; and they bitterly accused the queen and the court for having opposed his election, and promoted that of Petion, the Girondist candidate, who was



JEROME PETION, Mayor of Paris.—From a portrait by Duplessi-Bertaux.

backed by all the ultra-revolutionary and republican party. It appears to be quite true that the court really opposed the hero of two worlds in these civic honours; and that the queen said to Bertrand de Molleville, "Monsieur de la Fayette only wishes to be mayor of Paris in order to become mayor of the palace.² Petion is a Jacobin, a republican; but he is a silly fellow, incapable of ever becoming the chief of a party." Poor Marie Antoinette was guilty of an error in judgment in believing that Petion's stupidity or mediocrity would prevent him from becoming dangerous: his mediocrity was a recommendation, and a potent means of action. But we cannot believe that either the queen or her friends had any great influence over this very popular election, or that they could, if they had been ever so much disposed, have either secured the election of La Fayette, or the rejection of Petion, who had in his favour 6708 votes out of 10,632, the whole number given.

² The tyranny of the old *maires du palais*, or mayors of the palace, is familiar to all who have read anything of French history. They were not only greater than the king, but the king was their state prisoner and tool.

¹ *Quarterly Review*.

Brissot sang hallelujahs for the election of Petition. "Honour to the patriot citizens of Paris!" cried Brissot, in his own newspaper, "Petition is mayor! He has had more than 6000 votes! M. la Fayette, who was next to him on the poll, had only 3000! . . . If it could have sufficed in order to be mayor of Paris to have an amenity of manners, to know how to speak to the people, and to flatter them in a moment of need, we believe that M. la Fayette might have had that place; but what we want is a man versed in the business of administration, a man accustomed to hard work, and we think that M. la Fayette is very far from possessing these qualities. Besides, he has against him his noble birth and his matrimonial alliance with the high aristocratic house of Noailles! The principles which it was thought M. la Fayette had learned in the school of Washington led the friends of equality to hope that he would be one of its ardent defenders; in short, they hoped that he would make use of the influence his position

gave him in hastening the success and completion of the revolution. But they were deceived in their expectations. They saw him constantly floating between all parties; wishing to manage them all, he has really served none; and thus he has only had a momentary triumph; nor would he have had so much as that, but for the light and inconstant character of the French people. M. la Fayette, being very little capable of an assiduous labour, has found himself under the necessity of employing a great many subalterns, and he is led by the nose by them. To this blind confidence are attributable many of the errors committed during his dictatorship. We are far from believing that he has the talents necessary to be mayor of Paris."¹

The violent republicans had secured a great victory; and yet, for a time, although La Vendée was in a blaze, and storms threatening the frontiers, Paris was more tranquil under the legislative assembly and Mayor Petition than it had been under the national assembly and Mayor Bailly.

CHAPTER XXX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792

GEORGE III.

Meeting of parliament in 1792—Pacific character of the royal speech—Its summary of affairs—Debate on it between Fox and Pitt—Whitbread's attacks on our Russian policy—He moves three resolutions on the subject—Speech of Fox on the same question—Pitt's defence of his Russian policy—His allusions to Fox's popularity with the Russian government—Fox's explanation and apology—Encouraging statement of the finances and the national prosperity—Disgraceful condition of the London police—Bill passed for its improvement—Bill of Mr. Fox for the repeal of penal statutes against the Unitarians—Pitt's opposition to the bill—Attack on rotten boroughs and demand for parliamentary reform—Society of the Friends of the People established in London—Its agitation for parliamentary reform—Debate on the subject between Fox, Pitt, and Burke—Disensions in the cabinet between Pitt and Chancellor Lord Thurlow—The king reduced to the question of parting either with Pitt or Thurlow—Pitt retained—Royal proclamation against seditious meetings and writings—Popular sentiments for and against the proclamation—Republican tendencies and proceedings of the English political societies—The Revolution Society in London—Its published volume of correspondence—Its republican spirit—Formation of counteracting clubs and associations—Publication of their resolutions and declarations—Sketch of the war in India—Character of Tippoo Saib—His power and resources—British invasions of his dominions—Serlingapatam invested by Lord Cornwallis—Tippoo compelled to capitulate—Terms of his surrender—Affairs of Poland—Fruitless attempts of the Polish diet to form a third estate—Proposals of the diet for a political reform—Hasty proceedings of the Polish reformers—Their new constitution proposed and adopted by wholesale—Its chief conditions—The Poles solicit the co-operation of the King of Prussia—They refuse to cede to him Thorn and Dantzic—The British cabinet's indifference to the fate of Poland—The Empress Catherine concludes a peace with Turkey—She turns her arms against Poland—Brave resistance of Kosciusko—The Poles defeated and their independence destroyed—Affairs of Sweden—The King of Sweden's sympathy for the Queen of France—Conspiracy against him in Stockholm—His assassination at a masked ball.



THE British parliament did not assemble until the 31st of January. The speech from the throne conveyed none of the anxieties and alarms which agitated the breasts of the king, of the ministers, and of all thinking Englishmen. The first topic men-

tioned was the marriage of his majesty's second son, the Duke of York, with the eldest daughter of his good brother and ally the King of Prussia.

¹ *Patriote Français*. Besides La Fayette and Petition, there were five other candidates for the mayoralty, and in this number was Robespierre. This is a curious fact, which we do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the histories of the

The next thing mentioned was, that since the last session of parliament a definitive treaty had been concluded, under the mediation of his majesty, and that of his allies the King of Prussia and the States-general of the United Provinces, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, upon principles which appeared calculated to prevent disputes between these powers. His majesty's intervention had also been employed to promote a pacification between the Empress of Russia and the Porte. Conditions had been agreed upon between England and Russia, which his majesty undertook to recommend to the Porte, as the re-establishment of peace on such terms appeared, under existing circumstances, a desirable event for the several interests of Europe. The speech not merely mentioned, in the routine manner, the friendly assurances received from foreign powers, but affirmed, with a strange insincerity, that the general state of affairs in Europe appeared to promise to Great Britain the continuance of her present tranquillity. "Under these circumstances," said his majesty, "I am induced to think that some *immediate reduction* may safely be made in our naval and military establishments." He recommended to the House of Commons to consider of such measures as the flourishing state of the funds and of public credit, might render practicable and expedient for a reduction in the rate of interest of such of the annuities as were now redeemable; and he told them he entertained the pleasing hope of their being enabled to enter upon a gradual reduction of taxation, giving at the same time additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the success of which our future ease and security must essentially depend. Again France was not so much as mentioned.

The address proposed by ministers gave rise to a long and most animated debate, the attack upon it being led by Mr. Grey, who severely blamed the government for its interference in the war between Russia and Turkey, though that interference had rescued the Turkish empire in Europe from immediate destruction. Fox expressed his strongest disapprobation of the interference of ministers in support of Turkey, saying that it was very unnecessary and very dangerous to excite the resentment of a court like that of St. Petersburg. After dwelling for some time upon this subject he suddenly turned to France. He said that the frequent eulogiums on the constitution of Great Britain which had of late been introduced into parliament, had been introduced

in order to reproach him and his friends for their admiration of what had been done in France, and to suggest the suspicion that he and his friends were not so much attached to our own constitution as they ought to be. He thought that those who had overturned a constitution so radically bad as that of France had done what was perfectly right, and had properly run all hazards to do it; but the constitution of Great Britain was fundamentally good, and merited the efforts of all honest subjects to preserve it, although it was not absolutely free from defects and imperfections. It was therefore most unjust to insinuate that those who approved of the destruction of despotism in France would rejoice in the downfall of the British constitution. Fox then came nearer home, and took up the Birmingham riots and the sufferings of Dr. Priestley. Pitt, as usual, replied to Fox. He lamented the disorders at Birmingham; but thought these were matters which discretion ought to consign to oblivion, particularly as enough had been done for their atonement. And he told Fox very plainly that he was seeking to revive the subject for party purposes. He warmly defended the conduct of his cabinet and his diplomatists abroad, in the interference for the pacification of Russia and Turkey; and he told Fox, that but for him and his party, and their clamours in parliament, the British government could have succeeded much sooner in procuring that desired end. [But Fox, not satisfied with a legal opposition to ministers in the House of Commons, sent, as we shall soon have occasion to notice more particularly, a representative, a sort of minister of his own, with his cipher, to St. Petersburg, to thwart the treaty in progress, and frustrate the king's minister—a measure which, as Burke afterwards remarked, though not absolutely high treason, as we were not actually at war with Russia, was in law not very remote from that offence, and most undoubtedly a most unconstitutional act and treasonable misdemeanour.] Pitt added that his object was to prevent the ruin of the Turkish empire, and to maintain that balance of power in Europe which was important to this country, and the maintenance of which Fox himself had so often and so eloquently recommended. But soon quitting these topics, he launched into the pleasanter subject of financial improvement, laying before the house a circumstantial statement, by which it appeared that the last year's revenue had amounted to £16,790,000, which, after all the expenditure, and the annual million devoted to the reduction of the national debt, left a surplus of £900,000.

In subsequent debates the opposition returned to our Russian policy. On the 29th of February, Mr. Whitbread, who was becoming a consider-

time, or in any of the biographical sketches of Robespierre. We derive it from Brissot's newspaper, as quoted in *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution*. The other competitors were Camus, Fretreau, Tronchet, and D'André. D'André, who represented the constitutional-royalist interest, had only *seventy-seven* votes. This, too, is significant.

able man on the Whig side of the house, moved the following resolutions:—1. "That no arrangement respecting Oczakoff and its district appears to have been capable of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference on the part of Great Britain between Russia and the Porte. 2. That the interference, for the purpose of preventing the cession of the said fortress and its district to the Empress of Russia, has been wholly unsuccessful. 3. That his majesty's ministers, in endeavouring, by means of an armed force, to compel the Empress of Russia to abandon her claim to Oczakoff, and in continuing an armament after the object for which it was proposed had been relinquished, have been guilty of gross misconduct, tending to incur unnecessary expenses, and to diminish the influence of the British nation in Europe." Whitbread exclaimed loudly against the temerity of ministers in lavishing the money of the people in unnecessary and unjustifiable armaments. He condemned what had been said by ministers to exasperate this country against Russia, and declared it to be a well-known fact, that in the armed neutrality set up to injure us during the American war, Russia had been only one among many; that the late King of Prussia, the celebrated Frederick, was the original contriver of that measure, so injurious to England, although the enmity of Prussia seemed now to be utterly forgotten. But Whitbread forgot that Frederick the Great, who had no fleet, could have done nothing in this armed neutrality without the Empress Catherine; and then again, Frederick the Great was sleeping quietly in the marble vault at Potsdam, and Prussia, under his nephew and successor, was following a policy altogether different from his; while Catherine was still living, reigning, and domineering. He re-asserted that the Turks had rushed into the war to recover possession of the Crimea, which the Russians had fairly conquered in previous campaigns, and which the sultan had ceded to them by a regular treaty. He praised the moderation of the empress, and undervalued the importance of Oczakoff, which had cost so much blood and occasioned so much diplomatic bustle and delay. Because England exported nothing to Oczakoff, and imported nothing from it, he concluded that Oczakoff was not worth any contention, and that ministers must have had another and a hidden motive. After all their bluster, ministers had agreed that Russia should keep Oczakoff. But this concession had been granted because our ally, Prussia, was coveting possession of Dantzic and Thorn, which were to be torn lastingly from Poland and given to his Prussian majesty for his consenting to the Russian possession of Oczakoff. Whitbread was se-

conded by Colonel Macleod, and supported by Grey, Windham, Sheridan, Fox, Francis, and others of the Whig phalanx. The first that rose to oppose his motion was Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool), who on this occasion delivered his maiden speech in the house with great applause and effect. He, too, declared that Russia was becoming dangerous to the balance of power and the tranquillity of Europe, and that her plans of conquest on the Turks were notorious. The Turks were accused of having begun the present contest; but were they not justified by the manner in which the Crimea was obtained by Russia, by the revolt promoted in Egypt by the shameful intrigues of Russia, by the haughty and unjust claims set forth by Russia to some of the fairest provinces of the Turkish empire? From her position, Prussia was best fitted to counteract these aggressions of Russia, and for the accomplishment of this, Prussia had been aided by a seasonable alliance on the part of the British government. Britain had also successfully interposed in behalf of Turkey by detaching the Emperor of Germany from his Russian alliance, and mediating between the Turks and Russians. But the present era, Mr. Jenkinson added, was not favourable to invasions and conquests; the prevailing spirit was against them, and Great Britain was constitutionally opposed to them. Dundas made a sharp, telling speech on the same side; and after several other members had spoken, at a late hour of the night, the debate closed by an adjournment of the question till the following day. On the 1st of March the debate was recommenced. Then Fox rose and delivered one of his longest and most eloquent speeches. He accused Pitt of being guilty of the meanest craft and duplicity, and of having acted in all his foreign negotiations against the honour and the real interests of his country. After taking a review of our foreign policy from the time of our joining Prussia in order to prevent Holland becoming the prey of France—a great object, which he applauded at the time, and which he could not censure now—he said that we were standing forward the principals of every quarrel, the Quixotes of every enterprise, the agitators in all the plots, intrigues, and disturbances that were every day arising in Europe. He hurled Oczakoff at the head of the minister with terrible effect. If Oczakoff was an unimportant place, they ought to be censured for having armed and protracted the war on this account; and if Oczakoff was an important place, the key to Constantinople, then they ought to be censured for disarming without having obtained re-possession of it for the Turks. But the reproach came with a bad air from Fox and his party; for their opposition to the armament, and

the strong feeling they excited in the country against any war with Russia, had forced ministers to disarm sooner than they wished. Fox drew a flattering picture of the greatness and the steadiness of purpose of the Empress of Russia; and declared that she would have granted better terms to the Turks if we had never armed or interfered at all. Nothing, he said, could be more rash than the minister's foreign policy, or more unconstitutional than his reserve and secrecy with parliament.

Pitt defended himself with as much spirit as Fox had employed in the attack. He again told his great adversary that it was chiefly through him that what had been done well had not been done still better. He asked whether any man conversant in politics could admit that the Turkish empire, if unable by its own intrinsic strength to resist the attacks of its two potent neighbours, Russia and Austria, should be abandoned by the other European powers, every one of which was so visibly interested in the preservation of its independence? But if other powers were indolent and apathetic, or hindered by untoward circumstances, could Great Britain remain inactive and leave Turkey to its fate? Could a British ministry look on with indifference or tranquillity while her commerce in the Levant was so manifestly threatened, and the maritime power of England, not only in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, but in every other sea, must receive a fatal blow from the immense increase of shipping that would accrue to Russia and Austria were they to become masters of European Turkey? Russia especially, already formidable at sea, must, through the possession of the Black Sea and the Archipelago, and the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, which unite those seas, derive such an accession as might in a short time render her the first maritime power in Europe. These were considerations which authorized a British minister to act with uncommon energy; for we must not lose the sovereignty of the sea, without which the immediate safety of Great Britain must necessarily become precarious. If the Turks had been the ostensible aggressors in the present war, they had received beforehand provocations from Russia which no people with any remnant of spirit could bear. Their subjects had been excited to rebellion by the secret agents of the empress; and the Turks knew—and all the world knew—the ambitious plans, the regular system, which the empress had concerted against the Turkish empire. Nothing, he said, was more obvious than the certainty, that if Great Britain had not assumed that hostile posture of which the opposition so unjustly complained, the original demands of the court of St. Petersburg would have been

insisted on to the last, and Turkey would have been forced to submit to a dismemberment. These demands had been made previously to a victorious campaign; and could it be believed that so rapacious a power as Russia would have relinquished such extensive and important provinces as Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, after conquering them, unless it had dreaded a contest with the first naval power in the world, which would probably have ended in the annihilation of the Russian navy? Pitt paid back the personalities of Fox, and not without interest, although he made no use at this time of the unjustifiable conduct of the leader of the opposition in sending an agent of his own to St. Petersburg to counteract what the king's minister was doing. He said that the party divisions in this country encouraged the temper of resistance to Russia; that unfortunately the enemy had been encouraged by an opposition, who now took merit to themselves for having rendered that useless, which, but for their efforts, would have been attended with full success. But he did not envy them their triumph. There was not a triumph over the enemies of their country, but over the council of their king. And now, as he was on the subject of triumph and popularity, he must observe, that if he and his right honourable friend (Dundas) were to go to the capital of that empire which opposition had thus served, certain he was that they should not be found in any place of glory between two orators of antiquity! The cut was sharp, and the allusion which gave it its edge was known to all the world; for the Whig newspapers had blazoned the following facts as honourable and glorious both to the English orator and the Russian autocratess:—In the summer of 1791, shortly after the strenuous opposition of the Whig party to the Russian armament, Catherine had written with her own hand to her ambassador at London, to request Mr. Fox to sit to Nollekens for a bust in white marble, which she said she meant to place between the statues of Demosthenes and Cicero!

Pitt's reference to this bust brought red blood to the swart countenance of Charles Fox, who rose as soon as the minister sat down, and told him that he had said nothing to make him retract the censure which he thought his conduct had deserved. "With regard," said he, "to what the right honourable gentleman has chosen to introduce into his speech, respecting compliments and honours conferred on me by the Empress of Russia, I am ready now and at all times to declare, that if any foreign sovereign, in friendship with this country, shall pay me the compliment to think well of me, and testify it by those marks of distinction to which the right honourable gentleman has alluded, I shall feel myself highly gratified by such distinction." But this plaster

could not cover the gash which Fox had received: the great tergitant of the North, the Messalina-Semiramis of modern Europe, had never been distinguished by friendly feelings towards this country; she had attempted to inflict a mortal wound upon us during the American war—she had behaved uniformly with an arrogance and an insolence hurtful to our national spirit; and at the moment she chose to pay these well-calculated compliments and honours to the leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, so far from being in friendship with this country, she and we were in a state of open enmity, and our narrow seas were covered with an armament which a little more obstinacy, and a little more insolence on her part, would have called to Cronstadt and St. Petersburg. Nor can we possibly conceive how, under any circumstances, an English statesman could be justified in accepting such honours, even from the most friendly of foreign powers, for his speeches and conduct in the British parliament upon questions like the present; and still less can we imagine how any friendly sovereign could decently offer these honours to the leader of a party opposed to the government of the day, which alone is recognizable by foreign powers. Assuredly, there was scarcely more indecency in Catherine's sending money and bribes to the poor and factious nobles of Sweden, in order to promote their opposition to their sovereign in their diets; or in her caressing and flattering the madly factious nobles of Poland, to keep up anarchy and her own influence in that wretched country. Fox might have made these reflections before sitting to old Nollekens for a bad bust; but he and his party, though professing such an extravagant love for democracy, and such a sympathy for French principles, had long since fallen into a state of admiration for the greatest despot in Europe, which is best expressed by the French word *engouement*; and, forgetting the moral of the old Scotch song, that it is well to be off with an old love before we take on with a new, these men persevered in their passion for the czarina even after they had taken to their hearts that new Delilah, the French revolution. But this bigamous and anomalous connection is not a single, isolated instance in liberal politics; for the same party and their successors, though enthusiastic for extreme liberty, fell prostrate before the star and the prestige of Napoleon Bonaparte, the greatest of liberticides.

In a committee of the House of Commons to consider the state of the finances, Mr. Pitt gave a most encouraging statement of the national prosperity. The revenue of the last year had so much exceeded the average of the last four years, that the permanent income would surpass the permanent expenditure, including the annual

million for extinguishing the national debt, by £400,000; whence, he said, government would be enabled to take off taxes which bore chiefly upon the poorer classes, to the amount of £200,000, and to apply the other £200,000 to the increase of the sinking fund. As future prosperity would greatly depend upon the continuance of peace, he did not hesitate to confirm the language of the king's speech by asserting that "unquestionably there never was a time when a durable peace might more reasonably be expected than at the present moment." In consequence of these financial statements the house agreed without a division to several reductions in taxation, trifling indeed in amount, but which bore hardest upon the lower orders, and had formed the grounds of popular complaint. On the same day it was resolved in the committee of supply to grant to his majesty the sum of £400,000 to be paid into the Bank of England for the reduction of the national debt. It was on the whole a small instalment; but it evinced the hopes of parliament and the nation at large, that the present peace would be lasting, and that a season of unexampled national prosperity was about to begin. Little did they foresee that the most costly and dangerous of all our wars was at hand, and that the national debt would accumulate to an amount that would defy all such attempts at liquidation.

The disgraceful state of the police of the metropolis, and especially of the largest portion of it not included in the verge and jurisdiction of the city of London, had long been a subject of complaint; and all men felt that the old unpaid (or *unsalaried*, for they got money and drove a trade in fees) justices of the peace were altogether inadequate to the discharge of the immense and almost daily increasing duties imposed upon them by a most rapidly increasing population. During the present session, at the beginning of March, a bill proposing to remedy the evil was introduced into the House of Commons with the countenance and approbation of government. The plan of the bill was to open five different police offices in the metropolis, for the prompt administration of those parts of justice that come within the cognizance of justices of the peace. Three justices were to sit in each of these new offices, with a salary of £300 a year to each of them. These justices were to be prohibited from the taking of fees individually; and the fee-money paid into all the offices was to be put into a common stock, and to be applied to the payment of their salaries and official expenses. A new power was also to be invested in constables and magistrates; for the first were to be enabled to apprehend people who did not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and the justices were empowered to commit them as vagabonds. Although

every one (the rogues and vagabonds excepted) felt that some change was necessary, strong objections were taken to this bill: it was urged that the vesting the appointment of these new magistrates in the crown would give an unconstitutional increase of strength to government, and that the summary arrest and commitment of any individual was an infringement on personal liberty, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution. Fox, Windham, and Sheridan spoke loudly against it; and Dundas, Wilberforce, and some others as loudly in its favour. The advocates of the bill represented that it was meant as an experiment, as was proved by the limited time proposed for its duration; that if it was found to work well it might remain, but that in the contrary case parliament might either amend it or annul it. Being carried through the commons, it was opposed in the lords by Loughborough and Rawdon; but it was supported by the chancellor and by Lords Grenville, Kenyon, and Sydney, and was passed by the usual strong ministerial majority.

An inquiry was moved by Mr. Sheridan, into the grievances complained of in petitions from the royal burghs of Scotland. These were, in substance, infringements of the rights and properties of the burghs, through the authority of self-elected magistrates, against whose usurpations the law had provided no remedy. The case was strongly made out, and the deficiency of a tribunal to judge of the proceedings of the magistrates was admitted by the Lord-advocate of Scotland; but a natural aversion to any reforming project of the popular kind subsisting at this period, the motion for referring the petitions to a committee was negatived. A similar fortune attended a motion from Mr. Fox for the repeal of certain penal statutes particularly levelled against the Unitarians. On the other hand, an extension of toleration to the Scotch Episcopalians was carried in both houses without opposition. The Unitarians had placed themselves at the very head of those political clubs in England which were now alarming government and the great majority of the nation. In the debate, Pitt assured the house that, if there existed any laws against general toleration, he should be ready to vote for their repeal, provided it could take place consistently with the safety of the constitution; but he desired it to be understood that his system of toleration also would always be regulated by existing circumstances, and by the character of the times to which it was applied. No practical evil could happen from the statutes in question; but, now, danger might arise from their repeal. He could see no propriety in the house giving encouragement to a society professing principles subversive not only of every established religion,

but also of every established government. Burke, speaking on the same side, was much warmer than Pitt. Alluding to a new storm which had suddenly burst on the head of the King of France, he exclaimed—"Let not the king, let not the Prince of Wales, be surprised like the deposed Louis XVI.! Let not both Houses of Parliament be led in triumph along with the king, and have law dictated to them by the constitutional revolution and the Unitarian societies. These insect reptiles, whilst they go on only caballing and toasting, only fill us with disgust; if they get above their natural size, and increase the quantity, whilst they keep the quality of their venom, they become objects of the greatest terror. A spider in his natural size is only a spider, ugly and loathsome; and his flimsy net is only fit for catching flies. But, good God! suppose a spider as large as an ox, and that he spreads cables about us, all the wilds of Africa would not produce anything so dreadful:—

*Quale portentum neque militaris
Dammia in latis alit esculetis,
Nec Jubæ tellus generat leonum
Arida nutrix.*

Think of them who dare menace in the way they do in their present state, and of what they would do if they had but power commensurate to their malice. God forbid I ever should have a despotic master—but, if I must, my choice is made. I will have Louis XVI., rather than Monsieur Bailly, or Brissot, or Chabot; rather George III. or George IV. than Doctor Priestley or Doctor Kippis; for these kings would not load a tyrannous power by the poisoned taunts of a vulgar, low-bred insolence." He asked whether those who had the sway in France confined themselves to the regulation of their own internal affairs, or whether upon system, they nourished cabals in all other countries, to extend their power by producing revolutions similar to their own? and whether we had not cabals formed or forming within these kingdoms to co-operate with them for the destruction of our constitution? He drew a powerful and startling distinction between men of tender consciences and men who made sedition, conspiracy, and confusion a part of their conscience. "The principle of your petitioners," said he, "is no passive conscientious dissent on account of an over-scrupulous habit of mind: the dissent on their part is fundamental, goes to the very root; and it is at issue, not upon this rite or that ceremony, on this or that school opinion, but upon this one question of an establishment, as unchristian, unlawful, contrary to the gospel and to natural right, Popish and idolatrous. These are their principles, violently and fanatically held and pursued—taught to their children, who are sworn at the altar, like Hannibal. The war is

with the Establishment itself—no quarter, no compromise. As a party they are infinitely mischievous: see the declarations of Priestley and Price—declarations, you will say, of *hot* men. Likely enough; but who are the *cool* men who have disclaimed them? Not one—no, not one. Which of them has ever told you that they do not mean to *destroy the church*, if ever it should be in their power? Which of them has told you that this would not be the first and favourite use of any power they should get? Not one—no, not one. Declarations of hot men! The danger is thence, that they are under the *conduct* of hot men; *falsos in amore odia non fingere*."

Twelve days after the assault on the royal burghs of Scotland, an attack was made on the rotten boroughs of England, and the standard of an extensive parliamentary reform was hoisted. A loud stir had been made out of doors by the various and increasing political societies, who made up for the comparative smallness of the number of their converts by their enthusiasm and activity. In addition to the Revolution and Constitution Societies, who continued to talk in a very high strain, and to commend the French revolution, at least as much as they had done in 1790, two other societies now took the field—one, the Corresponding Society, which entered into a most friendly intercourse with the French Girondists and ultra-Jacobins, and which professed to aim at nothing less than annual parliaments and universal suffrage—the other, the Friends of the People (an unhappily chosen name), which simply proposed, in general terms, the reform of the representation. This latter association counted among its members many opulent merchants, many literary men, and from thirty to forty noblemen and members of the House of Commons. Grey, Sheridan, and Lord Lauderdale, who have been considered as the founders of this association, gave in their names at the first starting of the society, and frequently attended its meetings, and spoke at them in a very popular and very exciting style—at times in a style which might have been dangerous, if Englishmen had only been as readily ignited by oratory as Frenchmen. It was precisely because more men of character and eminence belonged to this Society of the Friends of the People than to any of the others, that it was most dreaded by that formidable majority of the nation opposed to change, whose fanaticism in loyalty or Toryism kept pace at least with the fanaticism of the other party, and who, being far too hot, and zealous, and angry to draw nice distinctions, confounded together the views and objects of all these political societies. These men set up the king against the people; the relative constitutional position of the two was entirely lost sight of by both parties,

and it was everywhere king *versus* people, and people *versus* king. The Society of the Friends of the People, with parliamentary reform for their motto and their theme, met rather frequently, and published their sentiments, and the resolutions they came to at their meetings, with great spirit and freedom, and to the manifest discomfort of the king and his loyal subjects, who could see in these demonstrations nothing less than a palpable imitation of the Jacobin Club in Paris. This was enough to call up a tremendous array in parliament against the question of parliamentary reform, which the society resolved to bring forward in the course of the present session, though, from the spirit prevailing in the majority, there was scarcely the hope of their being able to reform so much as a corrupt vestry or a parish poorhouse, and although any demand from a society and party in such bad odour was sure to strengthen the cause it opposed. Conformably to the plan of the society, Mr. Grey rose, on the 30th of April, to make a stirring speech on the subject; and to give notice that he intended, in the following session, to move regularly for a parliamentary reform. A vehement debate ensued forthwith, in which Fox, Pitt, and Burke took part. Burke said that England, at the present moment, abounded in factious men, who, deluded by visionary speculations, were longing to realize them at any cost, and would readily plunge the country into blood and confusion, for the sake of establishing the fanciful systems of government they were enamoured of. The disseverance in the Whig party now began to show itself strongly. Windham, one of the most eloquent and accomplished men of that party, and one whose high character for independence and perfect disinterestedness gave a triple weight to his eloquence and classic wit, warmly seconded Burke. Fox corrected Burke, who had spoken of him as having termed Paine's *Rights of Man* an infamous and seditious libel. He had not, he said, applied those epithets to it, although he had called it a libel against the constitution. He had read, he added, but one of Mr. Paine's pamphlets, and did not approve of it, and, from what he had heard of the other, he was inclined to think that he should not approve of that either; but he was not certain whether the pamphlets had not done good, by leading men to consider of the constitution. In like manner the book of his right honourable friend (Burke), which he disliked as much as either of them, had, he believed, done some good; because, in his opinion, whatever led to the discussion of the subject must be of service. This parallel of the *Rights of Man* and the *Reflections* was irritating and in the worst taste possible; and the great care taken by Fox and his friends to avoid the ap-

pearance of any severity of criticism upon Thomas Paine and his doings did not escape notice.

We must briefly notice a change of some importance which took place in the cabinet. Ever since the king's malady and the chancellor's double-dealing in the regency business, there had been no good understanding between Thurlow and Pitt. On some occasions, where his assistance in the House of Lords was considered necessary by the premier, the chancellor had sat silent, and in other cases he had even openly opposed measures to which Pitt attached the greatest importance. Nor did Thurlow in private society restrain his irritable temper and rough tongue in speaking of the chancellor of the exchequer: he spoke of him often in a tone of contempt, which must have been exceedingly irritating to one who was probably about the proudest man in England. The Marquis of Stafford, himself a member of the cabinet, who had been intimately acquainted as well as politically connected with the lord-chancellor for many years, repeatedly remonstrated with him, and laboured to bring about a reconciliation, which seemed so necessary to the existence of the present administration; but Thurlow was proud and obstinate, and all these exertions of the marquis were thrown away. Thurlow's imposing manner and solemn and wise looks (which made Fox tax his countenance with imposture, and say it proved him dishonest, since no man could be so wise as he looked), his indisputable abilities in many parts of business, and the force of habit, which was always a potent force with George III., long made him cling to his heavy-browed, ill-humoured chancellor, and apparently balance at times whether he should keep him by throwing out Pitt, or keep Pitt by throwing out Thurlow. The chancellor of the exchequer at last determined to leave the king no other alternative. Early in the session Thurlow had poured out in the lords a torrent of spleen and censure on the minister's bill for liquidating future loans. On the very next morning Pitt submitted to the king the impossibility of his remaining in office with the lord-chancellor, and the consequent necessity of his majesty's making his choice between them; writing at the same time to Thurlow, to tell him the step he had taken, and his conviction that his majesty's service could not be carried on to advantage while they both remained in their present situations. When thus pressed, George III. presently made his choice, and acquainted Thurlow that he must resign. But as a change was not desirable during the session, and as it was wished he should terminate some chancery business, it was agreed that he should keep the seals until the prorogation of parliament.

By this time government had made up their

minds to adopt a much more rigid style of criticism towards the *Rights of Man* and publications of a similar tendency; and to resort to the very questionable measure of putting down, or attempting to put down, seditious writings, by proclamations-royal and restrictions on the liberty of printing. On the 21st of May appeared his majesty's proclamation for preventing seditious meetings and writings. The societies and associations were handled not less severely than the books and pamphlets. The proclamation asserted that there was reason to believe that correspondences had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward criminal and wicked purposes, &c. It solemnly warned all loving subjects, as they tendered their own happiness and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts, which aimed at the subversion of all regular government; and it strictly charged and commanded all the magistrates to make diligent inquiry in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings, &c. It could not venture to prohibit clubs or meetings; but it charged all sheriffs, justices of the peace, magistrates of cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other magistrates, to take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults, and other disorders, which might be attempted to be raised or made, &c. This proclamation was disapproved of by many, who were of opinion that government ought to have contented itself with prosecuting the authors of such publications as were evidently seditious, and with opposing by pen and speech and sound arguments those publications that were so worded as to obviate prosecution. They said, and truly, that public opinion was not to be directed by royal proclamation; and that metaphysical and political speculations were not to be refuted by a call upon sheriffs and magistrates; that the appearance of prohibition would only cause the books that were known to be more read; and that persecution would only call into the field fresh authors, and increase the vehemence and importance of the old ones. But still more men were of opinion that the proclamation was all that it ought to be—was a timely exertion of authority in a turbulent season—was a measure indispensably requisite to restrain within limits that effervescing spirit which was daily increasing, and which threatened to subvert the established government. The political clubs had given great provocation. They had struck up a league with peripatetic French Jacobins, with American democrats, and with all manner of revolutionists. Among these transatlantic republicans was Joel Barlow, the laureate of the United States, the author of that not-to-be-forgotten epic wherein George Wash-

ington is typified by Joshua, and the free citizens of America, and their expulsion of the English, by the Jews and their conquest of the Holy Land. This American infusion certainly gave some new twang or flavour to the "London Society for Constitutional Information." Indeed, we suspect that a flaming address from this society to the French Jacobins must have been written by Joel himself. The following bombastic declaration in this address, from which an estimate of its character may be formed, will remind the reader of the comparison drawn between that "bright occidental star" Elizabeth, and James I., "the sun in his strength," which forms the introduction to the English version of Scripture by its translators, and could scarcely have been imitated at haphazard or without purpose:—"The sparks of liberty, preserved in England for ages, like the coruscations of the northern aurora, served but to show the darkness visible in the rest of Europe. The new lustre of the American republic, like an effulgent morning, arose with increasing vigour, but still too distant to enlighten our hemisphere; till the splendour of the French revolution burst forth upon the nations in the full fervour of a meridian sun, and displayed the practical result of principles which philosophy had sought in the shade of speculation, and which experience must everywhere confirm!" Still keeping up this pompous magniloquence, the address thus exhorted the new lights and regenerators of France—"Go on, legislators, in the work of human happiness! The benefits will in part be ours, but the glory shall be all your own; it is the reward of your heroic perseverance, it is the prize of virtue. Your revolution dispels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the secrets of all despotisms, and creates a new character in man." This pomp and parade of political sentimentalism fitly ended in the step that passes from the sublime to the ridiculous. In the postscript was added the following important notice:—"We are also commissioned to inform the convention, that the society which we represent has sent to the soldiers of liberty a patriotic donation of a thousand pair of shoes (!), which are by this time arrived at Calais; and the society will continue sending one thousand pairs a week for at least six weeks to come. We only wish to know to what care they ought to be addressed." The address, moreover, affirmed that the great majority of the English nation were disgusted with their own government, enraptured with the French constitution and the rights of man, and eager to follow the glorious example which had been set them by the greatest and most virtuous nation in Europe. Whatever the Society for Constitutional Information in London might call themselves, the president of the French conven-

tion called them "*generous republicans*." Nearly at the same time—in the month of November—the Revolution Society in London sent over their congratulatory address to the convention. These things were not done in a corner; these lights were not hidden under bushels: they were paraded in the most public manner and in the most public places; they were blazed forth to the world in daily and weekly newspapers, in books, tracts, handbills, and placards; for every one of these societies held their own doctrines as gospel truths, and every one of them was burning with the fierce zeal of proselytism, and ready to denounce every man that differed from them as a knave or a fool. This particular society, of which Price, the friend of Priestley, had been high-priest and patriarch—this Revolution Society in London—had published some time before this, with high exaltation of the French revolution, a big book, containing a collection of their proceedings and correspondence, both at home and abroad, from the close of the year 1789, when Price had preached his sermon in the Old Jewry Chapel, and when Earl Stanhope had undertaken to carry the congratulations to Paris, down to the month of March, 1792. A dread of that power which "keeps the wretch in order," and a calculation that it would not answer their purpose to startle Englishmen's minds by producing at once all their boldest theories or aspirations, induced these Pricitees to suppress some of their opinions and many of the papers they had written into foreign parts; but quite enough remained in the portions they had the courage to print to damn them in public opinion and their book too. It appeared from the volume that, in 1790, it was reported and boasted at the anniversary meeting that this society had lately received "the warmest marks of approbation and respect" from the Jacobin clubs established in more than twenty of the principal cities and towns in France, together with copies, for their own instruction, of numerous Jacobin resolutions and publications; and that in England they had been very successful in forming branch societies in different parts of the kingdom: that at the anniversary of 1791 there was read a long list of societies in France and England, with which the committee of this Revolution Society in London had corresponded in the course of the preceding year; and that letters from the French Jacobin clubs, hailing the members of the revolutionary society as friends and brothers, and fellow-combatants for the sovereignty of the people, &c., were read at the said anniversary: that these Pricitees had declared over and over again, in words spoken and in words written, that they aimed at nothing less than a sweeping revolution, like the "late glorious and splendid one in France," as England was a prey to an arbitrary king, a ser-

vile peerage, a corrupt House of Commons, and a rapacious and intolerant clergy.

Towards the close of the year clubs and associations began to be formed, with the avowed object of counteracting the Revolution Society, the Corresponding Society, &c. One of these new societies—"The Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers"—held their first great meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the 20th of November, and agreed to certain resolutions and declarations, which they published in the newspapers, and otherwise circulated very extensively. "Considering," said they, "the danger to which public peace and order are exposed by the circulating of mischievous opinions, founded upon plausible but false reasoning; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the industry of clubs and societies of various denominations in many parts of the kingdom, it appears to us that it is now become the duty of all persons who wish well to their native country to endeavour, in their several neighbourhoods, to prevent the sad effects of such mischievous industry; and that it would greatly tend to promote these good endeavours if societies were formed in different parts of the kingdom, whose object should be to support the laws, to suppress seditious publications, and to defend our persons and property against the innovations and depredations that seem to be threatened by those who maintain the mischievous opinions before alluded to. These opinions are conveyed in the terms of the *Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament*—and others of the like import; all of them, in the sense imposed on them, expressing sentiments in direct opposition to the laws of this land, and some of them such as are inconsistent with the well-being of society under any laws or government whatsoever. It appears to us, the tendency of these opinions is, that we are voluntarily to surrender everything we now possess—our religion and our laws, our civil government and civil society—and that we are to trust to the formation of something new, upon the principles of equality, and under the auspices of speculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the world: and it appears that the missionaries of this sect are aiming at effecting the overthrow of the present system of government and society, by infusing into the minds of ignorant men causes of discontent adapted to their various stations; some of which causes are wholly imaginary, and the rest are such as inseparably belong to civil life, have existed, and ever will exist, under all forms of government, cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied a hundredfold by the change proposed." The cry

of liberty and equality in France which was finding so cordial an echo in Britain, was met by the following unanswerable statement:—"It appears," they said, "from history and from observation, that the inequality of rank and fortune, in this happy country, is more the result of every man's own exertions, than of any controlling institution of the state. Men become great who have greatly distinguished themselves by the application of talents, natural or acquired; and men have become rich who have persevered with industry in the application to trade and commerce, to manufactures, and other useful employments. How many persons are now of great rank and fortune, who were born without either! How many are rich merchants and traders who began their career in the lowest employments of the shop and counting-house! In the progress to this advancement they have all, in their stations, contributed their share toward the show of opulence, both public and private, which is now seen in every part of this island. It is by the effects of this industry that the gentleman is enabled to support his rank and station, and the merchant and tradesman to employ his clerks, journeymen, and apprentices." They demonstrated that, if a perfect equality could be established to-morrow, there would be inequality the day after; that the French people, after all their murders and assassinations, "deliberately planned and justified by some of their pretended philosophers as the means to attain their ends of reform"—after all their sufferings and atrocious crimes, "which it could not enter into the gentle heart of a Briton to conceive"—after all their pretences and boasts—had, in reality, only changed their masters to groan under new tyrannies, to be subject to the lash and knife of one desperate leader after the other. It would be unfair to deny, or even to pass over in silence, the fact that these counter-revolution societies became in many places over-zealous and intolerant. They urged on the government—already sufficiently excited and alarmed—in the paths of suspicion and persecution; and in the excess of their own fears they were but too ready to trench upon the popular liberties.

As more immediately connected with our own affairs and interests, we shall now rapidly sketch the history of the war in India, which began in 1790. Tippoo Sahib, whom our opposition in parliament had undertaken to honour and applaud, was the cruel, faithless, ambitious prince that we have described him. Hyder Ali, though a barbarian, had several of the qualities of a great prince; but there appears to have been nothing great about Tippoo except the power and resources which his father had left him. After the peace of Mangalore, in 1784, the dominions of

Mysore, of which Tippoo remained in possession, extended over a tract of country some 500 miles in length by 350 in breadth: it was nearly all an elevated table-land, intersected everywhere with rivers, and cooling, fertilizing streams; the climate is, for India, very temperate, and the soil as fertile as almost any part of the great peninsula. It swarmed with population, the Mahometans being almost as numerous as the Hindoos, the more ancient occupants of the soil. Several of the towns, besides Seringapatam, the capital, were strongly fortified; and the region abounds in places of great natural strength, affording

admirable advantages for a defensive war. Anticipating and providing for a grand struggle, Tippoo, assisted by European engineers, chiefly French and Italians, had erected many new fortresses. His annual revenue was estimated at about £5,000,000 sterling, and his father had left him a well-filled treasury. Besides European engineers and artillery officers, he had a considerable number of Europeans to train and discipline his native troops: but these fellows were chiefly common soldiers that had deserted from the Company's service to escape punishment for crimes committed; and as Tippoo was a bigoted Mussulman, and fond of religious conversion, forced or spontaneous, they had all become renegadoes. He had clothed part of his regulars in uniform, and had armed them with French muskets. Their discipline, however, was very far from perfect, and their whole number inconsiderable, not exceeding 3000 or 4000. The rest of his infantry



TIPPOO SAHIB'S REGULAR CAVALRY AND INFANTRY, WITH ONE OF HIS "GALLOPER" GUNS.²

was a mere rabble, armed with old muskets matchlocks, pikes, and scimitars. But his principal force was his cavalry—that Mysorean cavalry which had repeatedly rushed through the Ghauts like mountain-torrents, and swept the whole of the low, open country of the Carnatic. Yet the *élite* of this force, the Circar or stable horse, who were uniformly clothed and equipped, did not exceed 6000; all the rest being irregulars, who found their own horses and arms, and who did no military duty, except when called into the field on some emergency, or to make some plundering incursion into the territories of their neighbours. These fellows, however, were bold and clever riders; and the rapidity of their movements often made up for their deficiency in other points. His artillery was more than respectable, the French having furnished him with guns of all calibres, many of which, being larger and longer than any of the guns of Lord Cornwallis, Governor-general of India, who now superintended the campaign against the Mysore in person, gave him a considerable advantage over the English in this war.¹ His heavier pieces

were drawn by elephants, of which he had 400 well trained for the purpose, and for the movements of the lighter cannons and flying galloper guns, which the French had introduced into India, he had, besides horses, an immense train of very excellent bullocks. In consequence of these means of conveyance, he could move his artillery with a rapidity which the English could not equal; while his light, nimble cavalry could shift their positions with a practised dexterity and quickness almost inconceivable by an European enemy.

Notwithstanding his military advantages, it was determined to penetrate into the very heart of Tippoo's dominions. The march of Lord Cornwallis, and of General Sir Robert Abercromby (younger brother of Sir Ralph Abercromby), who moved in a different line, was excessively laborious. They had to make the roads by which

² One of the cavalry carries the standard of Mahomet. The infantry are part of Tippoo's rocket corps and spearmen. These figures are from prints in Gold's *Oriental Drawings*. The gun in the foreground is from a drawing in the M'Kenzie Collection at the East India House. The drawing shows the gun in plan and elevation, with measurements, the length from muzzle to point at end of breech being 2 feet 2 inches.

¹ For portrait of Lord Cornwallis, see p. 622.

they were to advance; and for fifty miles and more Abercromby's route was across steep mountains, where the battering-trains, provisions, and stores were moved with the greatest difficulty, every separate gun being hoisted by the soldiers over a succession of ascents by means of ropes and tackle. India was still too generally considered as a field of war unworthy of much notice, and English writers have never had the art of dressing up the exploits and victories of their countrymen in such brilliant colours as the French; but the difficulties overcome by General Abercromby in this campaign, by Colonel Fullerton in his expedition into the Malabar provinces, and by several other British commanders in other parts of India, were nowise inferior to those with which Napoleon Bonaparte had to contend in his much-famed passage over the St. Bernard. Unhappily the small-pox broke out among the troops of Cornwallis and Abercromby, the treacherous Mahrattas violated their agreements, the rain set in prematurely, provisions became scanty, and, after beating Tippoo in the field, and getting within seven miles of Seringapatam, our army, at the end of May, 1791, was compelled to retreat towards the coast. Rejoiced at a retreat which had been occasioned by sickness and the warring elements, Tippoo gave loose to his boastful, arrogant spirit, and proclaimed that he had obtained a glorious victory over the British, and put them to flight; but conscious of his own weakness, he renewed his overtures for peace, which could no longer be listened to. Impatient to recover the prestige of our arms, and punish a tyrant whose perfidy and cruelty nothing but absolute subjugation could restrain, Lord Cornwallis insisted upon the same conditions that had been offered previous to his retreat. These of course were indignantly rejected, and his lordship made preparations for a fresh campaign, which was to be opened before the year had ended.

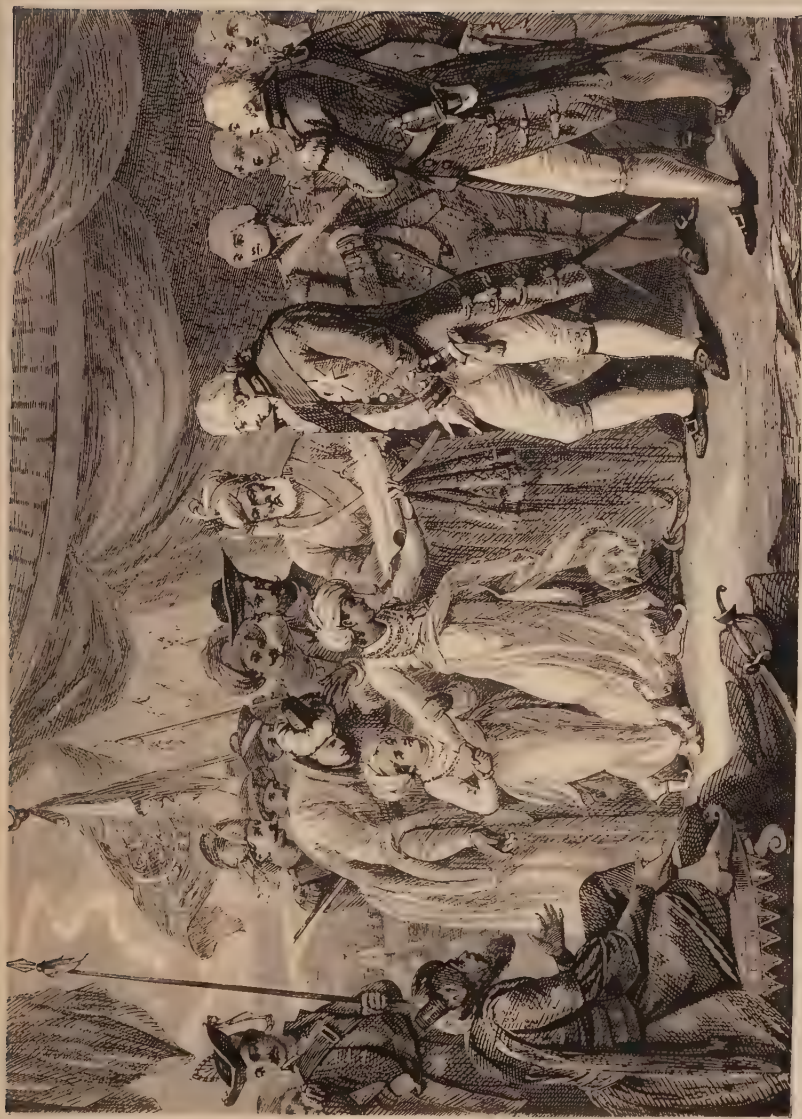
At the close of autumn Cornwallis was again in the field, and with every prospect of success, having spent the short interval in making ample preparations in troops, artillery, and military transports and conveyances, as well as large supplies of money, so that he was at the head of an army sufficient, if need were, to march through the Mysore, and lay its proud capital in ashes. In his onward advance every interposing obstacle fell before him. The passes that lead from the Carnatic to the Mysore country, by which the invading army was to receive its supplies, were cleared, and the forts by which they were defended were stormed, or compelled to surrender at the first summons, after which the whole British convoy from Madras, of elephants, stores, and treasures, marched through them in triumph,

and without interruption. The hill-forts which intercepted the communication of Cornwallis with his ally, the Nizam of Decan, were in like manner reduced, and with still greater facility. The only exception was Nundydroog, on the top of a mountain 1700 feet high; and, confident in the height of their fort, the Mysorean garrison ventured to stand a siege, imagining that their stronghold was inaccessible to artillery. But the cannon were drawn up the steeps, the walls were breached by their fire, and the British troops under the daring General Medows were advancing to the storm, when some one gave the alarm, "There is a mine near the breach!" "If there is a mine," cried Medows laughingly, "it is a mine of gold!" The onset was immediately renewed, and the place was won. In like manner, the strong fortress of Severndroog and Ootradroog, between Bangalore and Seringapatam, were carried by storm; and an army which Tippoo had sent to keep open his communication with the important provinces of Bednore and Mangalore, the only part of his dominions which the war had not reached, was first driven back by the Mahratta allies of the British, and finally routed and dispersed by Captain Little. In this manner the way to the capital was cleared, and Cornwallis, uniting with General Abercromby, who had advanced from his cantonments at Tellicherry, and with his ally the nizam, the whole combined force arrived before Seringapatam on the 5th of February, 1792.

The means of defence possessed by this queen of Indian cities were apparently enough for an effectual resistance. It stood upon an island between three and four miles in length, formed by two branches of the river Cauvery, and having a fortress on the western angle; while the eastern part of the island was guarded by ramparts and batteries, that were connected by entrenchments and a deep ditch. Without the walls, and upon the bank of the river, Tippoo lay encamped, his army divided into two lines occupying both sides of the Cauvery, and numbering nearly 50,000 strong, defended by redoubts, fortresses, and 400 pieces of artillery. An army so numerous and so well entrenched seemed fitted to give battle for a kingdom; but Tippoo had not his father's daring spirit; his chief hope lay, not in active resistance, but procrastination and delay, until the rainy season should force his assailants to retire. But on the night of the 6th of February his calculations were disagreeably interrupted by the British, who attacked his first line, captured some of its strongest defences, and filled the whole camp with confusion and panic; and when he endeavoured, in the morning, to rally his troops and repair his disasters, he was so unsuccessful that he was obliged to flee with the

LORD CORNWALLIS RECEIVING
THE SONS OF TIPPPOO SULTAN AS HOSTAGES.

When Hyder Ali, Sultan of Mysore, died in 1782 he was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who was cruel in disposition, and a constant source of trouble to the East India Company and their native allies. At length it was resolved to crush his growing power, and, in 1790, war was declared. After two campaigns the Sultan was besieged in his capital by the British under Lord Cornwallis, and compelled to surrender; one of the stipulations in the treaty being, that two of Tippoo's sons should be given up as hostages. Accordingly, two lads were sent into the British camp, each seated in a silver howdah on a richly-caparisoned elephant, and followed by a great number of vakeels and persons of rank. *Lord Cornwallis, attended by his staff and some of the principal officers of the army, met the two princes at the door of his large tent, and led them in by the hand.* When his lordship declared that the greatest care would be taken of their persons, the faces of the boys brightened up, and when they were each presented with a gold watch they seemed much pleased.



SIATHER BROWN.

W. L. THOMAS

LORD CORNWALLIS RECEIVING THE SONS OF TIPPOO SULTAN AS HOSTAGES,

FEBRUARY 26, 1792.

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remains of his first line across the Cauvery, and unite himself with the second line under the walls of Seringapatam. But even there he could find no safety, for on the morning of the 8th, Abercromby had effected a secure lodgment upon the island; the capital itself was beleaguered by the British army; and everything was ready for an attempt to storm that could scarcely fail to be successful. All that followed on the part of the Mysoreans was a series of abortive struggles and skirmishes, in which they were repulsed at every point; by the 23d the second parallel was finished, the furnaces prepared for firing hot shot into the town, and the storming party under the leading of General Meadows impatient to enter the breach, which a few discharges of fifty pieces of cannon would have widened for their assault. But during these hostile preparations, the panic-struck Tippoo had been negotiating with Lord Cornwallis; and although he saw that resistance was hopeless, he still continued to demur to the hard conditions offered by the British commander, until the 24th, when the last hour of clemency and treaty had expired. It was only then that the Sultaun's proud spirit yielded, and that Cornwallis issued orders to his soldiers in the trenches to suspend their operations. The treaty which Tippoo was forced to accept contained the following articles:—1. That he should cede one-half of his territories to the allies; 2. That he should pay three crores and thirty lacs of rupees—nearly £4,000,000; 3. That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners who had been taken by the Mysoreans from the time of Hyder; 4. That he should deliver up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty two of his three eldest sons. In conformity with these terms Tippoo began to send the treasure out of the fort to the camp of the besiegers; and, on the 26th, the young princes, one of whom was about ten and the other eight years old, were conducted to the British camp with great pomp and ceremony. “These children,” said the vakeel of Tippoo on presenting them, “were this morning the sons of the Sultaun, my master; they must now look up to your lordship as a father.” It was as a father that Cornwallis received the young princes, so that in a short time they regarded him with confidence and affection. Even when the negotiation had proceeded thus far, its fulfilment was not as yet quite certain, for the dispossessed sovereign, humbled by his defeat and enraged at its consequences, was ready for every expedient to avoid the payment, or at least obtain some mitigation of the terms. He therefore threw several obstacles in the way before the definitive treaty was concluded; and he objected particularly to the restoration of the Rajah of Coorg to his dominions, who had been

the faithful ally of the English, and of whose interests Cornwallis was not forgetful when the opportunity to require them had arrived. While he was thus procrastinating the coming of the evil hour, it was also found that he was privately repairing his damaged forts and strengthening the works of Seringapatam, as if for a fresh resistance. The measures of Lord Cornwallis in this case were prompt and decisive. He issued orders to his army for a renewal of the siege. He treated the young princes no longer as hostages but prisoners of war. They were even already on their way to Bangalore, where they were to be taken into strict custody. These proceedings showed that all further hope of escape or procrastination was fruitless, and Tippoo at last consented to all the conditions without delay or reservation. In the definitive treaty which he sent to the British encampment on the 19th of March, he surrendered to them all his dominions on the coast of Malabar, a district surrounding Dindigul, and some territory on the western frontier of the Carnatic, with Buramuhl and the Lower Ghauts. This, however, was only a portion of the dismemberment, as the allies who had served in the war against the Sultaun had also their claims to be taken into account; and accordingly Tippoo, by the terms of the treaty, surrendered to the nizam the whole country from the river Kistna to the Pennar, and to the Mahrattas their old frontier line extending over the whole territory as far as the river Toombudra. It was no wonder that the proud monarch was so reluctant in the cession of so large a portion of his dominions, or that his conquerors should suspect his purpose to recover them as soon as an opportunity offered. The territory thus acquired by the English did not yield much more than half a million sterling of annual revenue; but it was highly valuable as strengthening the Carnatic against invasion, as affording excellent land communications, and as containing ports on the Malabar coast highly favourable to commerce and to the extension of that influence which we aimed at. The nairs and the other Hindoo people that occupied the coast of Malabar were made happy by the change of masters, and by the full freedom now allowed them in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their old customs. After the ratification of this treaty, the terms of which, considering the provocation, were signalized by justice and moderation, the governor-general endeavoured to conciliate the humbled tyrant by kindness and courtesy; but every advance of this kind was met with sullenness, or an acquiescence that was still more offensive. It was evident that the war, instead of being ended, would be resumed with greater rancour than ever. In his letter

to the court of directors, which accompanied the definitive treaty, Lord Cornwallis described Tippoo as "a faithless and violent character, upon whom no dependence could be placed." His lordship knew very well his connection with the French, and the efforts he had made, and continued to make, to bring that powerful nation back into the Indian wars; and it is urged by one intimately acquainted with the whole subject, that he must have considered Tippoo, even in his reduced state, as much more likely to disturb the Company's possessions than either the nizam or the Mahrattas; and that it was from far different considerations than any dread of increasing the dominions of the Mahrattas and his other ally (the motive generally ascribed to him for concluding the present peace) that he did not prosecute the war to the total destruction of the Mysorean power.

The affairs of Poland now demand our attention. In the month of October, 1788, the Polish diet, consisting of the magnates and the clergy, had assembled with the intention of improving and remodelling the whole system of government in that part of the country which yet remained to them unpartitioned. Soon encouraged by the spirit that was showing itself in France, the members of the diet resolved to continue their sittings until their work of reform should be completed; and, in order to strengthen themselves by the addition of a *tiers état*, about which so much noise was making elsewhere, but which hitherto had had no political existence in Poland, they determined to admit the inferior orders into a participation in their deliberations and powers. Several years before this, the chancellor, Andrew Zamoyski, who had both patriotism and ability, had prepared a new code, which removed many ancient abuses, and partly emancipated the peasants, who in Poland remained at the end of the eighteenth century in the same condition of serfs or slaves as the peasantry of all Europe had been in at the end of the fourteenth. The diet which had been assembled in 1780 had rejected these vast improvements and this code altogether, the majority of them calling Zamoyski, who had set the example by emancipating his own serfs, a plunderer and a traitor to his country. Nor could the diet now assembled venture to propose the emancipation of the serfs, nor was it in the end proposed until it was too late. The diet, in fact, did little or nothing but occupy itself about an alliance with Prussia, until September, 1789, when they named a committee to propose reforms in different branches of the administration, and to present the basis of an entirely new constitution. "If," says a Polish noble, a magnate of the kingdom, and one as we believe honestly attached to his country, "if the diet had

proceeded with more despatch, and proclaimed the new constitution eighteen months earlier than they did, Poland would have been saved. She would have had the time necessary to consolidate her government and to gain strength from 1789 to 1792; she would not have lost all the advantages of an alliance *very sincerely offered at that period* by the King of Prussia; she would not have left Russia the time to make peace with the Turks and the Swedes; and she would have prevented that friendly understanding between Russia and Prussia which arose out of the events and troubles in France in 1792. It was this understanding and these events which entirely changed the intentions of Frederick William with respect to Poland; which altered his character and manner of thinking; and which raised and armed nearly all Europe against France, without producing any other effect than increasing the revolutionary fanaticism, exasperating men's minds, and leaving France exposed for a time to all the horrors of anarchy."¹ The Polish constitution-makers did not perform their work quite so rapidly as the French, although, unfortunately for themselves, they imitated those vivacious legislators in too many particulars. A deputy, or *nuncio*, from Lithuania, thought that, before they made a constitution at all, they had better provide the means of defending their country; and repeatedly exclaimed in the diet, "Money and an army! These are the two sole objects which ought at present to engage our attention!" He was in the right, but he was not listened to. The diet indeed proposed some necessary reforms, which were embodied in eight articles, under the title of "Principles for the improvement of the Constitution." But these were useless so long as the radical evils of the doomed government and kingdom were left untouched. Their principle of elective sovereignty—by which every new king was certain to be inaugurated by bribery, intrigue, and discontent, and often with the chances of a civil war—was still recognized as a fundamental principle of Polish kingship. In the same spirit, the peasantry were still to be retained in serfship, and the burghers allowed no share whatever in the administration of government, the expenses of which, however, they were mainly expected to bear. All places except the lowest were still to be monopolized, as hitherto, by the 300,000 Polish nobles, real and nominal, by whom the kingdom of Poland at large had been wont to be represented.

The diet, which was prorogued on the 30th of December, 1789, to the 3d of February, 1790, came to no conclusion either on the establishment of an hereditary monarchy or admission of the

¹ Michael Oginski, *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815.*

common people into a share in the government: but, unlike the French nobility before the revolution, who paid nothing and would not agree to pay anything towards the expenses of the state, these Polish magnates voluntarily taxed themselves to the amount of a tenth part of their yearly revenues, and decided that the burghers and country-people should pay no more than they had been accustomed to pay in quieter times. During the recess of the diet, Luchesini, Frederick William's ambassador, informed the court of Warsaw that the Empress of Russia had declared that she would be no obstacle to an alliance between Prussia and Poland; that the King of Prussia highly approved of the projected reforms, and was ready to offer Stanislaus Augustus a defensive alliance, and conclude with him a commercial treaty, upon terms liberal and beneficial to both countries. But at the same time Luchesini did not conceal the eager desire of Frederick William to possess Thorn and Dantzic, which would throw open to him the navigation of the Vistula to the Baltic; intimating, however, that Prussia would give an equivalent by ceding other territories to Poland. But the Poles would not consent to give up the commerce of the Vistula to one of those powers by whom their country had been partitioned, and the diet decreed that no portion of the kingdom should ever be alienated. But how could such a decree be enforced upon those who were resolved to strip them of all? They continued their attempts to work out the problems of reform that had been laid before them, and finding their term of sitting too short for the task, they voted their continuation of proceedings, which was carried in spite of the keen opposition of a strong minority. In like manner they decreed that their throne should be hereditary, and the Elector of Saxony was recommended as the fit successor of their present king, and founder of the new dynasty of Poland.

Unfortunately the Polish reformers increased their speed at the very moment when the French revolutionists were alarming or startling all the established governments of Europe. If they had determined that their crown should be hereditary, they seemed equally resolved that its power, though increased from what it had been hitherto, should be very limited; they kept to themselves the right of declaring war and making peace, and entering into and concluding treaties of alliance; only enacting that in these cases there must be a majority of three-fourths of the diet. The demand of the burghers for a share in the representation was submitted to a committee, who, in their report, recommended the measure. The minority of the diet, who called themselves anti-revolutionists, and who thought it monstrous that plain citizens should be anything in the

state, opposed the measure with the greatest fury; but, after some amendments, it was agreed to. This seemed one great step gained; but, unfortunately, neither the citizens of Warsaw, nor those of any other town in Poland, had any great weight or influence in the country, or any familiarity with free municipal institutions, or any of those habits of self-government which are only to be acquired by time. The majority now proceeded with a constantly increasing speed; and being impatient of the opposition of the minority, and apprehending some hostile interference on the part of Russia if the business were not finished immediately, they resolved that the articles of the constitution should be adopted *en masse* and sanctioned by the king all in one day, and that the minority should be taken by surprise. On the 3d of May the king, as had been agreed, entered the hall in the royal palace where the diet held their sessions; and, the constitution being read and voted by the nuncios, Stanislaus Augustus took the oath to it, and called upon all those who loved their country to follow him to the church to take the same oath with more solemnity. And forthwith all the nuncios, except twelve, followed the king through the halls and corridors which lead from the palace to the cathedral church; and before the high altar they solemnly swore to maintain this constitution. A *Te Deum* was then chanted, and the nuncios separated till the 5th of May. This new constitution determined that the Catholic religion was to remain the dominant religion of the state; that other Christian sects should be tolerated, but that the king must always be a Catholic; that the hereditary principle was adopted, and the succession to the throne vested in the Elector of Saxony, and his descendants; that there should be *two houses*, or a senate and a lower chamber; that the king should have a deliberating voice in the senate, and a casting vote; that the diet should assemble every two years, &c. It was also determined, that the burghers of the free towns should send deputies to the diet, and that these deputies at the end of three years should have the right of being ennobled, if they applied for it; that every one in the army who reached the rank of captain should be ennobled; and that at each successive diet, thirty burgher proprietors might be ennobled at the demand of the towns. The abolition of the slavery of the cultivators of the soil was no clause in this charter, and was not even mentioned in it; but measures had been taken by the leaders of the reforming party to prepare for and gradually bring about that change without occasioning any violent shock, or infringing the rights of property of the noble holders of lands and serfs; and the Poles insist that there can be no doubt whatever that if this reforming

diet had not been forcibly interrupted, and then dissolved for ever; the slavery of the peasants would gradually have disappeared.¹

None of the Poles, except the enthusiasts of the nation, could fancy for one moment that they, in the impoverished and already dismembered state of the country, could make head against the formidable power of the Russians, or oppose the czarina in a single campaign when she should have finished her war with the Turks, unless they were backed and supported by some other power or powers. The ally pointed out by the circumstances of the times and the disposition of the reigning king was certainly Prussia. In the month of March, or some six weeks before the constitution was sworn to and promulgated, the ministers of Frederick William had concluded the commercial treaty with the Polish government; but, as the Poles would not yield to him Thorn and Dantzic, no progress was made in the defensive alliance; and the decree of the Polish diet prohibiting for ever the alienation of any portion of the remaining territory, stopped all further negotiation on that subject. This decree was passed some time before the 3d of May, and there can be little doubt that it gave offence to Frederick William, and destroyed all hope of Prussian assistance, although he allowed his ministers to conclude the commercial treaty after the decree was passed, and wrote an approving and an applauding letter to Stanislaus Augustus after he had sworn to the new constitution. And the Prussian minister at Warsaw had, on the 16th of May (thirteen days after the promulgation of the constitution), a long conference with a committee the diet had appointed for managing foreign affairs, and assured them, in the name of the king his master, that his majesty highly approved of the happy and bloodless revolution which had given to Poland a wise and well-organized constitution. Up to a certain point, or so long as the integrity, or at least the independence of the Turkish empire was the uppermost consideration, Pitt and his government unquestionably encouraged the King of Prussia in demanding Thorn and Dantzic as the price for which he would conclude a defensive alliance, and assist the Poles in maintaining their new constitution, and guarding all of their kingdom that was left to them by the last partition against the arms of Russia, and against the arms of Austria, if the emperor should be induced to make common cause with the czarina. Pitt's words to Count Oginski, and Lord Grenville's despatches to the British minister at Warsaw, were sufficiently explicit on this head; and a pamphlet, printed, published, and widely circulated in the Polish capital, to recommend the cession in ques-

tion, and to prove that the indispensable sacrifice would not really cost the Poles much, was universally attributed to the English resident minister, Mr. Hailes, who, on the 28th of January, 1791, or three months and a few days before the promulgation of the new constitution, had delivered a note to the diet, expressing the most friendly sentiments on the part of the British government, and the earnest desire entertained by the king, his master, to contract a commercial and defensive alliance with Poland, and to see his ally, the King of Prussia, essentially included in that alliance.

But when the czarina had concluded peace with the Turks, and had begun to put herself forward as the antagonist of French revolutionary principles, pretending to seek the friendship of Prussia, chiefly if not entirely on account of the one great object and common cause of sovereigns and established governments, Pitt and his cabinet became suddenly cool and indifferent as to the fate of Poland, adopted a tone of the greatest caution in their diplomatic correspondence, and hinted very plainly that they must and would remain neutral in that quarrel. Fox and other members of the opposition, though they expressed an enthusiastic admiration of the new Polish constitution, and complimented Oginski on the energy, good conduct, and moderation of his countrymen in their late revolution, certainly did nothing in time to serve their cause or obviate the doom which awaited them. Indeed, Fox may be ranked among the enemies of Poland; for it was he and his party that had prevented the extension of our Prussian alliance, and those energetic measures which would have checked in more than one direction the aggrandizement of Catherine, and have left her little time and no means to devote to the destruction of Poland. Fox told Oginski to beware of the King of Prussia, whose alliance, he said, was not to be trusted; but he continued to eulogize in the British parliament the moderation and the magnanimity of the czarina; to declare that Russia was a power we ought to conciliate instead of alienating—that Russia was a natural ally of England; and it was at the very time when Catherine was preparing to invade Poland, when her troops were almost on the frontiers, that Fox sent his own minister, Adair, to St. Petersburg to congratulate and encourage the empress! The blame may be divided among them all, but neither Fox and his party, nor any other party or set of men that we can discover in England, can justly pretend to throw the whole of the “deep damnation” of the “taking off” of Poland upon Pitt and his cabinet.

As soon as Catherine had concluded, for the present, her war with the Turks, by the treaty of Jassy, which was signed in 1791, she directed

¹ Oginski, *Mémoires*.

the whole of her attention to Poland, preparing to employ against it those armies which had been in the field against the sultan, and diplomatizing with the courts of Stockholm, Berlin, and Vienna, with consummate art. Pretexes for her aggression were not wanting, and these were presented by her minister to the new Polish government at Warsaw. They were sufficiently hollow, but what they lacked in substantial weight was sufficiently compensated by their number. After a long enumeration, in which the Poles were charged with every offence both political and moral—accusations which came with an ill grace from this most flagitious of female sovereigns—the alarming manifesto added, “The least of these grievances, without mentioning those which are voluntarily suppressed for the sake of brevity, would already justify, in the face of God and men, the resolution of her majesty to take signal vengeance.” A wise, temperate, conciliatory answer was returned by the diet, in which they vindicated their new government and their right to make it; but any kind of answer was too late; for on the 18th of May, when the remonstrance of the czarina was presented at Warsaw, her troops had entered the kingdom, and the threatened work of vengeance had commenced. A Russian army of 60,000 men, soon backed by 40,000 more, was poured into Poland, wherein there were not more than 10,000 troops that could be called disciplined, under the command of Prince Joseph Poniatowski, the king’s nephew. The property of the Polish bankers and capitalists was chiefly locked up in the countries with which they were at war: a general bankruptcy soon ensued, and this catastrophe accelerated the final ruin. At the same time the country continued to be rent by factions: there were two armed confederations of factious nobles in the field, for the purpose of overthrowing the new constitution and restoring the elective character of the royalty, with nearly all the clauses and curses of the old constitution which had reduced Poland to her present helpless condition. Applications which were made to the court of Berlin and to the court of Vienna, met with cold or delusive replies. At first some trifling actions seemed to be favourable to the Poles, whose light cavalry was excellent, and fought with the most determined bravery. But the great affair of this short and desultory campaign, and that which brought into action the best warrior, the greatest name of modern Poland, was on the 17th of July, at Dubienka. Here Kosciuszko kept his ground against a Russian division three times more numerous than his own, beat them in repeated charges, inflicted a terrible loss, and only retreated when his flank was turned by another Russian division, which had been allowed to tra-

verse a part of Galicia, and to fall upon him from a quarter where he expected no attack, as Galicia belonged to Austria, and as it was calculated that the Emperor Francis would at least remain neutral in this war—a capital and an unpardonable mistake, which was attended by dreadful consequences. If there had been a gleam of hope before, the conduct of Austria in allowing this passage to Catherine’s invading troops utterly destroyed it. It was soon found necessary to submit to superior force. The regular Polish army surrendered to the Russians; Russian garrisons were placed in every considerable town; and, before the end of the year 1792, the new constitution and the independence of Poland were alike destroyed.

The English Whigs, when it was too late, made a loud oratorical noise, forgetting to what an extent their great leader had indirectly contributed to the resistless power of Catherine; but, for the present, they did nothing beyond holding a meeting at the Mansion-house to get up a subscription for the suffering Poles. Although parliament was not prorogued until the 15th of June, which was nearly a month after the marching of the Russian army of 100,000 men, and although the great preparations for that army and Catherine’s threats and intentions had been well known in England in the month of January, before parliament met, not a motion was proposed on either side of the house, scarcely a mention was made of Poland and the fate which awaited her. But, in the course of this very session, Fox had repeatedly extolled the magnanimity of the czarina, exaggerated the value of the English trade with Russia, and recommended a close alliance with that court, as being more suitable to England than any other alliance whatsoever!

To paraphrase what Talleyrand said of the Duke of Orleans, the French revolution became the sink into which were thrown all the foul things of the world; or, it came to be considered as a generating pestilence which produced all manner of diseases, the most opposite in their symptoms and character. Even the murder of the enthusiastic, romantic King of Sweden was attributed to the French revolution, although assuredly there were causes sufficient to account for it without referring to that great mother of mischief. The Swedish nobles harboured an implacable resentment against Gustavus III. on account of his political reforms or revolution, which struck their corrupt oligarchy with a death-blow. Other Swedes, not attached to the oligarchical faction, were dismayed at the efforts this king of a poor country was making in order to carry a great army into France; and some of them hurried to the conclusion that he was mad, and that his madness would completely beggar and ruin the

nation. In the autumn of the preceding year Gustavus had made a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle, and had resided for some time in that antique town, concerting with French emigrants and others the best means of attacking the French republicans, and of getting to Paris in order to release the object of his idolatry, Marie Antoinette, and put down the hydra-headed Jacobinism. After the flight from Varennes of the Marquis de Bouillé, he took that general into his service and discussed with him a variety of plans. His ambition and his hope was that Russia, and perhaps Prussia, would join in the enterprise without further loss of time, and confide to him the command or the chief direction of their armies. But in the meantime plots were forming and maturing against his own life. The conspirators were so little cautious, that their intentions became known to many persons in Stockholm; and, if Gustavus had not been rashly brave, or over-generously determined not to believe that Sweden harboured assassins, he must have escaped. On the night between the 16th and 17th of March he determined, in spite of many and recent warnings, to go to a public masked ball in the theatre of Stockholm. He entered the ball-room with-

out the least embarrassment, walking arm-in-arm with his master of the horse; but he had scarcely made two turns when he found himself environed and rudely pressed by a crowd of men in masks; and as he was moving to get out of this throng, a pistol loaded with cased shot was fired close at his left side. He fell mortally wounded, and expired on the 29th of March, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Thus perished the champion and knight-errant of Marie Antoinette, and with him every chance of Sweden taking any part in this war against the Jacobins. On opening the body, a square piece of lead and two rusty nails were found lodged within it. The reins of government were immediately assumed by the Duke of Sudermania, the crown prince being only in his fourteenth year. The regent was intent on peace; and the Swedish people, who were but little excited by the murder of their king, seemed glad to be free from the expense of a distant and hopeless war. Their neighbours the Danes agreed with them in their resolution to avoid all participation in the contemplated hostilities against France.¹

¹ De Bouillé, *Memoires; Hist. de l'Assassinat de Gustave III.*, par un Témoin Oculaire; Coxe and Clarke, *Travels*; Appendix to *Annual Register*.

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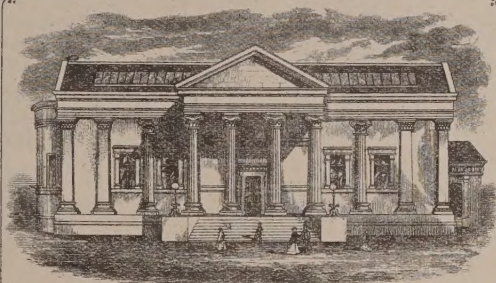
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